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CONSERVATION.

IN my opening remarks in last year's Annual Report, when speaking of the attitude of the Archæological Department towards the question of restoration, I referred to a manifesto on the subject which had been issued in 1877 by the *Society for the protection of Ancient Buildings*, and I explained how the local conditions prevailing in India made it difficult for us to acquiesce unreservedly in all the rigid principles laid down by the Society, albeit we were in very sincere and close sympathy with their general aims and methods.

At the time of writing, I assumed that the manifesto in question was meant to apply indiscriminately to Indian as well as to European monuments, my reason for this assumption being that the gist of the manifesto was repeated in a letter regarding the preservation of Indian buildings which the Society had addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy, and that there was nothing in that letter or in the manifesto itself to show that the Society wished to differentiate between the treatment of European and Oriental buildings. Since then, however, I have been greatly gratified to learn from the Society that it had drafted its manifesto with reference to European monuments alone ; that, as regards Indian architecture, it drew a distinction between the older Hindu and Buddhist edifices on the one hand, and the more modern erections of the Muhammadan invaders on the other ; and that, in the case of the latter, it was of opinion that, local conditions might sometimes demand or justify a policy of limited restoration, on the ground that the art of the builders has not completely died out, as in the case of the more ancient Hindu and Buddhist buildings. The Society's views in this matter thus prove to be in complete accord with our own, and I need hardly say how welcome their pronouncement has been to me, or how glad I am to take this opportunity of placing it on record. The opinion of so strong a body of experts, who have achieved so much for the preservation of our own English monuments, is naturally of great moment to us, and it cannot but be a source of satisfaction to know that the many difficulties and obstacles with which we are faced in India are appreciated by them, and that what we are doing has their full sympathy and support.

With this preamble, let me turn to our work of the past year. In the Northern Circle, the paa ces and tombs of the Mughal Emperors still continue to be the chief

centres of activity. The efforts that are being made for the rescue and repair of Akbar's Palace in the Agra Fort are sufficiently described in a separate article contributed by Mr. Tucker; here I need only remark that the structures which have been disclosed by the demolition of the modern military prison prove to be in a much more ruinous state than had been anticipated, the halls and courts along the river front being the only part of the Palace that has survived in an even passably good state of repair. It is a great pity that it is so; for it means that the greater part of this once imposing structure can only be preserved as an interesting but far from beautiful 'ruin', in striking contrast to the other all but perfect monuments in the Fort. Fortunately this corner of the Fort is well screened off from the general view, and everything will be done, by laying down lawns and by training innocuous creepers over the bare and ragged walls, to make the prospect as pleasing as possible. It is hardly necessary to say that it is as much out of the question to demolish any part of these remains as it would be to attempt to restore them to their original form.

A more difficult and costly undertaking in the same Fort has been the structural repair of the great Delhi Gate, of which I spoke last year. During the past twelve months, the original estimates had to be increased, as, in addition to other dilapidations, the bases of the bastions on the west side were found to be very unsound, and the masonry in need of some renovation. On the outer façade of the Gate much of the original decoration of inlaid stone and marble has been brought to light from beneath a coating of later plaster, and it seemed probable that similar ornamental panels would be disclosed in the spandrels of the main arch; nothing, however, but coarse *lakhauri* bricks were found, and, as these had manifestly been inserted at a later date, it was decided to replace them by plain spandrels of sandstone, without mouldings or other decoration. Other works in the Agra Fort that deserve mention are the reconstruction of the marble railing around the balcony of the Samman Burj, the repair of the marble channel in the chamber opposite, and the repair, also, of the projecting balcony carried on brackets along the east front of the King's Baths, which was in imminent danger of collapse.

The operations in the Delhi Fort have made equally good progress. Though the necessary revision of estimates at first involved some delay, the four main waterways with their causeways and ornamental parterres, as well as the paving around the Sāwan and Bhādōn pavilions, were all completed before the close of the year, while the reconstruction of the marble pavilion in the corner of the garden had advanced as far as the springing of the arches. This pavilion known as the S̲h̲āh Burj, had been severely damaged by the earthquake of 1905, and its effective preservation presented a peculiarly difficult and troublesome problem. It appeared that, with a certain amount of superficial repair and provided no attempt were made to rebuild the central dome, the structure might possibly stand as it was for a limited time; but, without its dome, the pavilion would certainly have been a very conspicuous eyesore in the garden, and, apart from this consideration, it was also problematical whether the dilapidations would not go from bad to worse after the temporary supports came to be removed. Accordingly, it was decided, after careful deliberation, to dismantle most of the edifice stone by stone, and to rebuild it again with as much of the old material as could pos-

sibly be used for the purpose. As it now turns out, this course was the only sound one for us to adopt, though the real condition of the fabric could not, of course, be ascertained before the core of the walls and piers had been subsequently exposed. A further undertaking that was almost brought to completion was the restoration of the famous Italian mosaics in the Hall of public audience, of which more will be said in a future report. But the most striking of all this year's achievements in the Fort was the transformation wrought in the Rang Maḥall or "Colour Palace," once the most spacious and splendid of all the royal apartments. A full description of this remarkable building is given on pp. 23 ff of this volume, and a good idea of its beauty, as it now stands revealed by the removal of modern floors and other accretions, may be gathered from Plate VII. One singularly charming feature of the hall is a marble and inlaid fountain basin in its centre, which, together with the long open water channels, has been brought to light from beneath a later floor. The ceiling of the hall used to be of copper, and at a still earlier period it was of silver, while the walls were a marvel of gilt and colour. But the ceiling has long since disappeared, and little of the mural painting is visible, though more of it may, perhaps, be found when the modern plaster has been scraped away.

Another building of the same name, that has been under repair this year, is the earlier and less imposing Rang Maḥall at Fatehpur Sikri, in which the Emperor Jahāngīr is reputed to have been born. It is of plain red sandstone and consists of a fair-sized court surrounded by two stories of chambers, which for the most part open on to the court through colonnades. Much of the structure was, unfortunately, in the last stages of decay, and, when the heaps of débris, which choked the lower rooms and court, had been cleared away, the engineers found themselves obliged to face a great deal more reconstruction than was at first thought necessary.

Of the Lahore Fort there is not much to chronicle, since many of its most important buildings have still to be evacuated by the military. It may be mentioned, however, that the garden of S̲h̲āh Jahān's Sleeping Hall has now been laid out on its old formal plan, and that, in the Dīwān-i-'Ām, the brackets under the throne have been repaired, while the modern extensions around the building and the modern piers and whitewash within have been removed.

While much has thus been done for the preservation of their palaces, the tombs of the Mug̲h̲al Emperors have not been neglected. At the Tāj Maḥall at Agra, an unforeseen misfortune happened during the monsoon in the subsidence of the pavilion immediately south of the Jawāb, followed by the cracking of one of the capitals which supported its dome. Fortunately, the mischief was detected at once by Mr. Verrières, the Executive Engineer, and steps were promptly taken by him to truss up the dome and repair the damaged masonry. At the same tomb another colonnade has been added to those already rebuilt in the forecourt, and the appearance of the garden has been further improved by the removal of the ugly seats of English pattern, which used to disfigure the central platform, and by the substitution in their place of marble benches of a simple and chaste Mug̲h̲al design. At the tomb of Akbar, at Sikandarah, good headway has been made in the repair of the stone and marble facing of the East Gate, and some necessary structural repairs have been carried out at the South Gate and in the neighbouring Kāñch Maḥall. A new approach road,

too, has been provided for the dak bungalow in the garden of the Tomb by cutting through the south wall of the enclosure and erecting there a small and inconspicuous gate of suitable design. The value of this new approach is that it enables us to dispense with the very undesirable modern carriage road, which passes through the main entrance to the Tomb, and to restore the spacious platforms on each side of this entrance gate to their original state.

The mausolea of the Emperor Jahāngīr at S͟hāhdara and of Humāyūn near Delhi have also come in for their share of attention, a conspicuous improvement in the former being the restoration of the pierced marble balustrade crowning its western façade, while in the garden of the latter a number of the ancient water channels have been relaid in stone. *Apropos* of Jahāngīr's tomb I should like to add a word or two here to what was said by Mr. Nicholls in last year's report regarding the original construction of the roof.

Mr. Nicholls disbelieved the correctness of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's account of the tomb and concluded from the architectural evidence of the building itself that the opening in the vaulted roof of the central chamber did not form part of the original construction. I have referred to Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's S͟hāh Jahān Nāmah and have no doubt that the description of Jahāngīrs's tomb given therein is very inadequate. The testimony of Moorcroft, Hügel and Von Orlich, however, is manifestly at one with Mr. Nicholls' view.

To these authorities I may now add also that of the *Taḥqīqāt-i-Chis͟htī*[1], which informs us that a Mullah in the reign of Bahādur S͟hāh was responsible for making the hole in the centre of the marble platform (in the middle of the roof), so that the rain might fall on the tomb below; that subsequently the hole was covered in with wood by Lehna Singh; and that the wooden covering was afterwards repaired by Mahārājā Khaṛak Singh in the time of Ranjit Singh. This additional information makes our knowledge regarding the opening in the roof practically complete.

To the west of the Indus there are only a few groups of remains in our keeping, but local conditions, coupled with the peculiar architectural character of the buildings themselves, make their preservation a matter of singular perplexity. The remains, on which attention has been focussed this year are the well-known Buddhist monasteries at Tak͟ht-i-Bāhī and Jamālgaṛhī, and in both cases the clearance of the débris from courts and passages has been attended with the best results, the harvest of sculptures discovered at the former site being rich beyond expectation. It is when the conservation of the structures unearthed comes to be faced that the difficulties at once present themselves; for practically nothing is secure against the depredations of the Pathans on the Frontier, and it is out of the question to treat the remains in the same way as we should, if they were situated on the near side of the Indus. For this very reason the employment of wood to replace the old lintels of the same material at Tak͟ht-i-Bāhī had been studiously avoided in the previous year, iron girders being let into the stonework instead and concealed from view by a facing of masonry. But even these, in spite of their uselessness to the peasants, were torn ruthlessly out of the walls and their fragments thrown into one of the subterranean passages.

[1] I am indebted to Sir Louis Dane, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, for drawing my attention to this passage.

To prevent such acts of spoliation in these outlying districts the Local Government is powerless, and it is only an unscaleable wall, erected round the whole site, that will suffice to protect it. Such a circuit wall appears to have existed in the old days, and Dr. Spooner is of opinion that by the removal of the débris accumulated against it and by a certain amount of repair, it can again be converted into an efficient defence. It is certainly to be hoped that the difficulty may be solved in this way; for a wholly modern wall, besides being very costly to erect, could not but be a blemish on the scene; while, on the other hand, it would be unpardonable to neglect any practicable means of safeguarding these invaluable relics of the Buddhists.

The extended tours which Mr. Cousens has lately been making in the Western Circle have resulted in bringing many additional monuments on to the list of those already registered as standing in need of repair, and in making it increasingly evident that the annual local allotment to Archæology is insufficient for the needs of the Presidency. The bulk of this allotment is absorbed each year in the upkeep of buildings which are now in a relatively good state of preservation, and, apart from such small grants-in-aid as can be spared from Imperial revenues, there is little left for new enterprises of any sort. Happily, by the end of this year the costly repairs to the Harem and Palace at Sarkhej and to the Ibrāhīm Rauza and Gol Gumbaz at Bijāpūr will be brought to a finish, or will, at any rate, reach a stage at which they can conveniently be postponed for a while, and the money which will thus become available, though by no means a considerable sum, will at least enable us to attend to some of the other monuments that have been too long neglected. In the case of the Gol Gumbaz, it is true, only its south side will have been completed; but this will suffice to perpetuate to posterity the details of the outer decoration of the Tomb, which, but for its repair, would soon have vanished entirely. The features of the other three sides are of a similar character, and, so long as the monument is structurally safe throughout, their repair can be resumed at any moment that it may be thought desirable.

Besides these buildings at Bijāpūr and Sarkhej, the more ancient temples at Belgaum, the Kalguḍi shrine at Degāon, in the same district and the ruins of the Portuguese settlements at Revadaṇḍā have all been under repair. The last mentioned, it may be remarked, have now been given quite a new lease of life, though at one time it was thought, locally, that nothing could be done to save them from collapse. More noteworthy, however, than these undertakings in the Western Circle is the systematic campaign of repair that has been going on at Khajurāha, where the Imperial Government has combined with the Chhatarpur Darbār to overhaul and preserve the whole group of famous Chandel Temples. Reference has been made to this enterprise in a previous Report, and a full account of it will be published, when the work is complete. In the meantime, let it suffice to say that the repairs are being executed as skilfully and well as any of their kind that I have seen in India, and that they reflect the very greatest credit on Mr. Manly, who is supervising them on behalf of the Chhatarpur State.

In the Southern Circle, the great group of historic monuments at Vijayanagar still continues to claim the largest share of our attention, and, in spite of the extreme unhealthiness of the spot and the consequent difficulty of securing or keeping skilled

labour there good and steady progress has been made in their preservation. Chief among the many items of repair were those executed at the following buildings: the so-called Underground Passage, which is in reality nothing but a temple of the usual type erected in a low depression, and which has now been excavated from the débris that had smothered it; one of the Jain Temples on the smooth rock above the village of Hampi, which was on the verge of collapse and has had to be dismantled and rebuilt; the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple, where new supporting piers have been inserted and other protective measures taken; and the Hazāra Rāmasvāmi Temple, Queen's Bath and group of Muhammadan edifices, which have undergone a variety of structural repairs. Elsewhere in the Presidency there have been no operations of any special magnitude, but the measures taken at several of the old Forts, which I specially referred to in a previous report, deserve passing notice. At the Gurraṁkoṇḍa Fort in the Cuddapah District, the long flight of steps leading up the hill has been made good, and a path has been opened from the bungalow to the well, which has also been put in a sound condition. At Gingee Fort, the third entrance, which was in danger of collapsing, has been supported on a new arch, and in the Kalyāṇa Maḥall, at the same spot, the old wooden lintels have been replaced, and sundry other defects removed. In the Śivagaṅgā Fort, at Tanjore, extensive repairs are being effected to the fractured bastions and walls, and at the Forts at Kṛishṇagiri, Tellicherry, Śaṅkaridrug, and Pālghāṭ, much has been done to clear away exuberant vegetation and remedy structural dilapidations. Yet another fortress, but a more modern one than these, that has been an object of care during the year, is the well-known Dansborg on the sea front at Tranquebar, built in the first half of the seventeenth century. In it are many vaulted chambers, which under the British occupation were built up or subdivided by unsightly walls into smaller rooms, and altered thereby beyond recognition. All these later additions have now been swept away, and the crumbling old brickwork of the original structure has been protected, as far as possible, against decay.

The ruthless demolition of ancient and historic shrines in Southern India, at the hands of the Nāttukōṭṭai Chetties, is a subject which has been alluded to more than once in these reports. Short of taking new powers by legislation to interfere in the matter, the Government has done all it could to put a stop to the evil, but so far its efforts have borne little fruit, and this year, I am sorry to record, three more temples have been consigned to the same fate, namely, the Svarṇapurīśvara Temple at Aḷagāpputtūr, the upper portion of which had already been destroyed when it was visited by the Government Epigraphist, the Mayuranātha Temple at Māyavaram, and the Mahāliṅgasvāmi shrine at Tiruvidaimarudūr.

As to the remaining circles, there is nothing for me to add to the succinct account which Mr. Taw Sein Ko gives below of the year's operations in Burma; and, so far as Eastern India is concerned, the reductions in the archæological budget, to which I referred in the administrative part of this report, have made it impossible to take up any fresh estimates of importance, albeit good headway has been made with several big jobs already in hand, notably with the clearance of the débris from the Black Pagoda at Kōṇārak, with the erection of monuments on the battlefield of Plassey, with the repair of the Dargāh of Khān Jahān 'Alī and the Satgumbaz mosque at Bāgerhāt, and with the repair of the minar and mosques at Pandua in the Hughly

District. All these undertakings, be it said, have found mention in earlier reports and call for no comment at present, though a fuller account of some of them will appear, as the estimates are brought to completion.

J. H. MARSHALL.

THE AKBARĪ MAḤALL IN AGRA FORT.

HIDDEN away in an obscure corner of Agra Fort, and shrouded in the guise of a military prison, the Palace of Akbar has passed almost unheeded for the last forty years. It has now been evacuated and handed over to the care of Government.

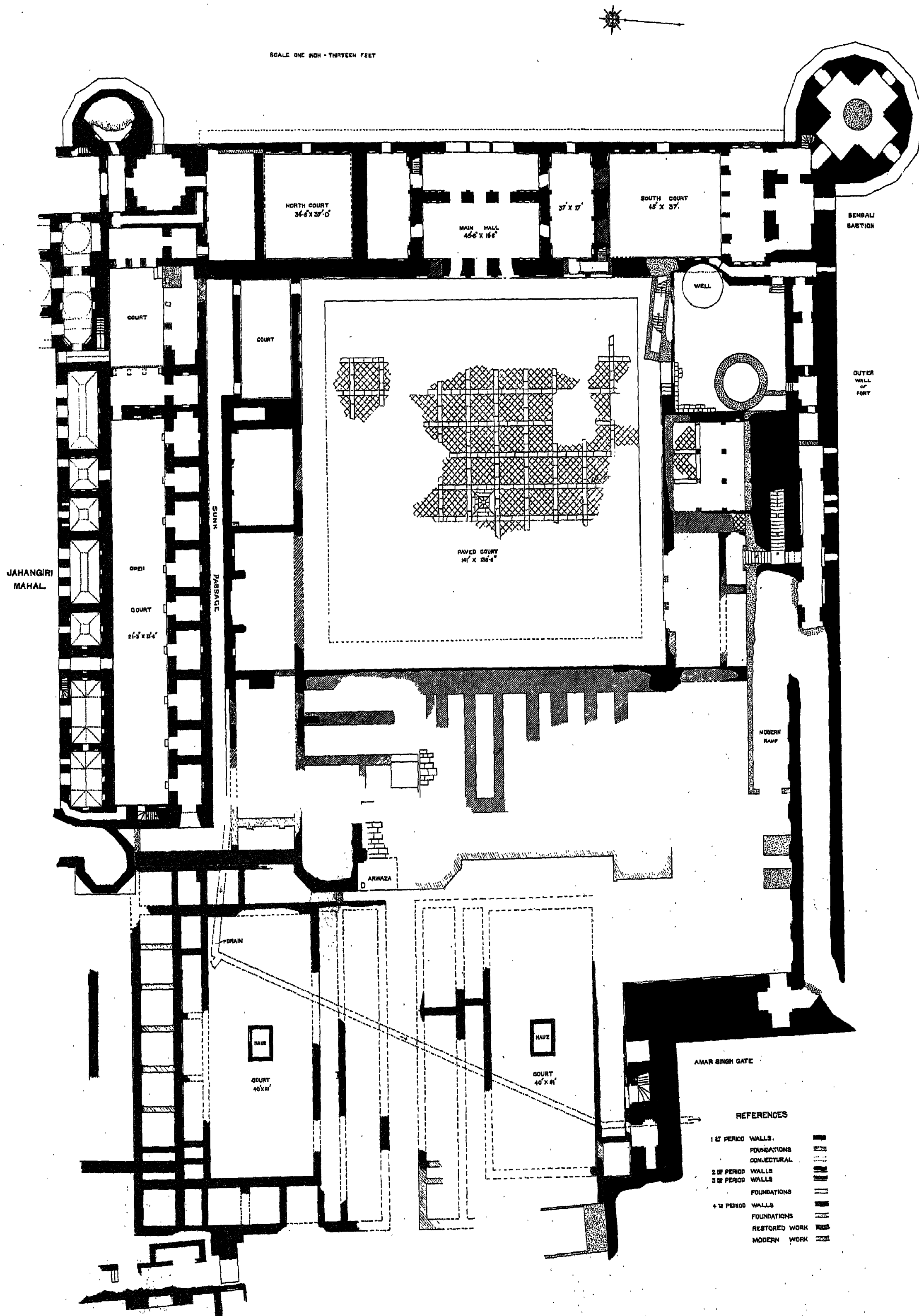
But the changes, which had been effected from time to time, were drastic; and when the disguise came to be stripped off, wounds, which it will be impossible to heal, were laid bare; for on every hand were found mutilations and scars necessitated by the additions and alterations made to adapt the building to its modern requirements. Yet very much of the Palace had vanished before the advent of the British, and the greater part of the blame must be laid at the doors of the Mughals themselves. However, the removal of a deposit of débris, averaging three feet in depth, all over the site, disclosed the ruins of an unsuspected courtyard with suites of apartments surrounding it, in addition to the range of chambers which still crown the river face of the fort wall between the Bengali Bastion and the Jahāngīrī Maḥall. Besides these chambers and the ruined court, there is a *bāoli* of elaborate plan, connected with the Palace by two stairways.

The particular interest of this group of buildings lies, not so much in its architectural qualities or in its historical associations, as in the fact that it represents, with but little doubt, the oldest buildings within the Fort (excepting only the Salīm-gaṛh), and I hope to prove that they are contemporary with the walls of the Fort themselves. If this indeed be so, the fact that they are now being rescued from oblivion will be doubly welcome; since they supply most valuable links in the chronological sequence of the Mughal buildings now extant in Agra Fort.

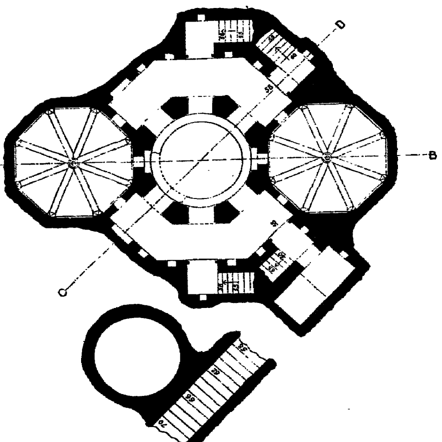
It will be interesting to examine the circumstantial evidence bearing on the dates of these two buildings. If we consider the position chosen for the well, it is at once obvious that the *bāoli* was placed with special relation to the Fort walls, in such a position that it could draw on the outer air for ventilation through two walls at right angles. The question of ventilation was a very important one in this case; for it must be borne in mind that the well was primarily designed to afford a cool retreat in the heat of the day. This is clearly demonstrated by its intimate connections with the Palace and its spacious subterranean chambers. The main approach, down a wide flight of steps in the thickness of the outer wall, is clearly part of the original design of the Fort

PALACE OF AKBAR IN FORT AGRA.

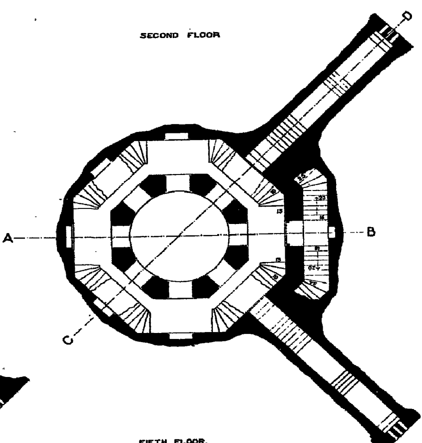
PLATE I.



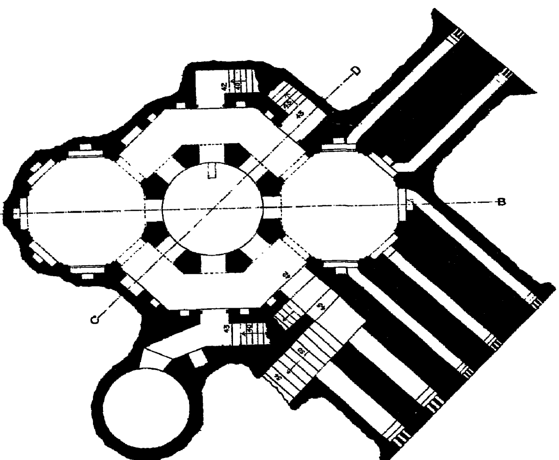
AGRA FORT: AKBAR'S PALACE.



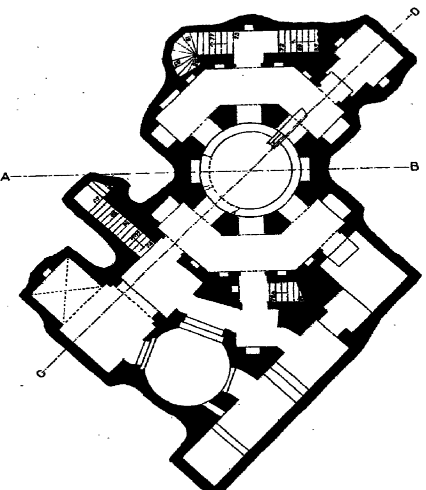
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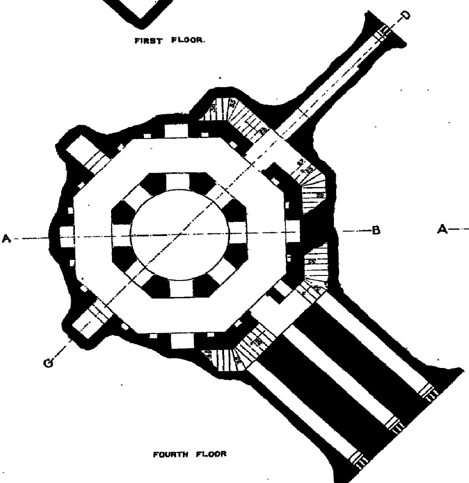
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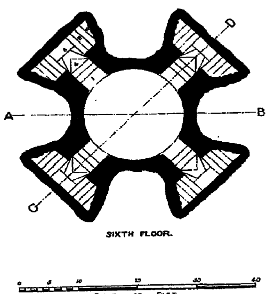
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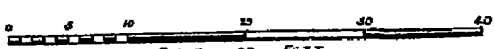
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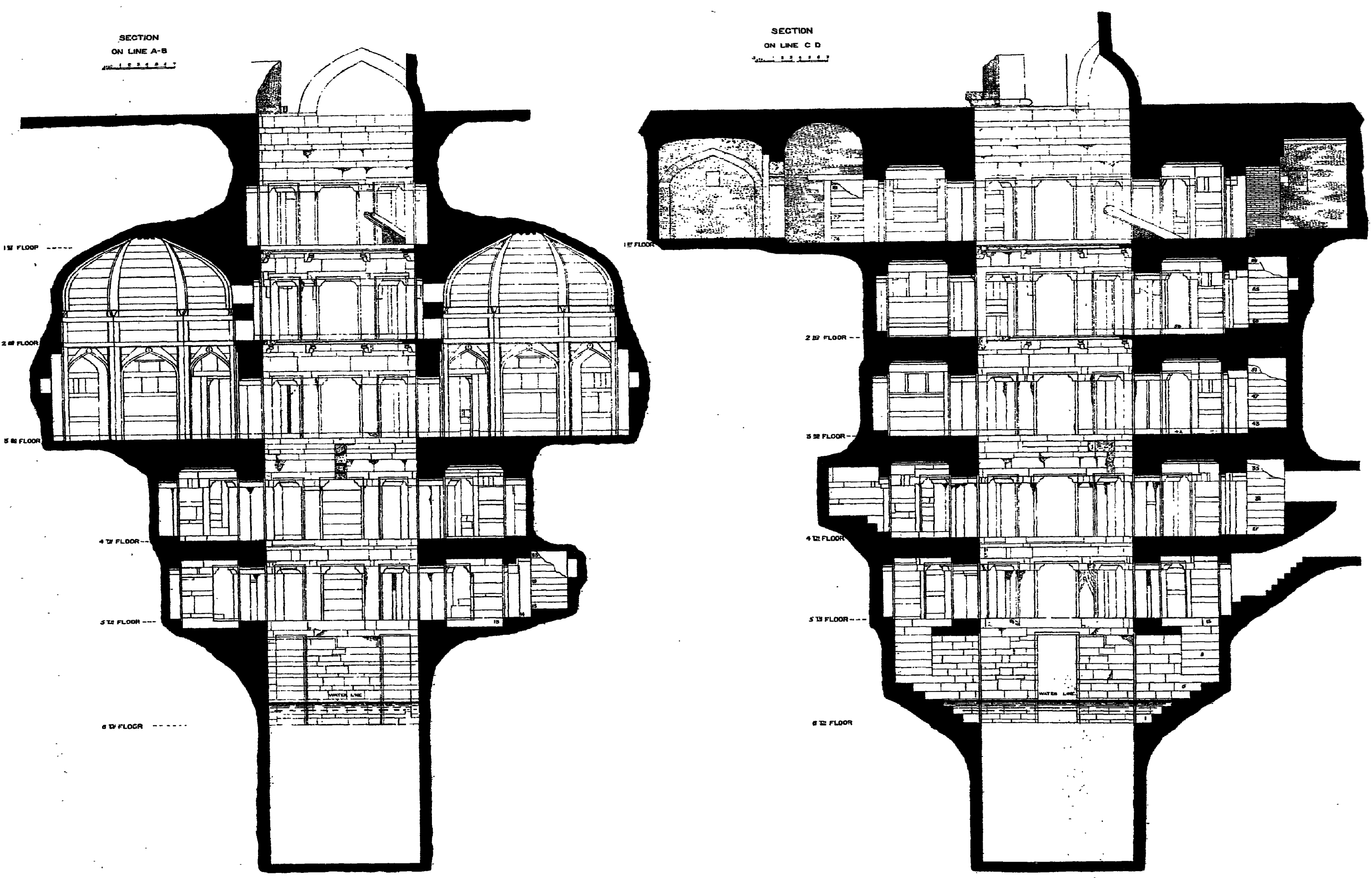


SIXTH FLOOR.



THE BAOLI PLANS.

AGRA FORT. AKBAR'S PALACE.



THE BAOLI SECTIONS.

and an examination of the air-shafts lends no colour to the supposition that they are a later insertion. If we may assume, therefore, that the well is not a subsequent addition, it is equally clear that it cannot have been sunk previous to the erection of the outer walls; for they retain all the filling with which the ground within is made up to the required level, and through which the well is sunk.

It may be safely presumed, therefore, that the well is of the same period as the outer walls. That these are the work of Akbar we have historical evidence in plenty.[1]

General Cunningham[2] presumes that the great *bāoli* sunk by Bābar, in 1526, in the empty space "between Ibrāhīm's Palace and the ramparts", is to be identified with the well we are considering. This is an extraordinary error, for, in his Memoirs[3], Bābar describes this well minutely, and his description agrees in no particular with the *bāoli* in the Fort. Moreover, he gives its dimensions as 10 *gaz*[4] by 10 *gaz*—not 20 *gaz* in diameter, as quoted by Cunningham—, so that the well in question appears to have been square on plan and not circular like the present one, which measures seventeen and a half feet in diameter.

Presuming then that the walls and the *bāoli* are co-eval, a date for the Palace has still to be found. At the south-east angle of the fortress lies the Bengali Bastion, a boldly projecting polygon, evidently part of the original design of the Fort and one of the "twenty high turrets" mentioned in the Sawāniḥ-i-Akbarī. At the general ground level is a fine vaulted chamber, evidently one of the Palace apartments; the three windows which pierce its walls form part of a range of openings along the river façade, alike in size and design, while the decorative bands and strings on the Palace elevation, encircle the tower also. This clearly indicates that the Palace and the bastion are component parts of a whole.

The river façade of the Maḥall rises unbroken in regular courses from the foot of the great wall, of which Abul Fazl said that the fire-red stones thereof were "so closely joined that a hair cannot find its way into the joints."[5] Elsewhere we read that "for much precaution the stones had been linked together by iron rings"[6], so, if any insertion of later work had taken place, it would not have been difficult to locate it. Consider, for instance, the obvious lines of junction of the Jahāngīrī Maḥall with the outer walls of the Fort into which it is so manifestly a later introduction (plate I).

Massive and stern at the base, the severity of the design is gradually relaxed as the walls ascend; string-courses are introduced, then a frieze with medalions between the brackets of a spacious balcony, and the whole merges naturally into the two-storied façade of the Palace, crowning the eastern wall of the Fort. This even welding clearly proves that the Palace and the walls, and consequently the *bāoli*, are contemporary, the two latter growing up together, while the Palace followed immediately in natural sequence. The style of the buildings is quite in accord with this conclusion.

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[1] *Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangueir*, translated by Price, 1829, Oriental Translation Committee, pp. 19 and 23.

[2] *A. S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. XII.

[3] *Baber's Memoirs*, translated by Leyden and Erskine.

[4] According to the translators of the above-quoted work, the *gaz* of the period was equal to two feet.

[5] *Akbar Nāmah.* Abul Fazl (Bib. Ind.), Vol. II, p. 247.

[6] *Maāthiru-l-Umarā* (Bib. Ind.), Calcutta, 1891, Vol. III, p. 63.

Having weighed the circumstantial evidence at our disposal, it would be pleasing to find confirmation of our deductions in contemporary history. Unhappily, on this subject the chroniclers are dumb. Perhaps this is hardly to be wondered at, for we are told[1] that Akbar built five hundred edifices of hewn stone within the Fort, and of this great number, the more important would naturally occupy a central position, while the Maḥall, though facing the river, is situated in an unconspicuous corner. Moreover, from its general planning it appears to have been part of the seraglio, and of this quarter of the Mug͟hal palace contemporary descriptions are naturally of the vaguest. De Laet, however, who wrote, in the year 1628, makes what is probably a reference to it in the following words:—"In addition, there is a fifth set of women's apartments, in which foreign women are brought up for the pleasure of the King; this is called the Bengaly Mahal."[2] The Emperor referred to is probably Jahāngīr, and, by inference from the context, the Maḥall was the southernmost palace in the Fort.

Again it is passed over by modern writers with but one or two casual references, and these mainly due to the *bāoli* within its courts. This also is not extraordinary, when we bear in mind that, since its occupation by the Military, first as a Sergeant's quarters and latterly as a prison, access within its walls would be difficult. So enveloped did it become in an obscurity, bred of modern additions without and whitewash within, that even a privileged person like Dr. Führer passes over the Palace without notice in his "Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions", while Keene in the "Handbook to Agra" refers to the prison buildings as calling for no particular remark.[3]

But, from an account[4] of the Fort at the time of the Mutiny, we glean some interesting information and, incidently, confirmation of the supposition that the Maḥall was part of the Zenana. "The one at the southern extremity of the Fort is known as the 'Tower of Bengal' from its facing towards that region; the designation of the northern tower I forget. Between these two towers but at a lower level are the series of buildings which constitute the Palace. It would be more correct to say 'were,' for many of the buildings have disappeared, among them the Zenana of the Emperor Akbar which, when it existed, was known by the fanciful appellation of 'The Palace of the Fish.' It was situated immediately below the 'Tower of Bengal.' Some broken arches, a few ruined walls and a well of vast dimensions alone remain to indicate its site." In calling it the 'Palace of the Fish' the author appears to have confused the Zenana with the court known as the Machhī Bhawan, to which he refers elsewhere as the Gwalior Square.

Plates II and III illustrate the *bāoli* in plan and section, and it will be noticed that it is in six stages, each with its encircling gallery, save the lowest, which is reached by four flights of steps, descending into the water, seventy-three feet below the surface of the court. Air-shafts, thirty-five feet in length, ventilate three of the floors, while, occupying the second and third stories, are two vaulted chambers which are the principal features and the *raison d'être* of the well's existence. Of red sandstone

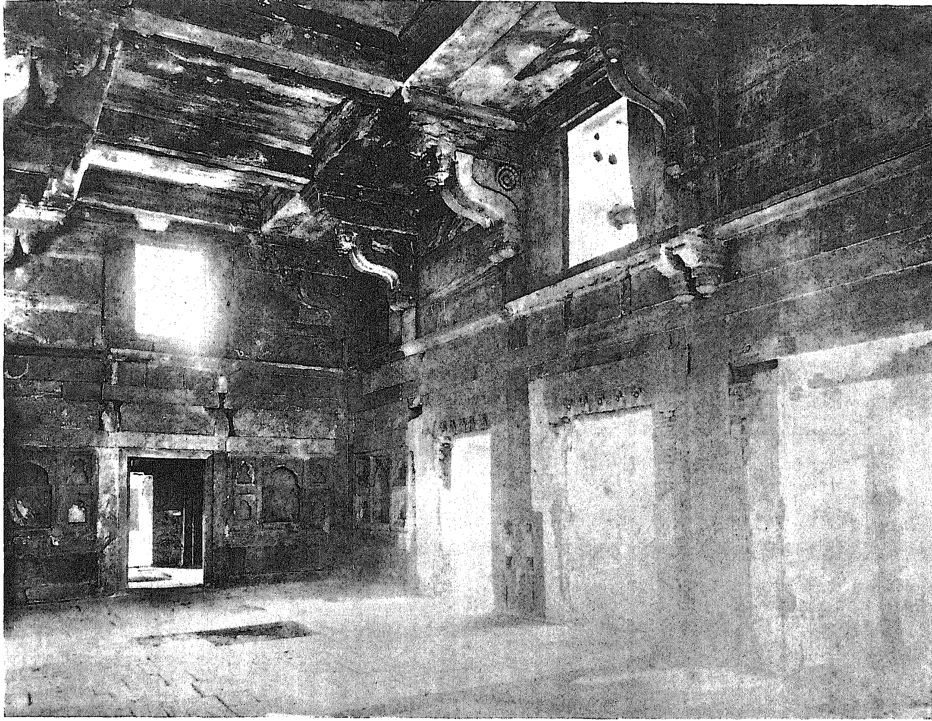
[1] *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, translated by Jarret. Calcutta, 1891, Vol. II, p. 180.

[2] *The Topography of the Mogul Empire*, by de Laët, trans. by E. Lethbridge, M.A. Calcutta, 1871, p. 31.

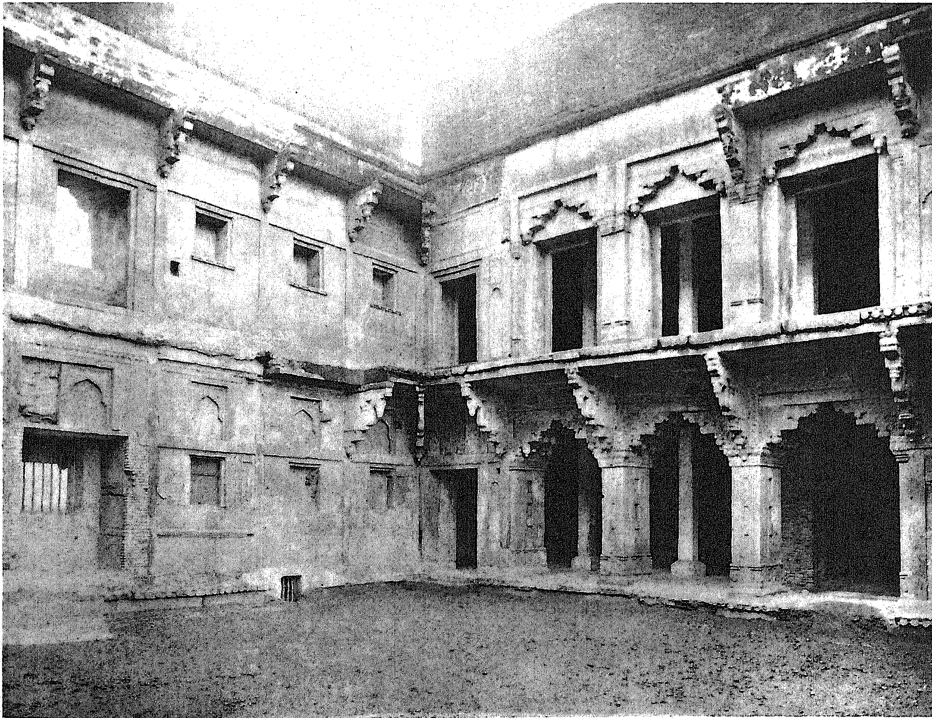
[3] In a new edition of this book, however, the Palace and well are referred to, but the writer is responsible for many inaccuracies in his description of these buildings.

[4] *Personal Adventures and Experiences of the Mutiny*. Thornhill. London, 1884, p. 210.

AGRA FORT, AKBAR'S PALACE.



a. THE INTERIOR OF THE CENTRAL HALL.



b. THE SOUTHERN COURT AFTER REMOVAL OF MODERN ADDITIONS.

throughout, the *bāoli* is of the severest design and, but for narrow balconies to the first and second floors and an occasional niche, is unrelieved by any ornament. The well is now the haunt of bats, which may be seen in their thousands clinging to the roof, and the chambers are far from suggesting the seductive resort which they must once have been when frequented by the Emperor and his ladies. They evidently served as cool places of retreat in the hot weather, and in consequence are elaborately ventilated by numerous air-shafts piercing the massive outer walls of the Fort.

There appear to have been two means of access to these chambers. One, a broad and gentle staircase in the thickness of the wall, descended from a pillared hall in the middle of the southern side of the Great Court, which lay before the Palace; the other a narrow winding staircase on the river side, built within the heart of the screen wall. A continuation of these steps led to the upper floors of the Zenana. The stairway shown to the west on the first floor plan and again on the ground floor plan of the Palace is evidently a later addition; it is possibly contemporary with the brick shaft which lies a short distance to the south-west, and which is connected with the main well by small chambers and passage ways, to which this staircase properly conducts. Keene, who, although he ignores the Palace, deals at some length with the *bāoli*, seems to think that there was yet another approach through a subterranean passage, connecting the well with the Khāss Havēlī. "The object of this", he says, "doubtless was that, in the heat of summer, the Emperor and his chosen companions might have the means of changing air and scene without exposure to the hot winds that raged without ....Arrived at the *bāoli* they could seat themselves on cushions in the chambers that surround the waters of the well and idle away the sultry hours in the manner so fondly dwelt on by Persian Poets."[1]

This passage—if it ever existed—is now carefully blocked up. There is no obvious exit from the well galleries, the plan being quite symmetrical on these floors; nor, starting from the other end and tracing the labyrinth of dust-laden passages and sombre chambers, to which access is obtained from underneath the Khāṣṣ Maḥall, could I find one that did not appear to reach its logical end. However, a plan made by the Military Works Department,—apparently many years ago, but it bears no date—shows the main passage slightly broken at its end, which is just beyond the southern tower of the Jahāngīrī Maḥall. Throughout its length this passage, which has every appearance of being co-eval with the Palace above it, is amply lighted and ventilated; but, at this particular point, it breaks out into a chamber nine feet square, in which are no less than eleven air-shafts. The collection of so many ventilators at one point seems to indicate that this is the natural terminus of the passage, where the impure air would tend to collect, and which would require an adequate provision of outlets. Moreover, this particular chamber lies just within the extreme limits of the Red Palace, as indicated by the obvious junction of original with inserted work in the outer wall. It is evident that, if this passage proceeded further, it must have been cut through from the later buildings beneath the foundations of Akbar's Palace. No indications of this, however, were disclosed in the course of excavation, and the absence of ventilating shafts in the outer wall is noteworthy.

[1] *Handbook to Agra.* Keene. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, 6th Edition, p. 18.

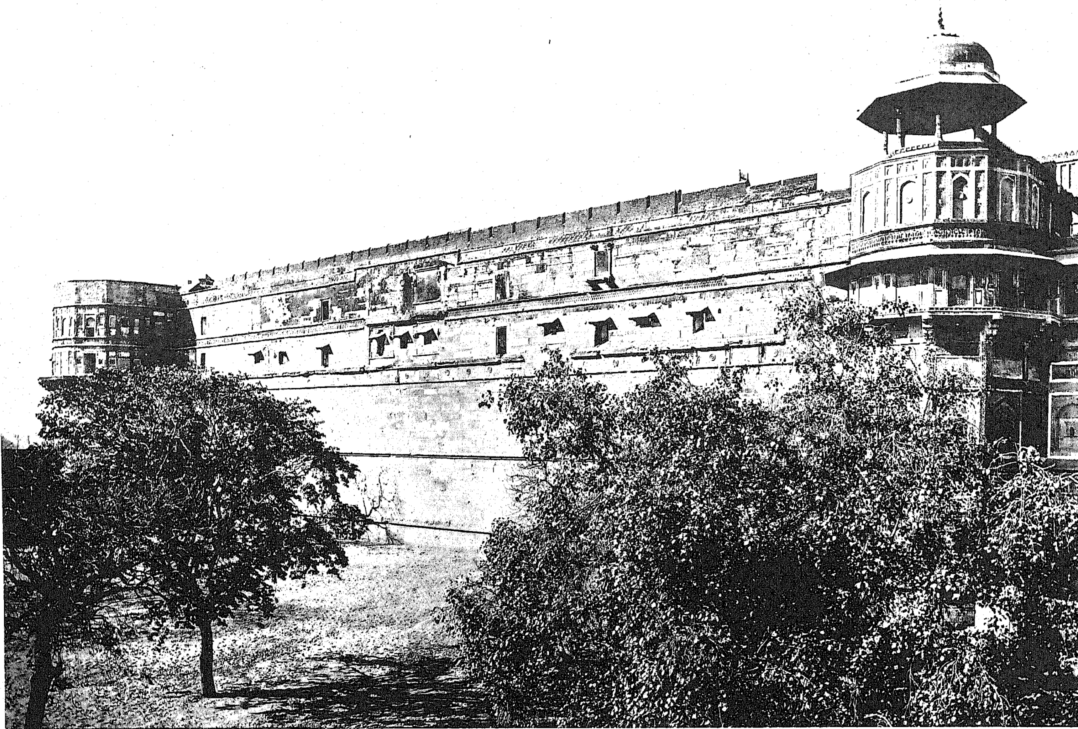
In a local directory it is stated that during the Mutiny "500 persons, mostly women and children, lived down in a large well in the portion of the Fort which was Akbar's Palace."[1] This statement, however, is refuted by an officer who was in the Fort during the Mutiny, and who recollected the well being opened up soon after. The air was so bad that two dogs, which were sent down, were suffocated. Moreover, there are no painted numbers nor other signs of occupation, such as we find in the court of the Amar Singh Gate, in which many refugees were quartered during the Mutiny.

Somewhere about 1870 a watch, bearing the date 1614 and the maker's name, 'Steir', was found in the well. Mr. Keene, some time President of the Archæological Society of Agra—an institution which seems to have soon come to a most untimely end—suggests that the watch may have been one of the presents sent by James I to Jahāngīr by Sir Thomas Roe's embassy in 1615. He points out[2] that pocket watches had been in use for about a hundred years before that date, but that those of a circular shape, such as the one found, were a recent invention of the end of the 16th century.

Cleared of the débris, the plan of the Zenana, with many details of its arrangement, stands revealed, and with the aid of the eastern side, which is in better preservation, it is possible to hazard a reconstruction of this Palace of the King's Wives (plate I). Ranged round the sides of a large paved court, some 140 feet square, rose double-storied buildings of red sandstone. On the north and south the apartments were of but little depth, but on the east they were considerably broader, so that full advantage might be taken of the river and its cool breezes. In the centre of this side lay the great hall (plate IV*a*), flanked at each end and towards the river by narrow chambers. The latter were two storied, but the great hall itself rose to the full height of the façade. To north and south of this block, there were open courts enclosed by high screen walls; those on the east being part of the river frontage and two stories high, while those on the west were continuations of the courtyard façade. These screen walls were of considerable thickness and contained narrow staircases leading to the upper floors of two other groups of double-storied chambers, which bounded this side of the Palace towards the north and south. Round each of these open courts and along the façade towards the great courtyard, ran a wide balcony giving access to the rooms through various doorways (Plate IV*b*). In the south-west corner of the central block, a staircase ascended to this balcony and there were other stairs leading to the roof.

To the west of the southern court is the *bāoli*, and approximately corresponding to it on the north side of the square is an oblong court. Adjacent to both of these there appear to have been stairways, and it seems very likely, from the fragmentary data available, that the remaining three sides of the central court were adorned with façades two stories high, marked by balconies and crowned by *chajjas* with battlements above of the familiar type of the period. To the west would have been the main entrance, but on this side of the court the foundations are so broken that the position of the doorway is pure conjecture. As is the case in the Jahāngīrī Maḥall, it appears not to have been in the centre.

[1] *Agra Quarterly Directory.* No. 5, October, 1895, p. 61.
[2] *Transactions of the Archæological Society of Agra.* January to June, 1874. Delhi Gazette Press, Agra, p.xx.



a. THE RIVER FAÇADE.



b. THE SITE FROM NORTH-EAST.

Having in imagination reconstructed this court of the Harem and having seen it designed with that dignity of conception so noticeable in the works of the earlier Mug͟hal emperors, it is sad to glance round us and note the iconoclastic ravages of time and the hand of the destroyer. The fate dealt out by Akbar to the early Lodī fortress has indeed recoiled upon his own handiwork.

Save for a few broken foundations, the west side has been entirely swept away. To the north the boundary of the court has nearly vanished; but, as a compensation and owing to the protection of a high mound of earth beneath which it was buried, and on which, in modern times, four mortars were mounted for the defence of the Fort, a length of high brick wall runs almost from end to end of the court. It is the northern limit of the Palace, and in front of it are the shells



Fig. 1.

of one or two chambers. On the south side of the court a few fragments of walls are left, and the preservation *in situ* of some detached details, such as mouldings and one or two bases, lends additional interest. A square paved hall, of four columns and twelve pilasters, occupied the centre, while to the west of this appears to have been a daïs paved with white and red stone. A little beyond is the opening to the well staircase. This is a modern entrance built under a wide ramp leading to the walls above and dating from 1813. The ramp is superimposed on the old Mug͟hal walls and an accumulation of earth about 2′ 6″ deep. When the court was cleared down to its original level, it became necessary to underpin the ramp, and, in the course of the work, much of the old plan, now concealed beneath this modern causeway, was temporarily disclosed.

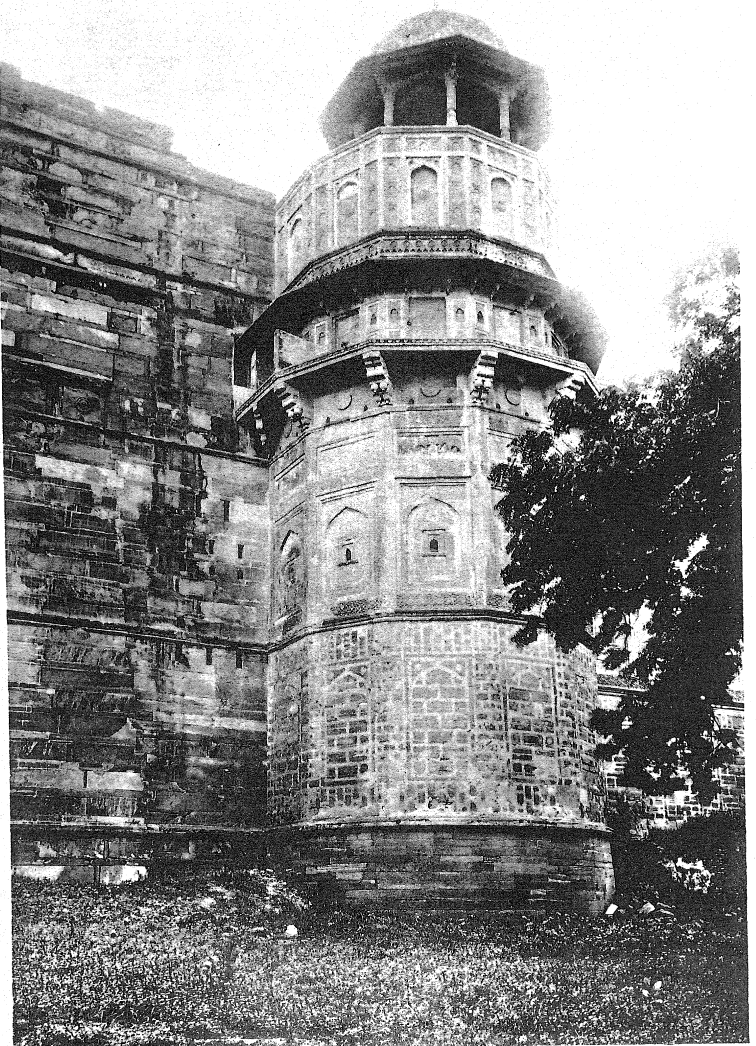
To the east a considerable portion of the Zenana remains in a very fair condition; indeed, were the exterior so well preserved as is the interior, there would be but little cause of complaint, all the circumstances being considered. But a glance at Fig. 1 will show the shattered state of the façade. A ruthless bombardment by small ordnance—presumably target practice by the Mahrattas or, as some say, by Lord Lake's men after their occupation of the Fort in 1803—, and a heedless cutting of the shattered walls to receive the roof beams and partitions of the modern enlargements, coupled with natural decay, have reduced this once imposing façade to a tottering veneer of broken stones. Promiscuous patching with rough brickwork has alone kept certain portions from collapse, and the work of conservation will be one of exceptional difficulty.

A casual glance at the building as it now stands—although freed of its accretions and coats of whitewash, will give but little idea of the original ensemble. Raised on a moulded platform some two feet above the level of the Great Court, the fire-red façade uprose in two spacious stories, the full width of the square. A group of three doorways, separated by piers with capitals and bases of simple design, marked the centre of the elevation. Flanking this was a long stretch of wall, sparsely ornamented by a few niches. At the far end there would have been doorways giving on to the small courts. A balcony, supported on boldly-projecting brackets, defined the junction of the stories, and on to this opened three windows from the great hall, widely spaced in alternate bays; also others from the lateral chambers. Further on, to right and left, must have been openings through the screen walls of the courts to admit to the encircling balconies within, from which the other apartments and stairs leading to the ground floor could be reached.

The most elaborate and, at the same time, the most distinctive feature of the general design, was a line of cusped niches, set in shallow panels between the windows. They appear to have varied considerably in width and depth, though the styles of the panels align with the upright members of the elevation below. The effect must have been somewhat similar to that of the main court of the Jahāngīrī Maḥall. Above this profusion of perpendicular features the bold horizontal line of the *chajja* afforded the necessary check to the upward progress of the eye, and threw a broad band of shadow from end to end of the elevation. A comparatively light parapet, with solid battlements of Kangra pattern, crowned the elevation. There is no data to show that there were kiosks at the angles, though there are parallel examples in the contemporary buildings at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī and Allahābād. But the continuation of the flanking walls in the same plain as the rest of the elevation is an argument against this supposition, for the identities of the central block and the adjacent courts would have merged in the common façade, and the kiosks would therefore have marked an angle which had no exterior indication.

The eastern façade of the Palace, once mirrored in the waters of the Jamna at the foot of the wall, is not so successful a design (Plate V, *a*). The great stretches of wall are broken by a few windows arranged at different levels; the upper ones reached from the galleries of the small courts with bracketed balconies in front, while the others opened onto a wide balustraded balcony which swept from end to end of the façade and returned round the bastion. In somewhat later times this balcony was

AGAR FORT, AKBAR'S PALACE.



a. THE JUNCTION, IN THE EXTERIOR WALL, OF AKBAR'S PALACE WITH THE JAHANGIRI MAHAL.



b. THE RUINS OF THE SCREEN WALL.

carried round the flanking towers of the Jahāngīrī Mahall and across the intervening façade. The general design of this river elevation is redeemed from being common-place by its central feature, which, when complete, must have been very pleasing in effect.

Opening on to the balcony was a triple arcade which, with a balcony and *chajja*, was repeated above in the upper storey. The crowning cornice of the elevation is also raised at this point with the effect of further emphasising this happy feature. The central bays of the arcades were open down to the floor, but those to right and left were provided with seats and were probably closed in with pierced screens.

The designer of these façades[1] has fully realised the advantage of concentrating the features of a design and has gone out of his way to do so in both the main elevations of this Palace. The general tendency of Mug͟hal design in secular buildings is, however, to distribute details evenly, and attention is sometimes drawn to the ends of a buildings by decorative features purposely introduced.

Passing from the courtyard into the Palace, the excellent state of preservation of the interior is a welcome consolation for the stricken façade. The Great Hall, two stories in height and singularly dignified in proportion, is divided into five bays by massive double stone beams supported on boldly projecting brackets (plate V, *a*). On either side the walls are pierced by three openings, grouped in the middle bays, and above are three windows set in the alternate bays. Those in the centre were formerly dignified by the addition of balconies, as were also the single lights at each end of the hall. The windows in the three interior walls opened on to the upper floors of the surrounding chambers, which appear to have been open to the sky. For the decoration of the apartments there are niches, some cusped and some with rosettes in the spandrils, and usually arranged in groups of three. Over the doors, the lintels are carved with rosettes and pendents of Hindu type.

There is little to notice in the adjoining rooms save, perhaps, the absence of doors giving on to the south court. From the plan it will be seen that there are two modern openings, and at first sight—indeed, without a very careful examination—these appear to have replaced original exits. The jambs are, however, entirely of modern brickwork, and a thorough scrutiny of the available data yielded convincing proof that no doors had ever existed there. An obviously original stone projects too far to allow the door to have been centrally placed in the bay externally or to have come under the open niche above, which was twisted in its passage through the wall so as to bring it into the middle of the bay. The turn of a moulding within the room indicates that the next member, had it been complete and *in situ*, would have been a niche corresponding to that in the central bay, and not a doorjamb. Moreover, the construction of the wall in these two bays does not agree with that of the opposite side of the room, which is furnished with doorways.

The plan will show the disposition of the rooms to the south of the main block, of which the massive Bengali bastion is the most striking feature. Externally, it is a polygon of eleven sides; internally, a Maltese cross, with rëentrant angles, is the

[1] Qāsim K͟hān Mīr Baḥr was the architect of the Fort. See *Maāt͟hiru-l-Umarā*. Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1891, Vol. III, p. 63.

dominant note of its plan. The four arms are roofed by semi-domes on true pendentives with flat ribs, which meet at a carved rosette of white stone. The main roof is also domed, with pendentives and 16 flat ribs. A large circular column has been built to strengthen the dome to carry ordnance on the roof above, and this has quite marred the happy effect of the chamber. Here alone throughout the Palace has marble been introduced; but sparingly and of a very coarse quality.

North of the main hall and contingent with it, was a long narrow chamber which, with its *vis-a-vis* on the other side of the court, has unfortunately disappeared. The foundations, however, are clearly visible. Northward, again, is a group of buildings shown on the plan as belonging to the second period, to which the Jahāngīrī Maḥall may be assigned. There is no definite line of demarcation betweent the two periods, but the assumption that these rooms belong to a later period than Akbar's Palace is chiefly based on the following data. An inspection of the outer wall of the Fort reveals substantial evidence that the east façade of the Jahāngīrī Maḥall is an insertion. Above a certain point the wall is of a different construction and is treated all over the façade with a painted design, which, concealing the real joints of the stones, purports to be ashlar of small stone with wide white joints. This in itself is by no means conclusive evidence; but for that we look to the two extremities of the façade. Here—but especially towards the south—decided rents in the wall from top to toe are clearly to be seen (Plate VI, *a*). To one side is the perfect masonry of the substructure of Akbar's Palace, with regular courses and even joints; to the other side, an irregular imposition of one stone above another, with no regard to uniform courses. True it is that some of the mouldings of the older façade are carried round the *burj* and along the front of the Red Palace, but they differ slightly in detail, they are elaborated by the insertion of marble, and, in more than one case, they do not align with the original to which they are evidently an addition and not a continuation. The junction of these two periods occurs on the outer wall at the point indicated on the plan, and I have assumed all to the north and west of this point to be of the later period. A reference to the subterranean chamber at this point has already been made. It clearly belongs to the Jahāngīrī Maḥall, and, on the plan, may be seen a long passage in the thickness of the wall which may possibly have led down to this room. At present it debouches, in an unsatisfactory manner, into a small chamber immediately below the floor of the square room, from which the only other exit is a hole cut through into a sunk passage to be considered later. The narrow ante-room on the north is certainly part of the Jahāngīrī Maḥall and appears to have had its *jawāb* on the other side of a big court on the east of that Palace. This was evidently swept away by S͟hāh Jahān's additions, and it appears to have been replaced by an arcade with arched and cusped openings. A consideration of these data will, I hope, justify my hypothesis.

To the west of this block of buildings, the most noticeable feature of the plan is a long narrow court with a range of latrine chambers along the whole of its south side (Plate V, *b*). The northern boundary of this enclosure is formed by the southern wall of the Red Palace, which is pierced by three doorways giving access to this court and to a smaller one lying between it and the chambers on the outer wall of the Fort. One of the latter is an ante-chamber affording the *only* other access to the court. It is well to emphasise this point, as it clearly demonstrates the fact that this court and

its surroundings are part of the Jahāngīrī Maḥall and not of Akbar's Palace with which they were not connected.

The dividing line between the two palaces seems to be the long sunk passage to the south of the court, and this is borne out by a slight dissimilarity in the structure of the two high brick walls which enclose it. This passage, in the floor of which was at one time a drain, commences under the square room noticed before and, passing through one or two underground chambers, runs a straight course from east to west, open to the sky, until it approaches the west end of the court, where it appears to have been roofed over. Thence it leads into a stone-lined drain, about $3' \times 4'$, which, travelling south-west, finds its exit above the moat near the Amar Singh Gate. Its course is shown on the plan in dotted lines.

From the floor of the passage are doorways giving access to various small basement chambers below those shown on the plan, and obviously for the use of sweepers. At various points along the passage are watershoots, carefully placed so that their supply channels were carried on the partition walls of some of these rooms, which were widened for that purpose. These discharged rainwater which they had brought from the southern enclosures of the Jahāngīrī Maḥall by means of open channels, which, traversing the narrow court, tapped its surface water also.

The rooms on the south side of the court, built partly of brick and partly of very coarse rubble, were plaster-coated and decorated with incised and coloured friezes. The ends of the court were divided into three bays, from one of which, at the east end, a doorway leads into a small open square with arcaded recesses on three sides. At the west end, and from the corresponding bay, an ingeniously contrived passage passes into the Jahāngīrī Maḥall, while, from the centre, a staircase ascends to the remains of a balcony. An angle bracket of this balcony is still *in situ*, so we may presume that it returned along the south side of the court. The deduction that there was a second storey is very plausible as, in one or two places, fragments of the wall rise above the general level, and there are traces of another stairway at the far end. From the floor of the balcony a short flight of steps leads up to the gallery round the south-west *burj* of the Red Palace.

We now pass to a discovery of considerable interest and one which throws a new light on the original aspect of this part of Agra Fort.

Adjacent to the *burj*, to which reference has just been made, are two or three bays of a wall faced with sandstone and marble. For many years these have been concealed behind some sheds which butted on to them. Excavation along the line suggested, revealed the foundations—more or less complete—of a massive wall with a gateway and tower. A comparison of the main dimensions showed that this was almost identical with the façade of the Jahāngīrī Maḥall with which it aligns (Plate VI, *b*). The foundations towards the south were hard to find, as they lay at some depth below the ground and had been considerably disturbed, one would almost think by some seismic action. The resemblance is not confined to a general agreement of dimensions; the details of decoration are the same also. The wall spaces are divided into the same number of bays, and they are embellished with the same decoration that is to be found on the neighbouring façade. The marble is, however, of a coarser quality, and much of the carving has been omitted. There is no doubt that it

was the intention of the architect to reproduce the adjoining elevation and to shut off the two Zenanas behind a continuous façade, 430 feet in length, broken at even distances by three towers and two lofty gateways. The effect of this magnificent frontage, decorated with marble and coloured tile work, must have had an imposing effect on the stranger, who, climbing up from the Amar Singh Gate, was confronted by this fine structure, flanking his approach to the great courtyard of the Diwān-i-'Āmm.

This façade, however, is not contemporary with the Jahāngīrī Maḥall, but was added after that building had attained completion. This would necessarily be some years later, for the screen wall was subsequent to the latrine court, the west upper arch of which butts against the wall of the *burj* while the steps it carries lead on to the surrounding balcony. All the faces of the *burj* were highly carved and inlaid with marble showing that it was intended, in the original conception, to stand free on every side except the north-east, where it is attached to the Palace. The corresponding tower at the north end of the Maḥall has several panels uncarved and spaces wanting their marble inlay, adjacent to the return walls which were afterwards demolished by S͟hāh Jahān. Although the fragments of the screen wall are only one storey high, it cannot be doubted that it was originally the full height of its neighbour; for a careful examination of the *burj* showed traces of the junction, and moreover a back wall of a room on the first floor behind the screen is still standing.

Imposing as it must have been, this magnificent façade did not meet with the respect due to it; for, at some subsequent period, but before entire ruin had overwhelmed it, double courts, surrounded by a multiplicity of small rooms, were built in front of and against its carved surface. Of coarse brick and mortar only, there is little left by the aid of which an approximate date can be assigned to these courts. However, buried under a ramp leading on to the Amar Singh Gate, was the back wall of one of the chambers, and such details as do exist seem to indicate the early part of the 18th century as the probable date. On the site of the northern of these two courts stood the Warder's Lodge, originally built as a magazine in 1812. The work of demolishing this was considerably delayed by the intense hardness of the mortar used for binding the bricks together. This was, indeed, considerably harder than the very hard cement used by Akbar, which has often been a cause of difficulty where demolition has been necessary. It should be noticed that these courts are not arranged symmetrically with any other feature, but their position seems to have been governed by the line of the Amar Singh Gate.

Before leaving this subject, it may be well to recapitulate the various periods of the buildings and ruins we have considered. Starting with the Fort Wall and presuming the correctness of our hypotheses with regard to the dates of the Well and of the Zenana, with its great court and surrounding buildings, we have this group representing the First Period, dating from about 1564. The Jahāngīrī Maḥall follows, forming the Second Period, and this we may assign to the latter part of Akbar's reign or to the early part of that of his successor; but I venture to think that the former is more likely to be correct, for reasons which will be stated later. The long narrow court between the two Zenanas was probably co-temporary with the Jahāngīrī Maḥall or possibly a little later. Next followed the façade, linking up this Palace to the Fort Wall on the south, and this may be called the Third Period. Last come the two courts to which

reference has just been made, and these also seem to call for a division to themselves and constitute the Fourth Period.

With the exception of the Jahāngīrī Maḥall, so very little of all this now remains, that one feels that fate has not dealt altogether fairly with this corner of the fortress. Why has she visited her wrath here in a whirl of destruction, that has razed to the ground the works of three distinct periods, and which has left nothing to mark their site, save a remnant of broken foundations? It is well known, indeed, that each successive ruler of Agra tore down the proud palaces of the last King to clear a site or to obtain ready materials for his own erections. In this case, however, competition for the site does not supply the reason; for it will be noticed that none of the various buildings described shows any sign of having supplanted a previous tenant of the ground, though in one or two instances they appear to have been built on to their neighbours. But it is true that almost every serviceable stone has vanished; many carved stones there are indeed, but only a tithe of what there must once have been. No historical evidence comes to our aid in solving the problem; conjecture is vain. One thing seems very certain—that the greater part of this destruction occured before the advent of the British. A plan of the Fort, which dates from about 1812, and another which may be still earlier, shows nothing of the Akbarī Maḥall save a few walls of the river chambers. The magazine was built in 1812, and it seems reasonable to suppose that its site was chosen because there were no buildings immediately adjacent. Moreover, this building from its position would have considerably hampered the target practice that at some time was conducted against the façade of the Maḥall. The screen wall and the buildings to the west could not then have existed, as they would also have been in the line of fire. The only possibility of obtaining a suitable range for the small cannon which carried out this wilful bombardment with solid balls (some of which have been found) was to utilise the full width of the Fort at this point. This necessarily presumes a space clear of all impediments.

The façade was ill-calculated to withstand this ruthless bombardment. The thin veneer of facing stone shattered in pieces, a corner fell, and the disfigurement of the Maḥall was completed when it was adapted to utilitarian purposes, first as a Provost-Sergeant's quarters and then as a prison.

But the time has not yet arrived when we must write "finis" to the history of the Palace; for its conservation will be undertaken in time to preserve much that is interesting. The measures proposed for its repair are strictly those of conservation, and in the case of the façade the task will be by no means an easy one. The removal of some decayed beams and the replacing of broken brackets will add much to the stability of the interior, which fortunately has kept much of its charm. The courts will be drained and spread with *bajri* where needed, and it is proposed to lay out the space to the west with paths and grass plots in accord with the adjoining Jahāngīrī Maḥall forecourt.

The excavations were unproductive of any treasure trove of particular interest, though the lower stratum of the spoil earth was full of broken glass and pottery. Of the glass, much is iridescent, but the only discoveries approaching a complete state were a few phials for perfume. The china is very fragmentary, but not

devoid of interest; a vast diversity of pattern and manufacture is noticeable, many animals appear in the designs, and much of it has Chinese characters on it.

Presuming that this china-ware dates from either the reign of Akbar or of Jahāngīr, the following story, related by Terry,[1] chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe on his embassy to the great Mughal, is not without interest, as indicating the value set upon the ware of that far distant country. Jahāngīr had commissioned one of his officers—a man of some rank—to keep a certain cup safe. Unhappily the vessel got broken, so the Emperor caused his servant "to be very much whipt and then sent him into China (which is a marvellous distance from thence) to buy another." The same story is related by Hawkins[2] at greater length, and we learn from him that the "faire china dish" cost ninety rupees. The nobleman, in great fear at the loss of the dish, sent a trusty servant to China to procure another, similar, if possible, to the broken one. After the lapse of two years—but before the



Fig. 2.

servant had returned—the Emperor called to mind the dish. On learning of its fate, he ordered the offender to be beaten with whips and cudgels until he was left for dead. He recovered, however, but only to be cast into prison, whence he was afterwards released and despatched to China in search of a similar dish, which, we learn, he happily obtained in the end from no less a personage than the King of Persia.

[1] Edward Terry's *A Voyage to East India*. Reprint from the edition of 1655. J. Wilkie, 1777, p. 388.
[2] *Hawkins' Voyages*. The Hakluyt Society. London, 1878, p. 429.

Perhaps the most interesting *choses trouvèes* were some clay models, somewhat similar to those presented at local shrines in more modern times. Those that were found in the Akbarī Maḥall were unearthed in a room to the north of the latrine court, and as they are apparently children's toys we may perhaps presume that this room was used as a nursery. The greater number, however, were found in the ruins west of the Jahāngīrī Maḥall in the excavations of 1905. None of the figurines were in a perfect state, but the more interesting and the better preserved examples are shown in Fig. 2.

The elephant seems to have found considerable favour as a toy, for several heads and trunks were collected (Nos. 10 and 14). The torso of a rider (No. 16) with a water-bottle and weapons strapped on his thighs, is of interest, and so also are the three heads (Nos. 9, 13 and 15) which are worthy of notice on account of their head-dresses. No. 12 is a spirited torso of a horse in harness, while No. 8 is a fearsome animal, which appears to be a dog from the muzzle and collar he is wearing. The two other dogs (Nos. 2 and 6) are distinctly related to the pariah of to-day, while the sheep with a fat tail (No. 4), and the buffalo with his tail twisted over his back (No. 7), strike familiar notes. No. 17 is a hen, and No. 5 apparently an ostrich. The robe of the lady (No. 11), worn straight at the back, is noteworthy, and the camel with his rider (No. 18) would have made an attractive subject but for the very bad modelling. No. 3, presumably a baby monkey, makes a charming little toy, reminiscent of the modern Teddy Bear.

Many clay vessels of various shapes and purposes were unearthed, but of metal objects, a large lock of intricate working, the rusted blade of a dagger, a bit and some small cannon balls were all that were found. Incidentally, the smallness of these cannon balls tends to discredit the supposition that the damage done to the Palace façade by bombardment was the work of Lord Lake's men, for the cannon used by them must have been of much larger bore.

It was very naturally hoped that the excavations of the Zenana would add something to the available data for determining the chronological position of the so-called Jahāngīrī Maḥall. It is much to be regretted that nothing conclusive was forthcoming. However, we may safely deduce that the Maḥall was subsequent to the Zenana, but that its erection did not necessitate the demolition of the greater part of Akbar's Zenana, as stated by the writer of a recent guidebook, who, on the strength of this deduction, "utterly discredits the assumption that the Jahāngīr Maḥall was built by Akbar."[1] Far from being "mutilated and unsymmetrical in plan" the only irregularities are those of the original design, and it is noticeable that the north wall of the Palace, which is practically intact, is not pierced by any opening which would warrant the assumption that there once were other courts of the Palace to the north. Moreover, the eastern façade is self-contained. That there were earlier buildings on the site is highly probable, but there is not sufficient data to presume that Akbar's Zenana, as we have it now, is but the southern wing of a great united Palace for the ladies of the Harem, the central portion of which was demolished to make room for the Red Palace.

[1] *Handbook to Agra.* Re-written by E. A. Duncan. Seventh Edition. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, p. 138.

So much has been written on the subject of the Jahāngīrī Maḥall, that it is with diffidence that one enters the arena. But there are two facts which, I believe, have not yet added their weight in the balance of evidence. We have already noticed that, to the north and south of the end towers of the river façade of the Maḥall, there are two rents in the wall. A cursory examination on the spot is amply sufficient to show that the whole of this façade of the Maḥall—and there is no reason to dissociate it from the rest of the Palace—is an insertion, to make room for which much of the outer wall was torn down. The general structure of the wall is different in quality; the lowest string moulding, though similar in contour, is now inlaid with marble, while the *burjs* themselves are also inlaid, carved, and decorated with encaustic tiles. None of these innovations preclude this façade from being the work of Akbar, for fragments of encaustic tiling are to be seen on the Delhi Gate of the Fort, while marble is used as inlay both there and in the Bengaly Bastion. Another fact, which has not received due recognition, though it has been noticed by Professor Blochmann, is that, if Jahāngīr is the author of the Palace, it is strange that nowhere in his *Memoires* does he make any mention of it. The Palace which he did build, but which has now almost entirely vanished, he fully describes[1] in detail and with much enthusiasm. It is strange that if the Maḥall is his work, it should have received no notice from his pen.

Akbar began to build his Fort in 1564[2], some six years after he had entered the existing fortress of Badal Gaṛh. We are told [3] that he built upwards of five hundred edifices of red stone and, if we are to credit this assertion, we may well believe that he was building up to his death forty-one years later, as for many years of this period his main energy would have been devoted to the buildings at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. This would give ample opportunity for the Maḥall to be a later insertion than the majority of the buildings, but still the work of Akbar.

In building himself another Palace, the size of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, within seven years of the commencement of Agra Fort, it is very clear that Akbar had hoped permanently to transfer the seat of the Mug͟hal Empire there. It may well be imagined, therefore, that the work on the Palace at Agra languished somewhat till about 1585, when, abandoning Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, Akbar removed his court there. What is more likely than that, forced to resume Agra as the headquarters of his Government, he gave orders for work on the imperial palaces there to proceed apace, and amongst others, for the erection of one near to his own, for his "little Shaikie", the heir-apparent, and his wives?

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[1] *Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangueir*, translation by Price, pp. 211—13.

[2] *Akbar Nāmah* (Bib. Ind.) Vol. II, p. 246; and *Muntākhabu-t-tawārīkh*, translation by W. H. Lowe, M.A. (Calcutta 1884), Vol. I, pp. 74—5.

[3] *Āīn*. (Translation), Vol. II, p. 180.

THE RANG MAḤALL IN DELHI PALACE.

THE Rang Maḥall (*lit.* Colour Hall) was the largest of the apartments of the royal seraglio in the Imperial Palace of Delhi. In Shāh Jahān's time it was known as the Imtiyāz Maḥall (Palace of Distinction) but on a map [1] dating from the reign of Akbar II we find the name changed to Rang Maḥall Kalān, a title which strikes one as singularly appropriate in view of the traces that remain of its elaborate painted decoration and the eulogies of those who saw it in its glory.

It is interesting to note that on the same map a building is shown with the name Rang Maḥall Khurd or Small Colour Palace. From the description of this building given by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [2] it appears to have been a miniature reproduction of its neighbour and to have had a garden 63 *gaz* square with an octagonal tank, the diameter of which was 25 *gaz* and in which 25 fountains played.

Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, a contemporary historian of Shāh Jahān's reign, describes the Rang Maḥall as follows: "The Imtiyāz Maḥall is the greatest of all the Imperial Palaces. It is 50 *gaz* long and 26 wide, and is wonderfully painted and adorned with gold. In excellence and glory it surpasses the eight-sided throne of heaven, and in lustre and colour it is far superior to the palaces in the promised paradise." [3] The Rang Maḥall, set on the marble terrace which in former time swept from end to end of the eastern face of the fort, overhung the River Jamna, sluggishly flowing at the base of the red sandstone walls. Between it and the Dīwān-i-'Āmm lay an orchard garden, one of that chain of gardens for which the Palace of Delhi is so remarkable and which must have added so much to its attraction as a place of residence. A little to the north lay the Emperor's private apartments, only separated from the Maḥall by a marble courtyard made *pardah* by high screens of red sandstone. These were probably covered with white *chunam*, but a water-colour painting,[4] dating from before the British occupation, shows the bare red sandstone.

"The external appearance of this palace may be thus described," says Sayyid Aḥmad. "A platform having been built, leaving room for the plinth, two very

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[1] No. K3 in the Catalogue of the *Delhi Museum of Archæology*.

[2] Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Āthāru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, Caunpur, 1904. Chap. II, pp. 34-35.

[3] Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*. MS in Public Library, Lahore, fol. 583.

[4] *Op. cit.* No. J. 1. No. J. 6 is interesting as showing the exterior of the Maḥall at a period soon after the ritish occupation.

pleasant underground chambers were constructed beneath, while above was raised a colonnade of five arches, three bays deep, the length of which was 57 *gaz* and the width 26."[1] It will be noticed that the length of the façade differs in the accounts of the two historians, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ giving 50 *gaz* only. The actual measurements of the building are 153′ 6″ by 69′ 3″, and, taking the *gaz* to be equal to 2′ 8″, Sayyid Aḥmad is but very little out in his figures, which give the dimensions of the Maḥall as 152′ 0″ by 69′ 4." The value of the *gaz* was determined by experiment, the latter author giving many measurements by which its value could be checked against existing dimensions.

A little further on Sayyid Aḥmad continues his description. "The front of the palace was of pure marble and decorated with cusped arches wonderful to behold, and it was adorned with inlaid work of such a kind that the mind was astonished. On the four corners of its roof there were kiosks which added to the glory and grandeur of this edifice, and, near the corners of the building, were four stone kiosks which could be closed with *ṭaṭṭis* in the summer time and turned into Khas[2] Khānā."

It is fortunate that the historian has added a drawing[3] of the façade, from which we are able to learn what these kiosks were like, for no vestige of them now remains, except their foundations. They were by no means an improvement to the façade with their pointed roofs and slender shafts. The drawing—more accurate than the description—shows but two of these pavilions, at the ends of the main façade. The accuracy of Sayyid Aḥmad's account may also be doubted on other points; for it appears that there never was any marble above the necking of the piers and what he mistook for inlay was but painted ornament.

From this illustration we also learn that the arches of the façade were filled in with an open *pardah* screen, apparently of marble, the traces of which are still to be seen; while the centre opening was further elaborated by the introduction of moulded columns and a triple arch. Above the screens were small windows filled in with *jali*, similar to that still to be seen on the north and south façades. Altogether, the illustration makes the west front of the Maḥall more attractive than it is now under its coat of dirty plaster, which led both Carr Stephen[4] and Keene[5] to describe it as being built of grey sandstone.

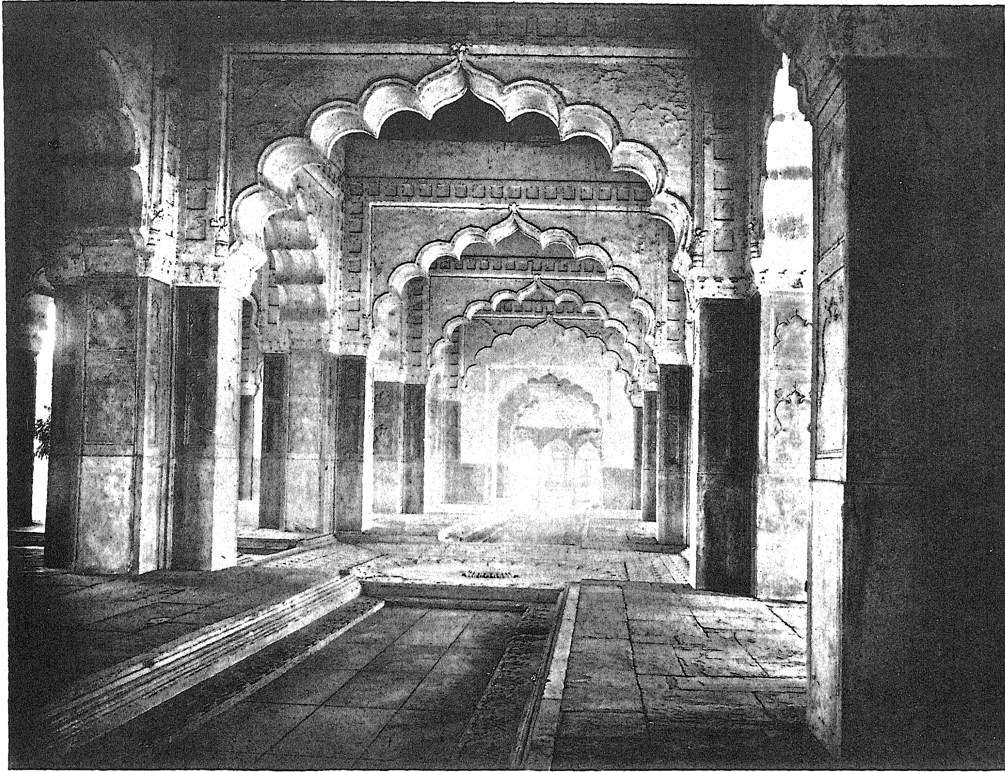
Although the exterior of the palace must once have been very attractive, yet it was on the interior of this apartment of the royal princesses that the architects lavished their attention. Ustād Aḥmad and Ustād Ḥamīd, "the best of the able Architects,"[6] were probably the authors of the design, but one likes to think that Shāh Jahān has added the impress of his taste and personality to this building, the crowning jewel of his seraglio. We are told that this was so in the case of the Diwān-i-Khāṣṣ, where he gave directions for the inlay work.[7]

Engrailed arches on twelve-sided piers divide the main apartment into fifteen bays, 20 feet square. The piers are cased in marble to a height of 11 feet, where

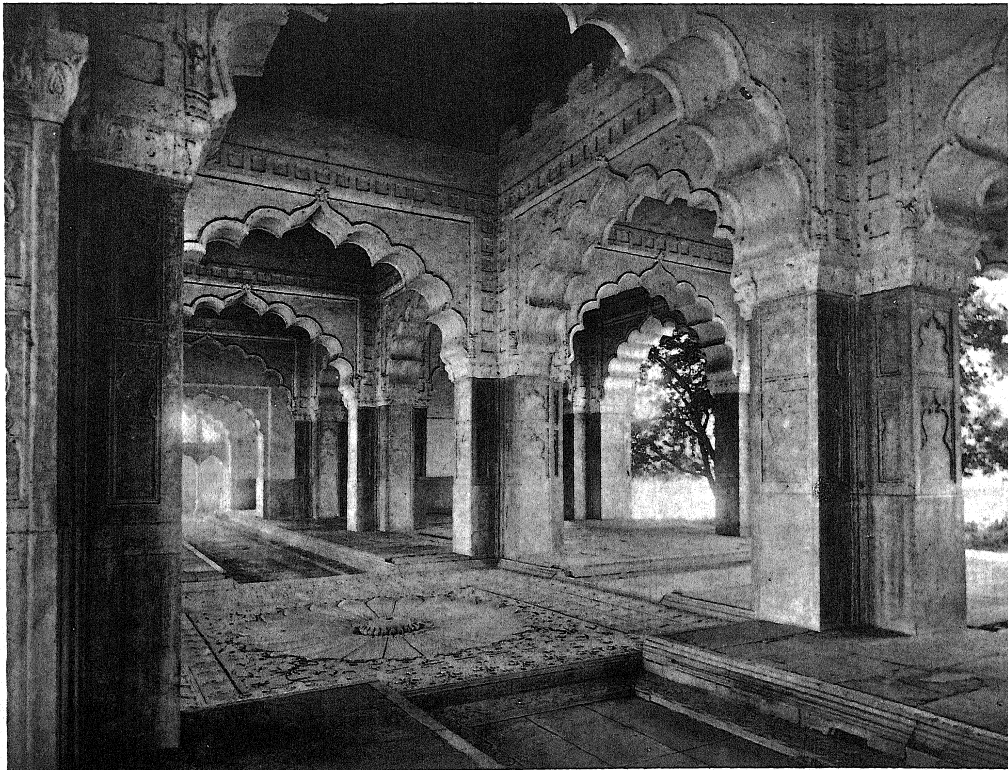
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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 35.
[2] Khas is a kind of coarse grass from which tattis are made.
[3] The original sketch for this illustration is No. J. 23 in the Catalogue quoted above.
[4] Carr Stephen's *Archæology of Delhi*. Calcutta, 1876, p. 237.
[5] Keene's *Handbook to Delhi*. Calcutta, 1906, p. 136.
[6] Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Maāthiru-l-Umarā*. Calcutta, 1891, Vol. II, p. 865.
[7] *Vide* Keene's *Handbook to Delhi*. Calcutta, 1906, p. 132.

DELHI FORT, THE RANG MAHAL.



a. THE INTERIOR AFTER REMOVAL OF MODERN ADDITIONS.



b. THE MARBLE FOUNTAIN BASIN.

the arches spring from plaster capitals. Within the carved panels which fill the sides of the piers and all round the borders may be dimly traced the forms of the original painted decoration of the familiar conventional flowers. Plate VII shows these traces more distinctly than they can ordinarily be seen, the colours presumably being mostly red and yellow, to which the film of the negative is particularly sensitive.

Above the necking of the piers all is now concealed under many coats of white-wash, but fragments of colour, visible here and there, encourage the hope that beneath this protective covering some of the original splendour may still remain. The spandrils—probably of polished *chunam*, painted and gilt—were encased in a frame-work of little square mirrors, and traces of glass borders are to be found round the doorways and niches as well.

On the subject of the ceiling Sayyid Aḥmad may again be quoted. "It is said that the ceiling of this palace was of silver, but in the reign of Farrukh Siyyar it was taken off to supply a pressing need and was replaced by one of copper. In the reign of Muḥammad Akbar Shāh II, this was also removed and a wooden one put in its place, which is now in a ruined condition."[1] Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, writing in the reign of Shāh Jahān, describes the ceiling as being "gilded and ornamented with golden flowers."[2] The present ceiling is entirely modern.

The eastern wall is pierced by five windows overlooking the river and the flat country beyond. Doubtless from these the favoured ladies of the Zenanà could catch a glimpse of the elephant fights, which took place on the sandy foreshore at the foot of the walls and of which the Emperor was an interested spectator in the adjoining Muthamman Burj. Four of these windows are now filled in with that rectilinear tracery which is so reminiscent of the covers of Chinese boxes.[3]

The original glazing, which has entirely disappeared, was probably of atrocious colour and similar to that which still exists in a protected position in the windows of the Ḥammām. The central opening is enclosed within a frame of flamboyant swirls, bulbous domes and umbrella-shaped finials, the latter being strongly reminiscent of the crowning features on the domes of the Jāmi Masjid and Shāh Hamadān's Mosque at Srinagar,[4] while the whole is an unpleasant foretaste of the decadence which set in with the reign of Aurangzeb.

At each end of the main hall are two small chambers on either side of porticos opening north and south. Their walls are girt about with marble, waist high, and above are recessed niches.

Until quite recently the Palace was consecrated to military purposes and a labyrinth of lath and plaster partitions filled the interior. But it is probable that, to this very adaptation to modern uses, we owe the preservation of the marble channel and tank which were the chief adornment of the Maḥall. Concealed and unsuspected beneath the modern floor of rough sandstone, they have passed practically unscathed through 50 years of British occupation. A careful examination of the floor and the adjoining court gave rise to the hope that the channel was still *in situ*, trial holes

[1] *Loc cit.*
[2] *Loc. cit.*
[3] Similar tracery is to be found in the ruined baths facing the Diwān-i-Khāṣṣ in Agra Palace.
[4] Vide *Anual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* for 1906-07, p. 168.

confirmed the truth of this expectation, and its consummation was a discovery of considerable interest.

'Alī Mardān's canal, tapping the Jamna some six miles above Delhi to obtain the necessary fall, fed the Palace with many streams of limpid water which filled the tanks, played the fountains and poured "like a quick fall of stars" before the illuminated candle niches. But of all these waterways the most favoured was Nahr-i-Bihis͟ht (Stream of Paradise) so called by S͟hāh Jahān himself.[1] Falling in a rippling cascade down the marble chute in the S͟hāh Burj Pavilion and flowing along the terrace that bordered the Ḥayāt Bak͟hs͟h garden, it traversed the chain of stately edifices that lined the eastern wall of the Palace—Ḥammām, Diwān-i-K͟hāṣṣ, K͟hwābgāh, silently gliding beneath the Mīzān-i-Insāf,[2] across a sun-bathed court into the cool of the Rang Maḥall. Thence, still southward, it passed through the little Rang Maḥall, Mumtāz Maḥall and other buildings of the Imperial Zenana, sending out shoots to feed the many channels and fountains. As Bernier tells us, "nearly every chamber has its reservoir of running water at the door, on every side are gardens, delightful alleys, shady retreats, streams, fountains, grottoes, deep excavations that afford shelter from the sun by day, lofty divans and terraces on which to sleep cool at night."[3] Elsewhere he says, "The water of the canal . . . . runs into the Seraglio, divides and intersects every part and falls into the ditches of the fortification."[4] Happily much of this marble waterway still exists, but till lately its course terminated abruptly at the colonnade just beyond the Scales of Justice Screen. Rising from its grave to a new lease of life, it now pursues its way across the *pardah* court—in the midst of which a marble bridge spanned the channel—and into the Rang Maḥall beneath a triple arcade which has its *jawāb* on the far side of the palace (plate VII, *a*). At that point, unhappily, all traces of the channel cease and there is no hope that any further fragments of this waterway remain, as the ground to the south is now considerably below the original level.

On entering the Maḥall the channel adds further elaboration to its boldly moulded sides and straight lines of black inlay, in the shape of a flat border, about a foot wide and carved with a conventional design of singularly soft outline.

In the centre of the Palace is the *chef d'œuvre*. Precious stones, carving, inlay, coloured marbles, all add their quota to the adornment of this work of art. A triple border, three feet wide, gently slopes towards the shallow basin in the middle. Each border is worthy of study, and each is well adapted to its position, with soft outline and flowing curve. Every design has as its basis the fan-shaped shell, the common theme being skilfully varied. Inlay of precious stones in the outer, and of lines of dark marble in the middle border give the necessary relief to the white marble (plate VII, *b*).

Within this trinity of borders is the centre-piece, a full blown lotus of 24 petals. Its calyx, represented by a fringe of curving leaves, forms a little basin, from which springs a circlet of flame-like petals embracing a round pedestal. The fountain now

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[1] Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ. *Op. cit.*, fol. 579.

[2] "Scale of Justice."

[3] Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire.* Constable, 1907, p. 267.

[4] *Ibidem*, p. 257.

lacks its crown, from which once bubbled the scented water, but, thanks again to another of Sayyid Aḥmad's pictures, we know what it was like. Rising some height above the water on a slender stem was a half-blown bud of the ubiquitous lotus, thin almost to transparency. Within it, no silver *jet d'eau* rising in a feathery plume as we should expect, but a soft welling of waters which, brimming over, fell tinkling into the basin below, keeping the face of the water in constant play.

The spandrils next the border are inlaid with marble and precious stones, but the design of flowers and leaves is somewhat thin and attenuated. Separating the basin from the channels is a narrow border adorned with a naïve little design of a rose and four leaves, strongly reminiscent of "broderie Anglaise."

Despite the spoliation of its jewels, the broken centre, and the lack of dancing waters, this fountain basin is still by far the most charming of those extant in the Fort, and is perhaps only surpassed in elegance by the fountain in the Muthamman Burj Pavilion at Agra. Even the facile-tongued Sayyid Aḥmad is at a loss to find words befitting its beauty:—"It has a tank the beauty of which baffles description. It is made of marble and fashioned in such a way that it resembles a full-blown flower. Its inlay of flowers and foliage in various coloured stones has been so finely executed that it is beyond the power of any one to describe it. Although the tank is seven *gaz* square yet it is of very little depth. It is just like the palm of a hand. The particular beauty of this basin is that, when it is full of rippling water, the foliage of the inlay work appears to wave to and fro. In its centre is a beautiful flowerlike cup of marble; moreover on each curving point and arched cusp, flowers and leaves of coloured stones spring from creeping plants and creeping plants from flowers and leaves. Within the cup you will find a hole through which the water bubbles out from a hidden channel underneath. The sheet of water falling from the edges of the cup and the waving of the plants and flowers under the dancing water are nothing less than a scene of magic."[1] Our other historian is likewise moved to enthusiasm. "In the midst of the central hall is a shallow tank designed on geometrical principles. It is decorated with points and on each point there is a hole through which the water of life bubbles out from the jets fixed above, enhancing the pleasantness of the surroundings and the beauty of the building. The mind of man on perceiving this wonder is amazed. The channels on the four sides, fed from this sunlike fountain, pour their waters in the form of a cascade into a basin made of one piece of marble, and on leaving this the water flows into the main channel running in the midst (of the garden). The stone of this basin is one of the wonders of the world and came from the Makrāna Quarry. By order of His Majesty, the basin was made square, four *gaz* by four *gaz*,[2] with a depth of one and a half *gaz*. It was brought by means of a hundred mechanical contrivances from Makrāna to Shāhjahānābād, a distance of one hundred *kuroh*[3] and placed here."[4]

The basin, to which the historian refers, is at present in the Queen's Gardens, but will soon be restored to its original position immediately below the façade of the

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[1] *Loc. cit.*

[2] These dimensions give the size as 10′ 8″ square by 4′ 0″ deep. The actual size is 10′ 3″ by 3′ 10″ deep.

[3] *Kuroh* is equal to about two miles. The distance as the crow flies between Makrāna and Delhi is about 186 miles.

[4] *Op. cit.*: fol. 582.

Maḥall in the centre of a small marble tank, the greater part of which has been found *in situ* (see Fig. 1). At one time this was decorated with a cusped and trefoiled border, but it is sadly mutilated now. In the plinth of the hall and immediately behind the tank is a double row of eleven niches, and in front of these—gay with flowers in vases in the daytime and twinkling with candles at night—the water poured. Filling the square basin, it overflowed into the tank below and glided onwards to the garden.

"Another branch of the channel flows from east to west in this Palace and falls in the form of a cascade into the tank placed in the courtyard in front of the Palace. Each arm of the channel is decorated with inlay and mosaic work."[1] Thus Sayyid Aḥmad, and again elsewhere he says, "In front of the central door towards the court

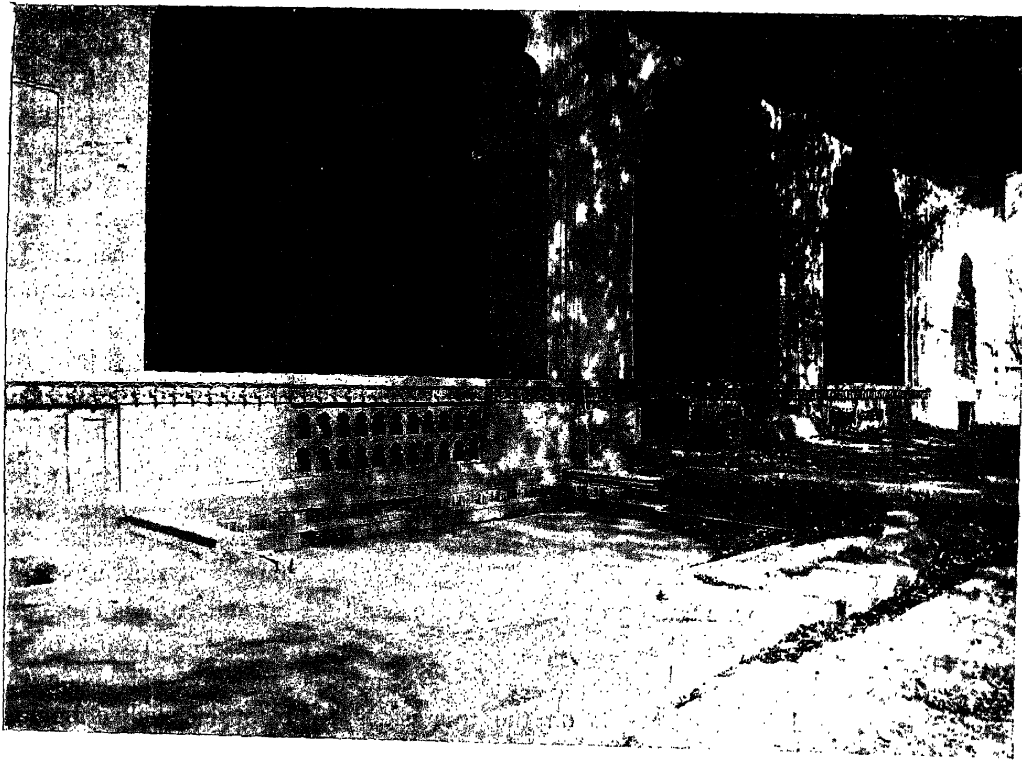
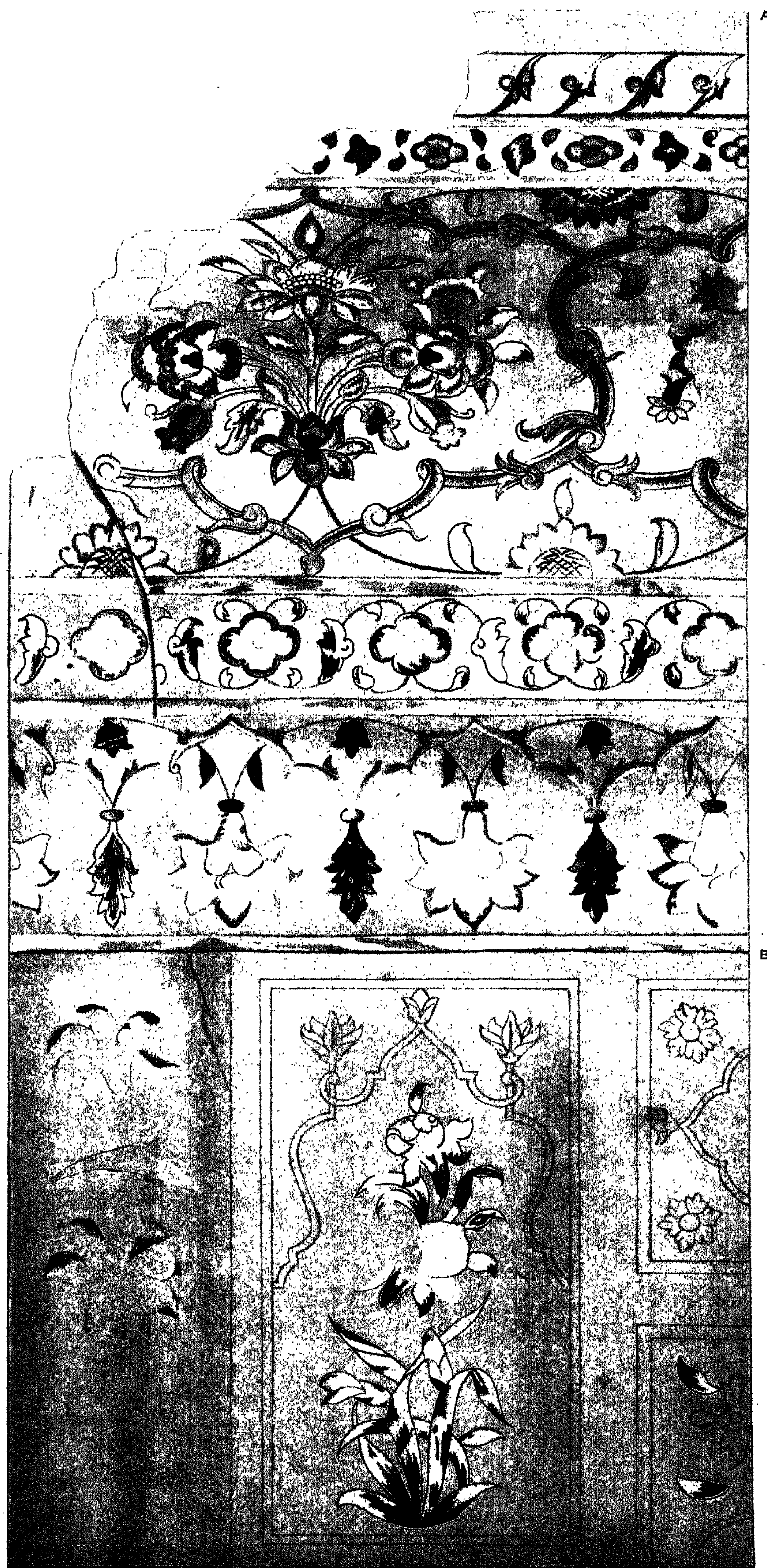


Fig. 1.

there is a big tank of one piece of durable marble, into which a sheet of water, three *gaz* broad, falls from a height of one and a half *gaz*. From this basin the water falls into the tank beneath it and then, joining the channel, flows through all the waterways of the garden."

Traces of the channel referred to have been unearthed besides a large central tank of red sandstone. The delimitations of the garden have also been fixed by excavation, but the foundations are rather complicated, as many additions appear to have been made from time to time. However, abundant evidence is there to guide us in the resuscitation of this garden, which it is hoped will be carried out in the next few years in conjunction with the Ḥayāt Bakhsh Bāgh and the intervening spaces. The

[1] *Loc. cit.*



COLOUR DECORATION ON THE MARBLE CORNICE.

lines of the old buildings will be marked by banks of shrubs while the original lay-out of the garden will be indicated by stretches of grass and *bajri* paths. Sayyid Aḥmad's description of the garden is interesting. " The courtyard was so extensive that a garden was laid out in it with channels dotted with jets. All of these are destroyed now[1] and instead of these palaces wretched houses have been built.[2] In former times there was a tank in the Palace, 50 *gaz* by 48, with five jets in it and a channel with twenty-five jets. It had also an orchard, 107 *gaz* by 115, which was surrounded by a screen-like railing of red stone, and the railing was decorated with two thousand finials of gold. On the three sides of the courtyard beautiful houses and charming arcades were built, seventeen *gaz* wide, and below the plinth of the Palace on the west side, lay this garden."[3]

This account of the garden is very accurate in the main points, and it must be borne in mind that the author was writing just before the Mutiny, and we should therefore expect his description to agree with the garden as we find it, save for modern additions.

The tank, which measures 126′ 0″ by 123′ 6″ as compared with 133′ 4″ by 128′ 0″ of the description, is placed centrally in the space between the back of the Diwān-i-'Āmm and the façade of the Rang Maḥall. There are clear indications on the west wall of the Khāṣṣ Maḥall and there are also foundations to locate the position of the return arcades referred to[4] and to show that the garden was an exact square of 307′ 0″ instead of 285′ 8″ by 306′ 4″ as given by the historian. The foundations of the surrounding houses and arcades on the north and south have been located by test pits, and their dimensions approximate to those given by Sayyid Aḥmad. The colonnade on the third or west side was a continuation of the projecting block at the back of the Diwān-i-'Āmm. Through this the Emperor passed from his private apartments to the Hall of Justice.

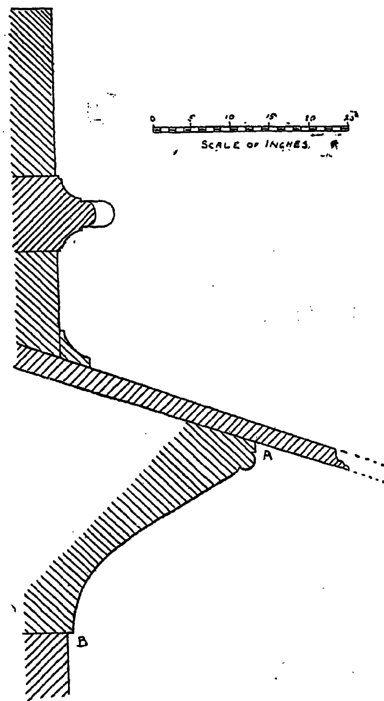


Fig. 2.

From the back of the King's private entrance to the Jharokā there is an open gallery overlooking the garden and thence a winding stairway leads direct to the colonnade below. It is easy to imagine the Emperor, wearied with the ministration of justice or bored by an audience of foreign embassies, seeking with relief the cool of the Maḥall, resplendent with colour and marble, and musical with the subdued murmur of falling waters, and the voices of his chosen ladies.

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1 The first edition of *Āthāru-ṣ-ṣanādīd* was published in 1847.

2 *Cf.* Heber, *A Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India.* London, 1828. Vol. II, pp. 297-305.

3 *Op. cit.*

4 The northern arcade gave access to the stairs leading to the Khixre gate below the Muthamman Burj. These arcades, however, appear to have been but 20 feet wide instead of 45 feet.

From the Rang Maḥall the Emperor passed across a narrow court to his private apartments under the arcade before the scales of justice. This façade is of white marble and now shows no sign of having been coloured, all traces having been bleached out by the blaze of the sun which beats fiercely on this wall throughout the day. Until recently there was a buttress wall jutting out some 3 feet into the court at the west angle. A careful inspection showed that neither this wall nor the one in a corresponding position on the north side of the Khāṣṣ Maḥall was structurally necessary, and, as they were obviously of modern construction, the core being of modern bricks, they were demolished. It was then discovered that considerable traces of colour (plate VIII) remained high up the wall where the protecting *chajja* had cast its shadow (Fig. 2). From this it is safe to presume that the elaborate painted decoration of the interior originally extended to the exterior of the building, and I believe this instance to be unique.

R. FROUDE TUCKER.

TAKHT-I-AKBARĪ AT KALĀNŪR.

THE story of Humāyūn's tragic death is too well known to need repetition. Immediately after the accident a courier was despatched from Dīn Panāh to Prince Jalālu-d-Dīn, afterwards the Emperor Akbar, with news of what had befallen the Emperor. At the time, the prince was in command of an expedition against Sikandar Sūr, who had retired to the mountain fastnesses of the Himālayas. He was not yet 14 years of age and the real direction of the army was in the hands of Bairām Khān, whom he affectionately styled his "bāba."

"When the army of fortune encamped near Hariāna, a swift courier arrived and apprised Bairām Khān of his Majesty Jahānbānī's fall. Bairām Khān did not think it expedient to advance further, and moved the army to Kalānūr, in order that they might halt some days in that pleasant place.[1] Near Kalānūr, Naẓr Shaikh Cūlī [2] arrived and produced the sublime mandate." [3]

It seems doubtful if this mandate,[4] which held forth hopes of the Emperor's speedy recovery, was actually sent by Humāyūn himself; for he appears to have been unconscious during the four days that elapsed before his death on the 11th Rabī 'I 963 A. H. A third messenger was at once despatched to Prince Jalālu-d-Dīn, and appears to have arrived close on the heels of the others. After a lapse of twenty days (from Humāyūn's death), a delay the reason for which is not very evident, Akbar "began to honour and adorn the throne of the sublimat, under an auspicious star, on Friday, the 2nd of the month of Rabī'ul-avval, in the year 963, in the garden of Kalānūr, which to this day they have not finished laying out. Then he sent messages of conciliation and courtesy to the Amīrs of the frontier, so that the Khuṭbah [5] was

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[1] Kalānūr appears to have been a favourite camping ground. In January 1526, Humāyūn encamped there and Fērōz Tughlaq hunted there. Then a place of some importance, it is now a village decaying on the ruins of its predecessors.

[2] According to Badāoni this name should be Joli and Ferishtah and Nizāmu-d-din Aḥmad spell it Jūli.

[3] *Akbarnāmah.* Translated by Beveridge. *Bibliotheca Indica,* Vol. I, 1903, p. 662.

[4] A translation of this is given in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XL, 1871. For the political reasons for the issue of this Firman *cf. The History of Humāyūn* by Gul Badan Begam, translated by Anette J. Beveridge. Oriental Trans: Fund. New Series I, London, 1902, p. 54-5.

[5] Erskine (History of India under Baber and Humāyūn. Vol. II, p. 529) says that the prayer for the Emperor was recited in the name of Akbar in the grand mosque at Delhi on *Rabī* 'I 28th. This would be some four days before Akbar was actually crowned. The mosque was of course the Qil'a Kuhna Masjid in Purānā Qil'a.

read also at Dilhi."[1] Latif tells us that Akbar's first act was to issue "an order from the throne prohibiting the collection of *Nazrāna*, which was levied on the occasion of a royal installation."[2]

The scene of this epoch-making event lies about a mile to the east of the town of Kalānūr, some 14 miles from Gurdāspūr, in the district of that name. Little now remains to mark the spot. A simple *chibūtra* of plaster-coated brick, 37′ 6″ square and some four feet high, rises from a platform of nearly double this area, overgrown with vegetation. The paved border, which surrounded it, has almost entirely vanished under the encroaching fields. In the centre of the *chibūtra* is a tank, 13′9″ square and some 4′6″ deep, now filled with débris. The angles were enriched with moulded steps and the waters of the tank overflowed down scalloped chutes of plaster, painted red, into four miniature reservoirs at the foot of the platform. Little flights of steps on either side of the chutes lead on to the *chibūtra* from every side except the west.

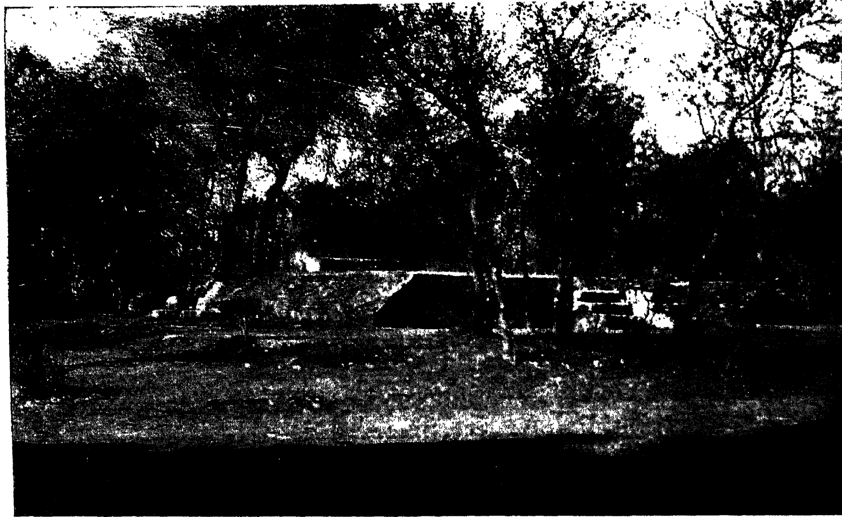


Fig 1.

On this side is the throne, a plain brick structure, 18′ long, 5′ 9″ wide and 3′ high, with a single step extending its full length. A plain moulding returns along its upper edge, but beyond this there is no decoration. In place of the crimson awning on gilded standards, a drooping *bēr* tree serves as a canopy, year by year shedding a carpet of leaves on the throne where Akbar was crowned Emperor of Hindustān (Fig. 1).

Of the garden, which was afterwards laid out round the throne, little remains except the wells. Of late years, every brick of the pavilions and kiosks has been delivered over by Philistines to swell the embankments of the Amritsar-Pathānkot Railway.

Proposals for the conservation of this interesting relic have been submitted to the Government of the Punjab, and it is hoped that the site will shortly be reclaimed from the encroaching fields and vegetation which are fast obliterating it. Thus will a tardy recognition be paid to the historic spot that witnessed the crowning of the greatest of the Mughals.

R. FROUDE TUCKER.

[1] *Al-Badāoni.* Translated by Ranking. Calcutta, 1898, Vol. II, p. 1.
[2] Latif. *History of the Punjab.* Calcutta, 1891, p. 135.

NOTES ON CONSERVATION IN BURMA.

DURING the year 1907-08, R68,475 was expended, in Burma, on archæological works, as compared with R1,25,930 in the previous year. Of this amount, R12,000 was a grant-in-aid from the Imperial revenues. The reduction in expenditure was due to retrenchment, owing to drought and famine, in the Provincial Public Works Department Budget.

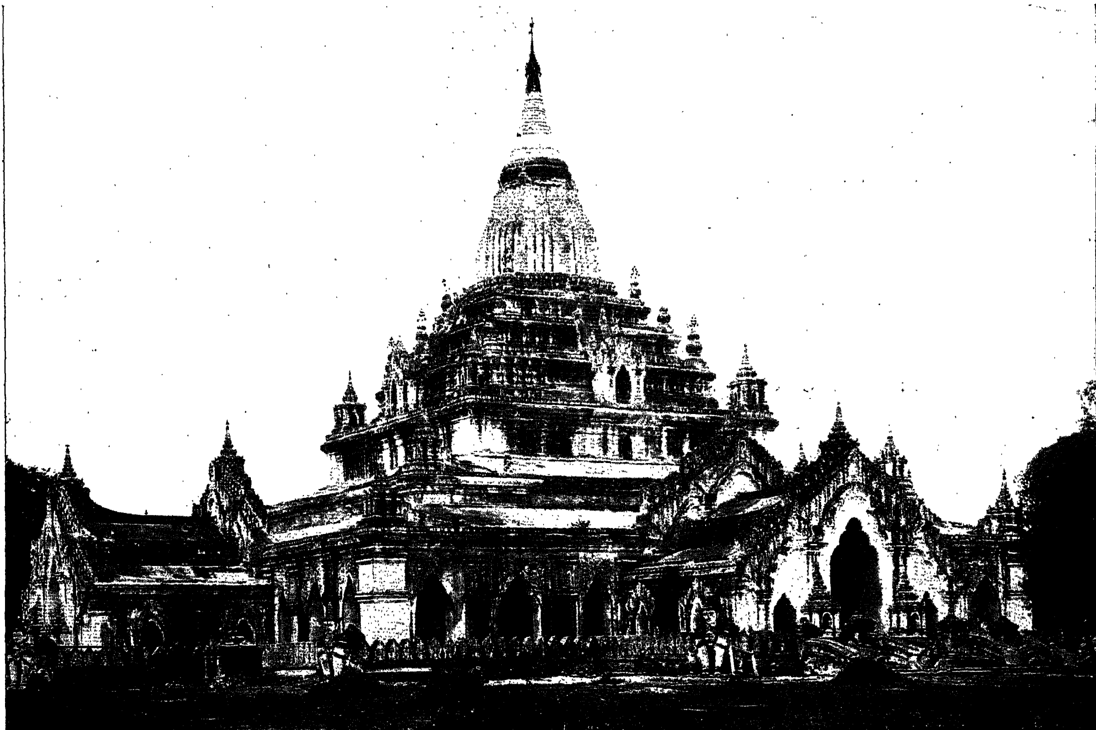


Fig. 1.—Taungthaman Kyauktawgyi Pagoda.

The activities of the Public Works Department were centred at Mandalay, Pagan, Sagaing, and Prome. The majority of the conservation works undertaken

presented no characteristic features of architectural interest; but a special treatment was accorded to the following monuments:

(*i*) The Taungthaman Kyauktawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura (Fig. 1);
(*ii*) The Nanpaya Temple, Pagan (Plate IX *a* and *b* and Fig. 2);
(*iii*) The Tupayon Pagoda, Sagaing (Plate IX, *c*);
(*iv*) The Sinbyumè Pagoda, Sagaing (Plate X, *a*);
(*v*) The Mingun Bell, Sagaing (Plate X, *b*); and
(*vi*) The Bawbawgyi Pagoda, Prome (Plate X, *c*).

The Taungthaman Kyauktawgyi Pagoda was built in 1847 by King Pagan, the immediate predecessor of Mindon Min. It is the best preserved of the numerous religious structures at the deserted capital of Amarapura, and exemplifies a type of architecture, which, though borrowed from the Indian designs at Pagan, was constructed entirely by Burmese architects. The artistic interest of the temple lies in the numerous frescoes, with which its four porches are adorned. They represent religious buildings, in various styles of architecture, built or repaired by Pagan Min at Sagaing, Amarapura, Ava, Pakangyi, Prome and Rangoon, and the planets and constellations according to Burmese ideas of Astronomy. The human figures also possess an ethnographical interest as they depict the dresses and customs of the period.

In building this shrine, the model taken was the Ananda Pagoda at Pagan, which was erected by King Kyanzittha in 1090 A.D.[1] There was an interval of a little more than seven centuries and a half between the construction of the two temples, and the achievement must be pronounced to be a fair success. The prototype is awe-inspiring from the chastity of its design and the simplicity of its grandeur, while one's religious sense is bewildered by the extraordinary wealth of detail and the amount of fantastic ornamentation lavished on the later edifice. In the nineteenth century, the Burmans had apparently forgotten much of their knowledge of architecture in brick and stone, and were accustomed to build and carve in wood; hence one serious defect of the Amarapura Pagoda, which is conducive to its instability, is the use of wooden beams and joists in the interior aisles.

The Pagoda is still an object of worship and in an excellent state of preservation. The measures taken for its conservation mainly consisted of making its multiple roofs water-tight and of clearing the vegetation within its circuit walls.

The best specimen of stone architecture at Pagan, if not in the whole Province, is the Nanpaya, erected in 1059 A. D., by Manuha, the last King of the Talaings. (*Cf.* Plate IX, *a* and *b* and Fig. 2.) The *śikhara* on its top indicates its descent from Indian prototypes. It has a true orientation, as its porch, pierced by a stone window on either side, faces the east. The main building is lighted by three stone windows on each of its three sides as well as by sky-lights at the basement of the *śikhara*. Each of the windows is surmounted by a highly decorated arch, whose

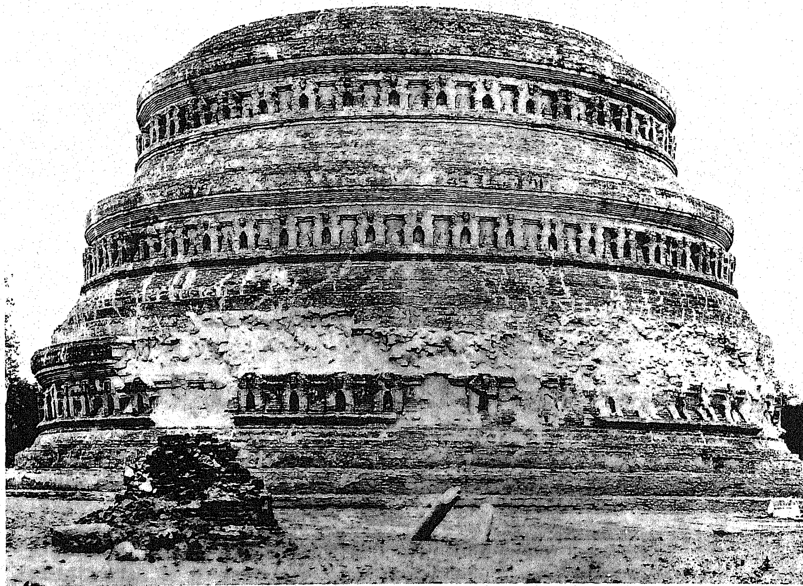
[1] A. S R., 1903-4, p. 72, and Pl. XXIX.



a. FIGURE OF BRAHMA, NANPAYA TEMPLE.



b. CARVINGS ON WALLS OF NANPAYA TEMPLE.



c. TUPAYON PAGODA.

centre is supported by a vase, and on whose summit sits a Hindu deity [Fig. 2.]



Fig. 2. Stone window, Nanpaya.

The wealth of ornamentation lies in the frieze below the cornice, the corners of the building, and the frieze at the basement. The upper frieze consists of heads of ogres disgorging chaplets of pearls, and the lower of *hamsa* birds (Brahmany duck), each encased in a floral panel, carrying a flower. The *hamsa* bird, which is noted for its purity and conjugal fidelity, and which is also the *vāhana* or vehicle of Brahmā, is the national emblem of the Talaings. The triangular wreaths, enclosing heads of ogres and pointing apex to apex at the corners of the walls, are bold in design and well executed. The decorations on the outside of the building are carved on soft sandstone of a dark grey colour, which has much weathered (Plate IX, *b*). The sculptor's art is at its best in the decoration of the four pillars flanking the sanctuary in the main building. On two sides of each pillar are carved the four-faced Brahmā, the creator of the Universe, holding lotus flowers in each hand. The anatomy of the figure and its facial expression are excellent of their kind. The broad forehead, the firm mouth, the thin lips, and the well-developed chin indicate high intellectual power[1] (Plate IX, *a*) to Buddhists.

The Temple is built partly of stone and partly of brick, and the preservation of the stone mouldings at the base is a costly work requiring considerable technical skill. An estimate of R8,456 was sanctioned, out of which R2,665 had been expended when the year closed.

The Tupayon Pagoda at Sagaing (Plate IX, *c*) reflects a distinct stage in the development of religious architecture in Burma, and its type is not met with at Pagan or elsewhere. It was built in the 15th century A.D. by Narapatisithu, King of Ava, was destroyed by the earthquake of 1838 A.D., and repaired by Pagan Min in 1850 A.D. Two years later, the King was dethroned by his brother, Mindon Min, and his pious work was left incomplete. It is a cylindrical structure with three circular terraces, each of which is decorated with a band of niches, intended for holding small images of the Buddha. It is 393 feet in circumference at the base, and is 67 feet high. Its precincts were cleared of vegetation and débris; the steps on the North and South sides were repaired; and its summit was crowned by a water-tight low coping of concrete. These minor works were carried out at a cost of nearly R6,000.

[1] *Cf.* Figs. 1—4 of Brahmā at pp. 171—173, *A. S. R.*, 1906-7.

The Sinbyumè Pagoda (Plate X, *a*) was built, in 1816 A.D., by King Bagyidaw, while he was yet Heir Apparent, in order to commemorate the death of his wife, the Sinbyumè Princess. It was built in the form of the Sūḷamaṇi Pagoda in the *Tāvatiṁsa* heaven, which is supposed to enshrine the hair of Siddhattha, cut off at the time of his renunciation. *Tāvatiṁsa* is situated on the top of Mount Meru, the centre of the universe. It is surrounded by seven concentric ranges of mountains, and safeguarded by five kinds of mythical monsters called the Nāga, Garuḍa, Kumbhāṇḍha, Yakkha, and Gandhabba, to each of which a separate region is assigned.

Yule visited it in 1855 A.D., and describes it in the following terms in his "Mission to Ava" (page 172): "The basement, which formed the bulk of the structure, consisted of seven concentric circular terraces, each with a parapet of a curious serpentine form. These parapets rose one above and within the other, like the walls of Ecbatana as described by Herodotus. The only ascent appeared to be from the east. In the parapet of every terrace were, at intervals, niches looking outwards, in which were figures of *nats* and warders in white marble, of half life size. A great circular wall inclosed the whole at some distance from the base. It was difficult to ascertain the nature of the central structure, so shattered was it by the earthquake. The whole (though round instead of square in plan) had a great general resemblance to the large ancient pyramidal temple in Java called Bore Buddor, as described by Raffles and Crawfurd, but this Mengoon structure was not, I think, very old, and I doubt if the resemblance was more than accidental."

The building was severely shattered by the earthquake of 1838 A.D., and Yule saw it in a ruinous condition. It was, however, restored by King Mindon towards the close of his reign (1874). In 1876, Colonel E. B. Sladen read a paper on it before the Royal Asiatic Society, London, which is printed at page 406, Volume IV, of the Society's Journal, together with remarks by Colonel Yule and others. Fergusson has also noticed it at page 624 of his "*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*."

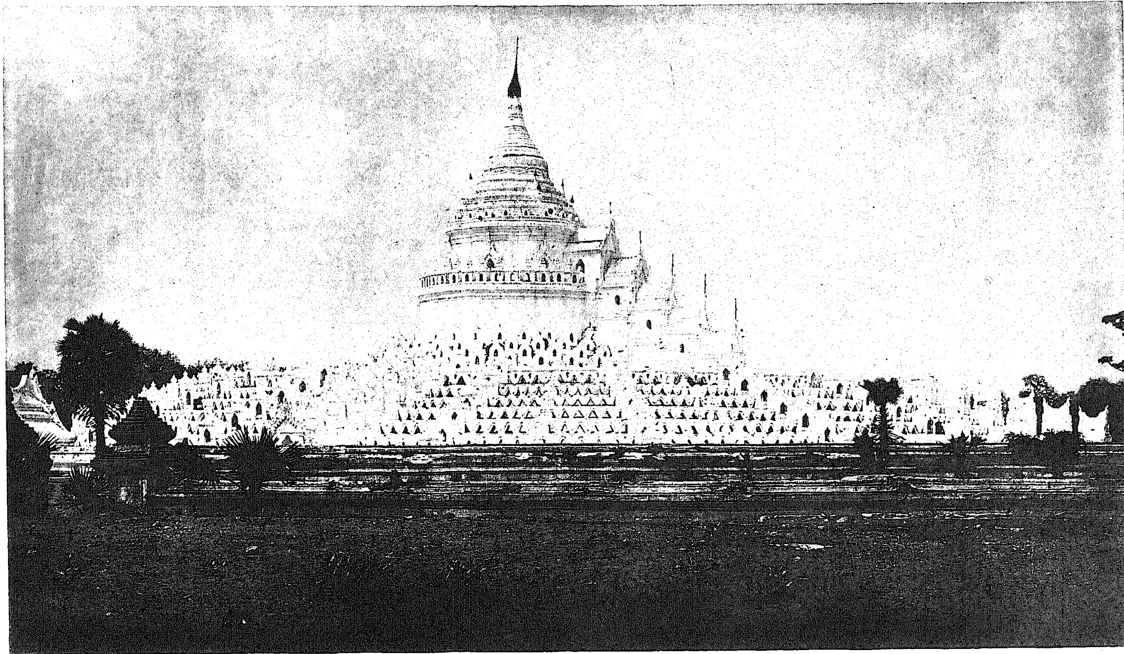
A small expenditure of R840 was incurred in grouting the cracks of this Pagoda, and in repairing its steps.

The Mingun Bell (Plate X, *b*) was cast in 1790 A. D. by King Bodawpaya, to be dedicated to the Mingun Pagoda, which was never completed, and is now in ruins. Its weight is about 90 tons, and is the second largest bell in the world, being one-third of that at Moscow and fourteen times of that of St. Paul's. Its supports were destroyed by the earthquake of 1838, and it rested on the ground till 1896, when it was raised, slung on an iron beam, and placed in a suitable shed, under the supervision of the Deputy Commissioner, Sagaing. Its principal dimensions are:—

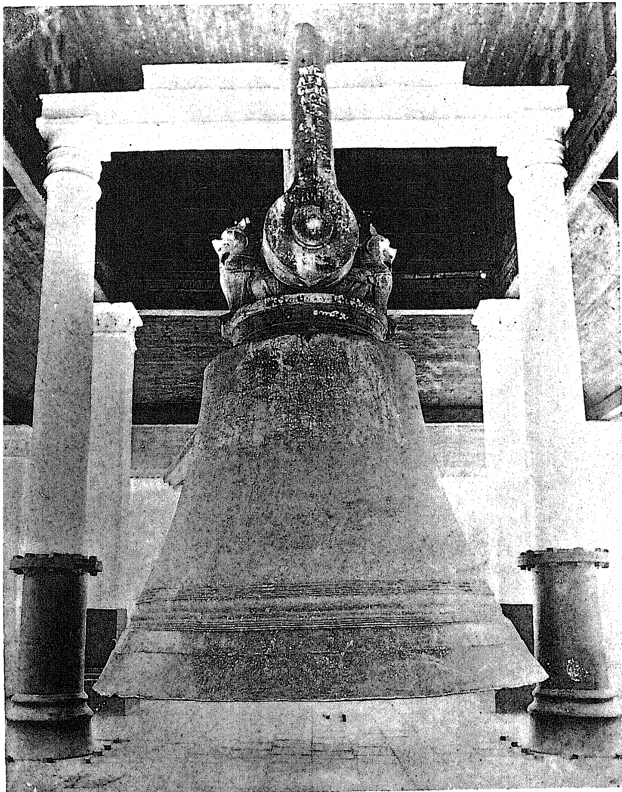
External diameter at the lip	16′ 3″
Internal diameter, 4′ 8″ above the lip	10′ 0″
Interior height	11′ 6″
Exterior height	12′ 0″
Interior diameter at top	8′ 6″

The thickness of metal varies from six to twelve inches.

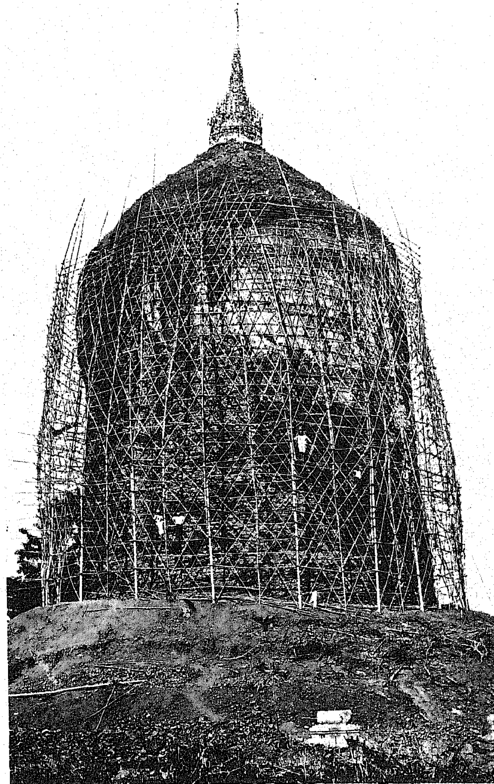
Necessary repairs were done to the shelter over the Bell, and the cement flooring was replaced by flag-stones at a cost of R1,313.



a. SINBYUME PAGODA.



b. MINGUN BELL.



c. BAWBAWGYI PAGODA.

Conservation works were, for the first time, started at Prome or "Śrīkshētra," which, according to the Buddhist Chronicles, was founded by King Duttabaung, 101 years after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha, *i.e.*, in the year 442 B.C. Three pagodas were selected for conservation, the most interesting of which is the Bawbawgyi pagoda (Plate X, *c*). It is situated at Hmawza, about 5 miles to the East of Prome. This edifice may be described as a cylindrical dome resting on three receding terraces and crowned with an iron *ti*. It has a slight indentation in the centre, and the upper portion below the *ti* is shaped like a cone, or the termination of a phallic emblem. It is 153 feet high from the natural ground level to the top of the *ti*, and is 240 feet in circumference. The measurements of the height of its several parts are as follows :—

Terraces	26′
Body of pagoda	73′
Conical dome	24′
Amalaka	5′
Ti	25′
	153′

There are three peculiarities in the construction of the Bawbawgyi, which are not noticeable in the shrines of Pagan :

(*i*) The exposed surface of the brick work on the body of the Pagoda is notched in squares so as to increase the adhesive qualities of the plaster.

(*ii*) The core of the Pagoda, which is 80 feet high and 10 feet in diameter, is pierced by a vertical hollow shaft, in order apparently to secure economy.

(*iii*) On the north face, two parallel lines, about 4 feet in breadth, run along the whole length of the cylindrical dome, almost detaching a thin strip of brick work from the structure. These lines indicate that the outer covering, which is in layers, was built in a circular form, and that a small segment was added to complete the whole structure.

The pagoda was found to be covered with thick jungle near the base, and passages had been cut into it by treasure hunters. The jungle at the base and the vegetation found growing on the pagoda were destroyed, and the débris was cleared.

The inscriptions, sculptures, and votive tablets, discovered at Hmawza in the course of excavations, appear to connect ancient Prome with Northern India in the Gupta period, and its monuments may probably be assigned to the 9th century A. D.[1] While the earliest historical buildings of Pagan date from the 11th century A. D., it would appear that the Bawbawgyi and the other Pagodas of Hmawza would carry us, at least, 200 years earlier.

TAW SEIN KO.

[1] The 9th century A.D. appears to me too late for some of the sculptures found at Prome. I should assign them on stylistic grounds to at least a century earlier (Ed.)

EXPLORATION AND RESEARCH.

IN previous Annual Reports my introduction to the section on Exploration and Research has taken the form of a brief but, I think, fairly complete summary of the year's work, intended particularly for the convenience of those readers who may want to ascertain what are the main results of our labours, without wading through all the long and detailed articles of each Report. Now, however, that our discoveries are being regularly chronicled by me in the pages of the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* where they appear long before our own more bulky official records can possibly be published, it becomes quite superfluous to reprint similar summaries in these Reports. Accordingly, I purpose henceforth to confine myself to a few comments on such points in the special contributions as seem to call for them, and to noticing any discoveries of interest, which do not find a place in the body of the Report.

In his concluding remarks on the Excavations at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh, Dr. Vogel observes that their chief result has been to settle the much disputed question of the identity of the site with the ancient city of Śrāvastī, and the neighbouring Jētavana. The new finds of Dr. Vogel and Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, and particularly the copper-plate grant unearthed from the foundations of Monastery 19, would certainly seem sufficient to justify Dr. Vogel in regarding the question as conclusively settled. Yet one authority at any rate, Mr. Vincent Smith, still remains unconvinced[1], and it is as well, therefore, that I should state here that, since Dr. Vogel wrote his report, the operations at Sahēṭh have been resumed again under my own supervision, and that still another statue of Kushaṇa date has been brought to light bearing the name of the Jētavana at Śrāvastī. In favour, therefore, of the identification we now have the following facts:—

1. The topography of the site agrees accurately with the descriptions of Śrāvastī given by the Chinese pilgrims and other writers. The most salient features in these descriptions are these—

(*a*) In the time of Hiuen Thsang the walls of the royal precincts[2] measured 20 *li* in circuit. The walls of Mahēṭh are approximately 3¼ miles long.

(*b*) In the Daśakumāracharita[3] we read that the city of Śrāvastī was situated

[1] See *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 792, n. 3.
[2] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 1, n. 2.
[3] *Vide J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 531.

on the bank of a river An old bed of the Rāptī lies close under the northern walls of Mahēṭh, and the present bed is hardly a mile away.

(*c*) Both the Chinese pilgrims agree in placing the Jētavana to the south of the city, and Fa-Hian tells us that it lay 1,200 yards from the south gate. The ruins known as Sahēṭh lie south and west of the city of Mahēṭh; and the distance to Sahēṭh from the Bāzār Gate of the city, which was certainly the chief gate on the south side, is just about 1,200 yards.

(*d*) The dimensions of Sahēṭh, including the lower mounds to the East, which manifestly formed part of the original site, correspond precisely with the 1,000 cubits square of the Ceylonese tradition.[1]

2. When General Cunningham set to work to excavate the site, he found a colossal Bōdhisattva statue of the Kushaṇa period, which, according to an inscription incised on its pedestal, was put up by a certain monk Bala at the Promenade of the Blessed One in the Kōsambakuṭī in Śrāvastī.[2]

3. The same record is carved on an umbrella post now in the Lucknow Museum, which there is good reason to believe was unearthed at Sahēṭh during Dr. Hoey's excavations there.

4. An inscribed copper-plate was discovered in Monastery 19, which records the gift of six villages to the Community of Monks residing at the Jētavana-mahāvihāra.

5. Four of these villages can be identified with villages in the near vicinity of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh; it is true that one of the names, Paṭṭaṇā, is common enough in India. But the others are not, and, even if they were common, it would be more than strange if they could all be found elsewhere within so small an area.

6. Another statue of Kushaṇa date has since been discovered at Sahēṭh, which also bears the name of the Jētavana at Śrāvastī.

Opposed to this array of positive evidence, we have the statements of the two Chinese pilgrims, who place Śrāvastī at a distance of about 12 *yōjanas* and 500 *li*, respectively, from Kapilavastu, and agree, more or less, in stating that the direction was north-westerly; whereas Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh is situated at a distance of less than 60 miles in a west-south-westerly direction from Kapilavastu.[3] It is no doubt right to insist on the general trustworthiness of the Chinese pilgrims, and to emphasise the danger of disregarding their statements, unless they can conclusively be shown to be wrong. But errors in both pilgrims are easy to find[4]; and when, as in this case, every fresh monumental record proves them to be at fault, it is surely going too far to set the evidence of those monuments aside on the assumption that one and all of them have been transported from elsewhere.

Another question which seems to call for some comment is that touched on by Dr. Spooner in the last two paragraphs of his account of the excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī, where he takes the opportunity of breaking a lance with Mr. Havell on the

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1 *Vide* S. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 224.

2 *Vide J. A. S. B.*, Vol. lxvii, Pt. 2, p. 278.

3 The error of distance is not difficult to explain. There can be no doubt that the pilgrims reckoned their distances according to the time it took to traverse them; and in this case they may have had a far more difficult country to traverse than the modern traveller has. Possibly, too, the road was more circuitous than it is now.

4 A striking instance of Hiuen Thsang's exaggeration of distance is to be found in his account of Mount Gṛidhrakūṭa at Rajgir.

subject of Indian art. In estimating the relative excellence of the many sculptures recovered by him at that site, Dr. Spooner expresses the view that, the older those sculptures are, the more nearly do they approximate to the Hellenistic ideal; that, as time goes on, they become more and more mechanical and meaningless; and that the latest examples are mere grotesque abnormities, wholly devoid of beauty or spirituality. No one, I imagine, is likely to dispute the general truth of Dr. Spooner's proposition, which is admitted, so far as I know, by every competent archæologist who has made a study of Gandhāran art; though doubtless, if the date of every sculpture produced by that school could be ascertained, plenty of exceptions would be found among them to the general rule. Granting, however, that the history of Gandhāran art is a history of degeneration from start to finish, it is still not quite apparent why Dr. Spooner finds it necessary to assail Mr. Havell's views. If my memory serves me aright, the latter insists on the highly spiritual quality of the Indian conception of the Divine, as he finds it manifested, for example, in sculptures of the Gupta epoch; and he contends that this spirituality did not, and could not, find expression in the art of Gandhāra or in any other school of art based on Western Classical traditions, which he regards as antagonistic to its development. In his opinion, therefore, it was only with the decay of the overpowering Hellenistic influences which permeated into India from the North-West, that true Indian art was able to blossom forth and flourish. But is there anything in this view inconsistent with Dr. Spooner's own proposition? Obviously, it is not to be supposed that the special qualities of true Indian art, on which Mr. Havell lays such emphasis, could be traced in each and every one of the later and degenerate sculptures discussed by Dr. Spooner. Indeed, it may be doubted if any one of the sculptures in question could be singled out as exhibiting those particular traits. But, surely, this is only what we should expect. For Indian art did not, in this case, oust the Hellenistic tradition. It was the decay of the latter which rendered possible the birth and growth of an indigenous Indian school; and these crude and spiritless images belong to a time when the influence of that school had not yet made itself felt, but when the art of Gandhāra was at its lowest ebb.

Reference has been made in previous Reports to the efforts that Government was making to recover the pillars belonging to the famous railing at Bōdh-Gayā, which were so long hidden away in an obscure corner of the Mahant's house. It is very gratifying to be able to state that these efforts have been crowned with success, and that the pillars in question are now standing alongside their fellows around the temple. The existence of these pillars has, of course, been known for many years, and they were long ago noticed and partly illustrated in publications relating to Bōdh-Gayā. But, built as they were into the verandah and walls of the house, some of their most interesting features were effectually concealed from view. One such feature is an inscription which the late Dr. Bloch read as follows:—

Rañō Brahmamitrasa pājāvatiyē Nāgadēvayē dānaṁ,

i.e., 'This pillar is the gift of Nāgadēvā, the queen of king Brahmamitra.'

The queen of king Indramitra is also mentioned as the donor of another pillar, and Dr. Bloch identified these two kings with the Indramitra and Brahmamitra, whose copper coins have been found in Northern India.[1] Both of

[1] *Cf.* Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 80 and 84.

them belonged to or were contemporaries of the Śuṅga dynasty, and it follows, therefore, that this portion at any rate of the Bōdh-Gayā railing belonged to the same epoch, or, in other words, that 'it is something like a hundred years later than Aśōka, whose name has been wrongly brought into connexion with it by the modern expression *Aśōka railing at Bōdh-Gayā.*[1] Among the reliefs on these newly-recovered pillars is the famous Sūrya panel, in which the Sun God appears driving a four-horse chariot, manifestly copied from a Greek model. Another figure[2] which strikes me as of great interest, is one with the *ushṇīsha* portrayed on its head. Whom this figure is intended to represent, is not apparent; but, whoever it may be the sculpture is plainly of the Śuṅga period, and it proves, therefore, that the *ushṇīsha* was no new feature introduced by the Gandhāra artists.

In conclusion, it remains for me to refer to some trial excavations carried out by Mr. Taw Sein Ko at Prome in Burma, and I cannot do better than give the following account of the work furnished by the excavator himself. "According to the Burmese Chronicles, Prome or Śrīkshētra was founded by King Duttabaung 101 years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha. Its antiquity must be comparatively high, as it is often referred to in the Chinese annals of the Tang dynasty (618-907 A. D.) as the kingdom of the P'in and as it was known to the celebrated Chinese pilgrims Hiuen Thsang and I-tsing, who visited India in the seventh century A.D., and left trustworthy accounts of their travels. It is still known to the Hindus as Brahmodēsh, and the Irrawaddy (Airāvatī) river, on which it stands, is regarded by them as second only to the Ganges in its efficacy to wash away sin. During the solar eclipse of January, 1907, and the Ardhodaya Festival of February, 1908, large numbers of Hindus flocked to Prome to bathe in its sacred river. The ancient connection of Prome with India is further confirmed by the discovery, about fifteen years ago, at Lèbaw, a village seven miles to the south of the Hmawza railway station, of two gold scrolls containing the well-known Buddhist formula *Yē dhammā hētupabhavā,* etc., which are incised in the Eastern Chalukyan script dating from the seventh to tenth century A.D.[3]

"The site of Śrīkshētra is now called Yathemyo, the 'City of the Hermit,' and is five miles to the east of Prome, and the railway station of Hmawza is included within its area. The ruins, consisting of earthen ramparts, walled enclosures, burial grounds, and pagodas in all stages of decay, are found scattered within, roughly speaking, an area of 400 square miles, that is to say, within a distance of about 10 miles in the direction of the cardinal points from the railway station as the centre. So far, there are very few data available to throw light on the history of these remains. As to epigraphical records, two inscriptions in an unknown script were found, in 1907, by General de Beylié in the Bébé pagoda and Kyaukka Thein, and a broken piece of a votive tablet, containing seventeen effigies of the Buddha with a Sanskrit legend, was found, with many others, among the débris in the core of the Bawbawgyi Pagoda. Of the latter, Mr. Venkayya writes as follows :—' The scripts are written in Nāgarī characters which were current in Orissa and Northern India about the twelfth century A.D. I read it as follows :—ām=Anirudadēvēna ka(ā)—. The inscription is apparently broken both

[1] *Vide J. R. A. S.*, October 1908, p. 1096.
[2] *Loc. cit.*, Plate IV, fig. 4.
[3] Published *Epigraphia Indic*, vol. v. pp. 101.

at the beginning and at the end. It probably records that Anirud(dh)adēva made a present of the tablet on which the inscription is engraved, or that he prepared the mould in which it is cast.' Aniruddhadēva is the same as Anawrata, the hero-king of Pagan, who flourished in the eleventh century A.D. The native chronicles relate that, while building the Shwezigon Pagoda at Pagan, he deposited in its relic-chamber a number of holy relics which he had obtained by ransacking the ancient shrines of Prome. The records are, however, silent as to whether the Bawbawgyi was one of the edifices which he robbed. The discovery of this votive tablet at least indicates that this pagoda had acquired some sanctity even during the time of that great conqueror.

"Of the pagodas themselves, the best-preserved is the Bawbawgyi; and this one is now undergoing such measures as are necessary for its permanent upkeep. It is a cylindrical structure with a slight horizontal indentation about the middle, cone-shaped above, and crowned with an iron *ti*. The base consists of five terraces, 26 feet in height. The body of the pagoda is 73 feet high, the conical drum 24 feet, the *amalaka* 5 feet, and the *ti* 25 feet, making a total of 153 feet over all. A peculiarity of the Bawbawgyi is that in the middle of the pagoda is a vertical hollow, 10 feet in diameter and 80 feet high, a feature which I have found in none of the pagodas at Pagan.[1]

"Among the sculptures discovered is one which comes from the Zegu Pagoda.[2] In the upper panel the Buddha is represented, with an aureoled head, and flanked by two crowned and well-draped figures, each carrying a fly-flapper. In the centre of the lower panel is a tree flanked by two deer, on either side of which are two worshippers in an attitude of adoration."

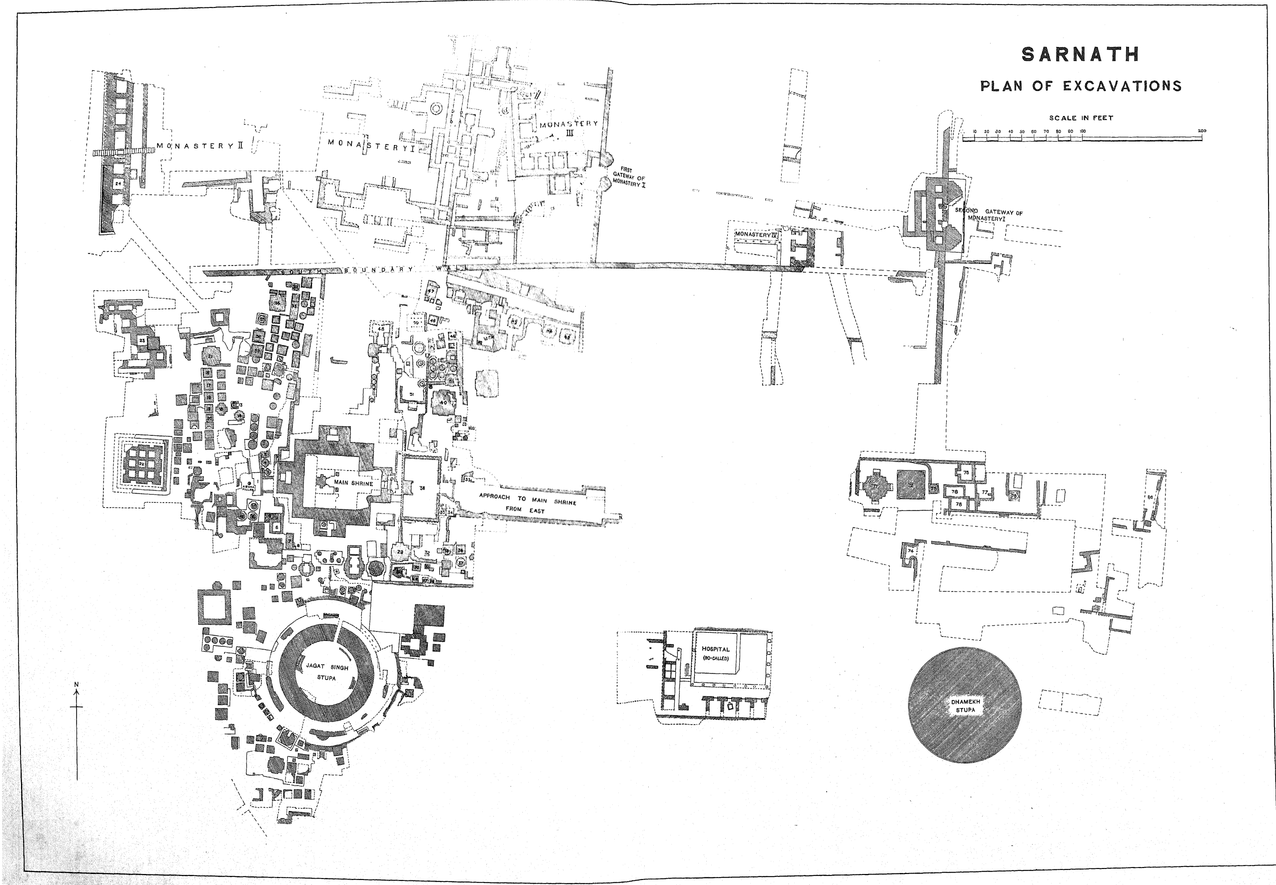
This sculpture appears to me plainly to derive its style from the familiar Gupta work of Northern India. It can hardly be assigned to a later date than the seventh century A.D., and may be earlier. The figures on each side of the tree (?) seem to me more like horses.

J. H MARSHALL.

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[1] A parallel to this may be found in the Maṇiyār Maṭh structure at Rājgīr, unearthed two years ago.

[2] *Vide J. R. A.*, October 1908, Plate viii, fig. 2.


SARNATH
PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS
SCALE IN FEET
MONASTERY II
MONASTERY I
MONASTERY III
FIRST GATEWAY OF MONASTERY I
SECOND GATEWAY OF MONASTERY I
MONASTERY IV
BOUNDARY WALL
MAIN SHRINE
APPROACH TO MAIN SHRINE FROM EAST
JAGAT SINGH STUPA
HOSPITAL (SO-CALLED)
DHAMEKH STUPA
N

EXCAVATIONS AT SĀRNĀTH, 1908.

DIGGING operations were resumed at Sārnāth on January 16th of this year and continued for a space of 8 weeks until March 12th. The main part of the work was confined to the northern side of the site, which in the previous season we had tentatively designated the " monastery area," but some further excavations with valuable results were also made in the *stūpa* area, particularly around the Jagat Singh *stūpa* and on the north side of the Dhamēkh Tower.

Monastery I.

It will be remembered that in 1907 we discovered, in the monastery area, a singularly imposing structure dating appoximately from the 12th century A.D. Little more than the eastern side of this building had been laid bare in that season, but there was sufficient, we believed, to enable us to reconstruct roughly the plan of the building. So far as the building has now been cleared, our ideas as to its plan prove to have been generally correct. As shown on Plate XI the whole of the southern side has now been unearthed and turns out to be precisely as we expected, while the walls on the northern side have been picked up at various points where we assumed them to exist. The northern side of the building, unfortunately, has been much more damaged than the southern, as the ground here shelves away to the *jhīl*, and there has been less accumulation of earth and débris to protect the foundations. It will probably not be worth while, therefore, to excavate further in this direction. The western side of the building has not yet been completely cleared, but it is already obvious that it cannot correspond in plan to either the eastern or southern side, and it is no less obvious that it will not be an easy matter to recover its plan with certainty. The difficulty which presents itself is this. At the south-west corner the surrounding wall of the quadrangle, round which the monastery is built, returns, as one would expect, towards the north, but after a space of 6 feet it breaks off abruptly, and there is no indication as to whether it continued further, or was returned again towards the east or west. The corresponding wall on the north is even more broken; and, to make the problem more difficult, there is a spacious concrete floor[1] on a level with the ground

[1] This floor, through an oversight, has not been indicated on the site plan; it will be shown in the next plan, when the operations at Sārnāth have been resumed.

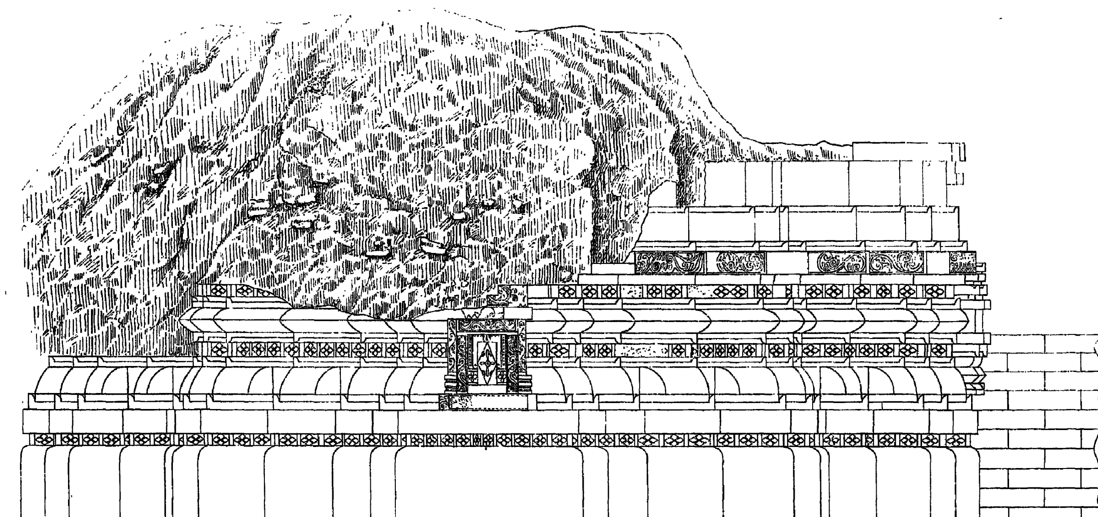
floor rooms of the monastery, which is too much broken away at its edges to allow us to make certain of its precise limits. Near the middle of this floor is the stone base of a column *in situ*, carved in identically the same style as the column bases and other architectural members found on the eastern side of the monastery; and traces also were found of another column having existed to its south. These columns must have been intended to carry an architrave and roof, and we may assume, therefore, that there was a large pillared hall or portico on this side of the monastery. But how was this hall connected with the inner quadrangle and with the buildings north and south of it? There is hope that the answer to the former question will be found when the clearance of the western side of the quadrangle is completed. Whether there will ever be sufficiently clear indications to answer the latter with certainty is doubtful.

The moulded brick plinth around the quadrangle and on the outside of the building was described by us last year, and there is nothing further in this year's discoveries to add to the details we gave of it, as it proves to be of precisely the same description on all sides of the building. As will be seen from the plan, there were projections from the main building on the south, east and north faces of the quadrangle, and in the centre of each face was a flight of steps. The flight on the east is relatively well preserved and was illustrated in last year's report, but on the south only the brick walls flanking the steps are preserved, and there is still less remaining on the north. A peculiarity of these flights of steps is that they start from a slightly higher level than the floor of the quadrangle, and must therefore have been put in later. The mouldings, however, of the wall behind them are not carried right through, and it follows that the original plan provided for steps in these positions. Perhaps they were at first put in in wood, and subsequently changed.

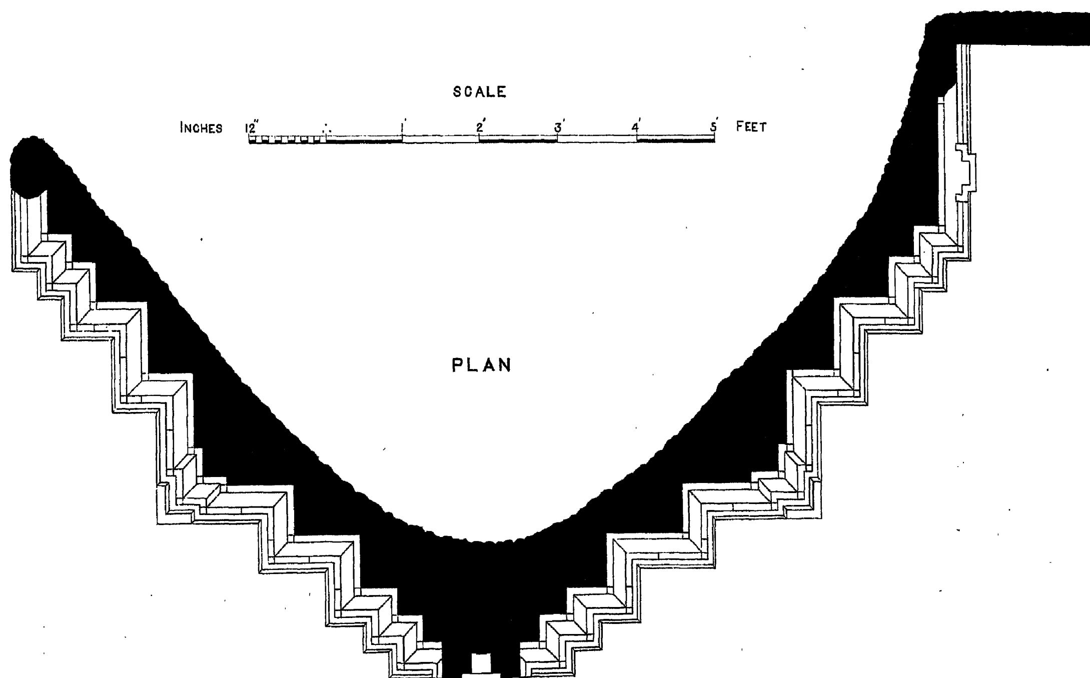


Fig. 1.

The grand and imposing character of this monastery is fully borne out by the extent of its precincts and of the approaches giving access to it. Its eastern and main entrance opened out on to a courtyard measuring 114′ from east to west and flanked by a smaller court on the south, with another, presumably corresponding to it, on the north. This court was paved with heavy flags of sandstone, averaging 4′ × 2′ 3″ × 1′ and once covered or intended to be covered with a floor of concrete such as covered the pavement to the east of the *main shrine*. As far as we know at present, no structures were built within this court; but the whole of it has not yet been cleared. The entrance to it on the east must have been a singularly handsome feature, having been flanked on the outside with richly carved bastions and provided



ELEVATION



BASTION OF FIRST GATEWAY OF MONASTERY I.

with a neatly constructed gate-keeper's lodge within. The bastion on the south has almost completely disappeared, but that on the north is well preserved up to a height of 4 feet. A plan and elevation of it is shown in Plate XII and a photograph in Fig. 1. Like the rest of the monastery, its core is composed of brickbats, but the facing brickwork is most accurately chiselled, and decorated with elegant mouldings and designs. The gate-keeper's lodge on the inside is also built with the same finely dressed bricks but is relatively plain. As it was a light, one-storeyed structure, there was no need for deep foundations, and only one course of bricks was found to have been laid below the ground level. The exterior of the lodge walls was relieved by a row of small niches, 2' 7" above ground and 7" wide, receding deeper into the wall from the bottom upwards, as shown in the section (Fig. 2). The upper part of the niches is broken away, and we cannot say how they were finished off above. It is possible that they may have been window slits, but it is more likely that they were merely of a decorative character, just as we find them on many buildings of the same period.

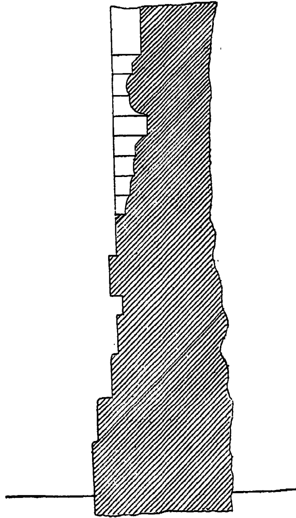


Fig. 2.

The boundary wall on the east of the court, through which this entrance passes, is 4' 4" in thickness, the same as the boundary wall on the south, to which reference will be made later. Its core is composed of brickbats, but the face bricks were finely chiselled and fitted, as was the case with all the contemporary buildings at Sārnāth.

Passing through the gateway described above we come to a more spacious court measuring 290' from east to west, on the eastern side of which is another gateway not quite in a line with, nor with the same orientation as the one above described. The plan of this second gateway was more elaborate and its proportions were much more massive than those of the first, but the design of both must have harmonised well together. On the outside were the same sort of bastions, which now unfortunately are all but level with the ground ; and on the inside was a gate-keeper's lodge, precisely like the one at the inner gate. But between the bastions and the lodge, instead of a mere wall, there was a large gatehouse, measuring 61' × 28' and containing several chambers. The foundations of this gatehouse go down to a depth of 8' 2", and appear to have been intended to carry a high superstructure.[1] Indeed, judging from the massiveness of its foundations, this gateway would seem to have been something like a South Indian *gōpuram*—an analogy which is reflected in the diminishing size of the gateways as one approaches the central building. Unfortunately, there was very little débris covering the remains of the gateway and consequently few remnants of the superstructure survived. Little as there is, however, it is enough to show that the gateway was constructed in the same way as the monastery, *viz.*, of chiselled brick and stone combined, and that the style of the two

[1] It is possible that the foundations may have belonged to an earlier building, in which case they would afford no evidence as to the height of the superstructure. A further attempt will be made to settle this point next season.

was identical, the same patterns even being employed in the stone thresholds and pilasters. What the elevation of the superstructure was like, or what was the precise arrangement of the interior chambers on the ground floor, it will never be possible to ascertain.

Beyond this second gateway, towards the east, it is quite likely that still another and larger one has yet to be discovered. Certainly this second gateway does not appear to mark the limits of the monastery precincts in that direction. For the cross wall on the east side of the second court is well finished on its eastern face; and moreover two parallel walls, one on each side of the gateway, stretch towards the east, indicating, no doubt, the existence of other courts beyond. In this connection it may be noticed that the south wall of these two is finely finished with mouldings on its southern face, from which it may be conjectured that there is an enclosure on that side of the wall and probably another, corresponding to it, on the north side of the north wall.

Further extensions of the precincts have also to be followed up on the west side of the monastery building, between it and the western limits of the site. A feature of interest in this part of the site is a great drain— a veritable *cloaca*— which appears to have carried off all the water from the monastery. It appears on the plan crossing the earlier Monastery II, on the ruins of which it was built. So far, it has been exposed for a length of 52 feet. The side walls are of brick, 6′ high and about 2′ 6″ thick. The floor and roof are constructed of lengths of sandstone laid side by side and averaging 5′ 3″ × 1′ 6″ × 8″ in size. Internally, the drain measures 6′ high and 3′ 4″ wide, being thus sufficiently large for a man to clear. Near it and against the wall of the old monastery, are the remains of a mortar pit, in use apparently when the drain was constructed.

Up to the present then we have traced this great monastery over a stretch of ground more than 760′ from east to west. On the south, it is bounded by one long and almost straight wall stretching from the great gateway on the east almost to the western limits of the site. The northern boundary wall has not yet been traced out, but we may assume that it lies not far from the edge of the *jhīl* This extensive area was occupied in earlier days by several monasteries, which towards the eastern end of the site extended a little further south than the late monastery, but towards the west seem to have been confined within the same limits. Parts of three of these earlier monasteries have been excavated during the past season, but before describing them, it will be convenient to give a list of the more important sculptures or other finds made within the precincts of the upper monastery or in the level between it and the earlier monasteries, and which the confused nature of the débris makes it impossible to ascribe to any particular period. As remarked in connexion with the finds of the previous season, many of the antiquities unearthed in the upper monastery manifestly belong to a much earlier age and nothing as to their date can be deduced from their place of finding. No doubt, many of them were taken from earlier buildings to be set up in the new edifice, and the confusion thus arising is further increased by the fact that the débris of older structures was indiscriminately mixed up when the site was levelled preparatory to building the new monastery.

SELECTED ANTIQUITIES.

(1) From monastery building and western precinct.

Scenes.

α 42. Upper part of sculptured slab. Ht. 2′ 11″. Starting from below, the scenes are as follows :—

1. Upper part of Bōdhi-scene. In centre, Buddha's head with halo, under foliage. To his left, demon with sword ; to his right, defaced demon.
2. First sermon. The Buddha seated, cross-legged, on throne. Below, are six worshippers. Behind, halo ; and, on both sides of this, figures standing on lotuses, with halos. That to the Buddha's l. is in *varadamudrā* and holds garment in raised l. hand ; that to his r. holds garment in raised l. hand, while his r. rests on stomach. Below, on both sides, figures standing on lotuses. To the Buddha's l., Bōdhisattva with top-knot and necklace, holding rose in l. hand, while the right is in *varadamudrā.* The corresponding figure to the Buddha's r. holds flywhisk in r. hand and ring-shaped object towards breast in l. Above, celestial beings with offerings.
3. Nirvāṇa scene. The Buddha reclining on r. side, on couch. Below, five mourners, the right-hand one (Subhadra) faces the Buddha. To his r., the *tridanta*. At Buddha's feet, another mourner (Mahākāśyapa) ; at Buddha's head, kneeling worshipper with flag. Above, 6 beings, the five on the r. side with up-lifted r. hands ; the one just above feet, a female ; the corresponding figure to the l., also a woman, who faces the other ones. Behind her, foliage.
4. Above, small *stūpa* with niche, in which Buddha seated, cross-legged, on lotus in *dhyānamudrā.*

On the back, creed in characters of the 6th century.

Buddha images.

α 3. Buddha seated cross-legged on throne in *dharmachakramudrā.* Traces of wheel and worshippers (five ?) below. Ht. 21½″.

ε 13. Bust of Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā* with red paint. Ht. 5½″.

ε 8. Architectural fragment, with Buddha (?) seated cross-legged on lotus in *bhūmisparśamudrā.* On each side of head, *stūpa.* Face gone. Ht. 1′ 2″.

γ 8. Standing Buddha in *varadamudrā.* Ht. 15½″.

α 22. Defaced standing Buddha, hands missing. Ht. 2′ 10½″.

α 17. Buddha head with halo. Ht. 5″.

Bōdhisattvas and other deities.

α 1. Bōdhisattva, with anklets, arm rings, and bracelets, seated *in Līlāsana* on lotus. Probably Avalōkitēśvara. Right hand in *varadamudrā.* Ht. 6″.

ε 24. Figure with necklace, seated cross-legged on blue lotus in *abhayamudrā* (? Maitrēya). Ht. 5½″.

Decorative and miscellaneous sculptures.

α 8. Head and right arm of image. Right arm, with arm ring and bracelets, raised above head, and holding object (perhaps *vajra*). Ht. 4″.

ε 22. Upper part of image. To the right, celestial being with garland; in centre, figure with necklace seated cross-legged in *varadamudrā*. Length 22″.

α 6. Figure, with arm rings, seated cross-legged in *varada* or *bhūmisparśamudrā*; seems to come from upper left hand corner of larger image. Ht. 10″.

ε 11. Bust of small image. Right hand bent over breast; left hand missing. Ht. 5″.

ε 14. Broken seated figure holding object in left hand. Ht. 4″.

α 11. Fragment of larger sculpture; bust, part of head, and right overarm of female chauri-bearer. Ht. 9½″.

α 4. Dancing female figure; left hand pressed against breast with palm turned outwards; right hand hanging against knee. Flower stalk behind, to her right. Ht. 9½″.

ε 25. Upper part of female figure with big ear-ring, facing to the right. Ht. 6 ½″.

α 48. Lower part of stone with roughly carved image; figure holding left arm on back of horned animal (buffalo ?) while apparently spearing it. (? Mahishāsuramardinī).



Fig. 3.

ε 6. Fragment of sculpture, from top of throne (?) on left side. Below, Atlant; above, fat standing figure, and to his left, small sitting figure. Ht. 5¾″.

α 13. Decorative head with high headdress, deep eye and big teeth, of same shape as head on mace of big Śiva image. Ht. 5¾″. *Cf.* Fig. 3.

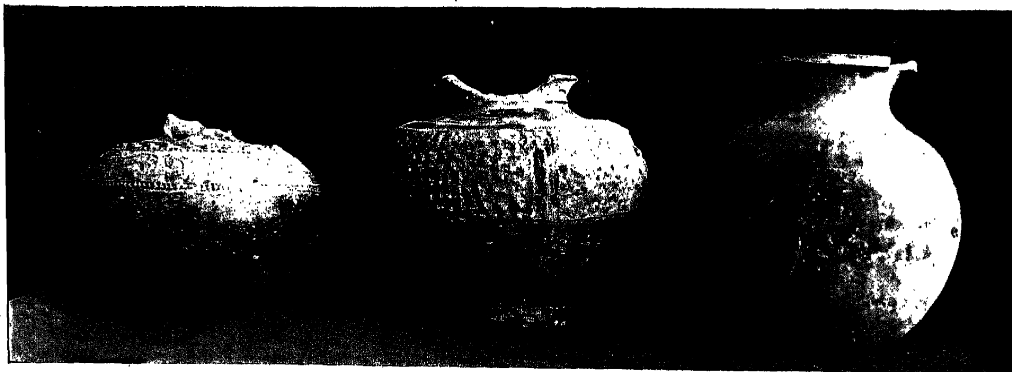
Terra-cottas and pottery.

α 19. Female head and bust in terra-cotta. To proper left, smaller head resting against shoulder of main figure Ht. 1⅞″.

γ 9. Small votive peacock in terra-cotta.

α 18. Votive terracotta pig filled with rattling objects. Ht. 2¾″.

α 28. Goblet, partly broken, with decorated bands. Diam. 8½″.



a b c

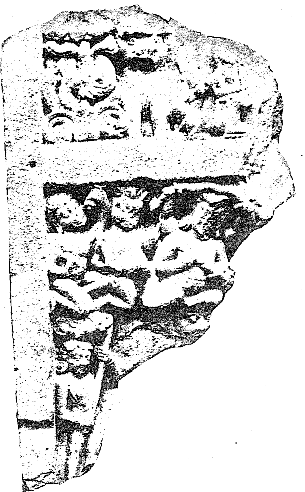
Fig. 4.

α 16. Round earthenware pot, with bands of horses, flowers and cowries. Diam. 8½″. Fig. 4 *a*.

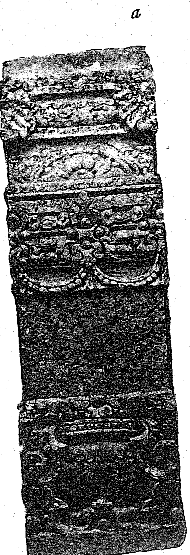
SARNATH EXCAVATIONS.


a


b


c


d


e


f


g


h

MISCELLANEOUS SCULPTURES.

From 1st court on east.

Scenes.

η 170. Relief, broken at top and bottom. Parts of two panels. In upper one, to l., Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā;* to proper r., attendant figure carrying bow (? Māra); to proper l., two female figures (? daughters of Māra); below, female figure fleeing away (?), and on either side of her two figures of worshippers, one of which offers oblation. In right of upper panel, Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā,* with deer and wheel below. On his r. side, two male figures worshipping; traces of other worshippers to l. In lower panel, Siddhārtha holding hair in l. hand and sword in r. On each side, an attendant Buddha, and head of third figure on his r. Behind him, female holding a bowl. On l. side of panel, a *nāga* with snake hood above. On r. side of lower panel, top of umbrella. Ht. 1′ 6″. Plate XIII, *b.*

Buddha images.

η 19. Seated figure of Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā,* much defaced. On back, Buddhist creed, in characters of 10th century A.D.

η 221. Torso, with arms of Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā.* Ht. 4¾″.

η 91. Lower part of Buddha, seated cross-legged on throne. Defaced. Ht. 8″.

Bōdhisattvas and other deities.

η 142. Figure of Avalōkitēśvara in relief. Legs from knees downwards wanting. Ht. 6½″.

η 168. Head of Bōdhisattva (?) highly ornamented. Ht. 8″.

η 27. Celestial being in cloud bearing garland and flying to l. Gupta work. Ht. 8″.

η 210. Female figure standing; halo behind head; l. hand holds vase. Second figure, defaced, to proper r. Later Gupta style. Ht. 2′ 2″.

Decorative and miscellaneous sculptures.

η 190. Relief. Figure of warrior riding to l. on lion; wears conical peaked cap; in r. hand, club (?); in left, bowl (?). Ht. 4½″. Fig. 5.

η 192. Head with halo behind, and *kīrttimukha* above; ear-rings and ornamental headdress. Ht. 9″.



Fig. 5.

η 24. Female bust with necklaces. Ht. 8½″.

η 18. Female figure seated cross-legged. To r., miniature figure of elephant.

η 207. Figure in relief, seated in niche, with column on proper right. L. half of figure missing. Ht. 7″.

η 68. Pedestal of black Gayā stone. One foot of main figure above and two feet of attendant on proper left. Below, on pedestal, two worshippers. Ht. 5″.

η 22. Male head with beard and ear-rings. Defaced. Ht. 5½″.

η 196. Standing figure of chauri-bearer. Ht. 7″.

η 32. Elephant with *mahout* and second rider on back. Harness, but no *howdah.* Ht. 7″.

η 205 and 207. Architectural fragments. To l., figure seated cross-legged on lotus and wearing armlets. In middle, standing female figure. On r., male figure seated cross-legged and holding axe in right hand. Above, dentil cornice with frieze of *kīrttimukha* heads and birds surmounting it. Length 1′ 6″.

η 137. Architectural fragment with standing figure in high relief. To proper l., flying celestial being. Late mediæval style. Ht. 9½″.

η 211. Architectural fragment, decorated with dancing figure, musicians and lions (?) rampant. Late mediæval style. Ht. 1′ 3½″.

η 143. Terminal of pediment (?) with *makara* head gargoyle and traces of animal figure above. *Cf.* a similar terminal discovered last year. *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, Plate XXVI, 2.

η 36. Fragment of pilaster. Śiva under canopy, with *Nandi*, wearing necklace of skulls. Ht. 4′ 2½″. Plate XIII, *f*.

η 159. Fragment of door jamb, ornamented with two female figures and motifs borrowed from jewellery.

η 103. Door jamb, ornamented with male figure seated in carved pediment. Ht. 3″.

η 153. Broken door jamb. Lotus scroll ornament in middle with birds seated on flowers. On either side, Atlantes between projecting mouldings. Ht. 1′ 6″.



Fig. 6.

η 61. Fragment of door jamb with palmette design. Gupta style. Length 9¼″.

Terra-cottas.

η 51. Clay seal, broken. Buddhist creed in characters of 5th-6th centuries.

η 38. Atlant, supporting bracket. Arms above head. Legs bent upwards behind body. Ht. 7½″. Fig. 6.

η 145. Terra-cotta brick with lion head at end. Gupta style. Dimensions 9¼″ × 2¼″ × 2¼″.

θ 5. Heavy necklace of 18 clay beads, barrel-shaped. 2¼″ long.

Inscription.

η 149. Fragmentary inscription of 10th century. See List of Inscriptions, XVII.

Metallic objects.

η 146. Three silver rings complete and 2 broken. Diam., about 2″. Plain.

η 76. Two iron cutting utensils, one 5¾″ long, the other 3⅝″ long.

η 50, 73 and 111. Iron head of adze 8¼″ long, 2 sickles and one cutter 5¾″ long.

η 51*a*. Nails various.

η 185. Brass finger ring ⅞″ in diam. Ribbed on the outside.

η 223. Brass ring ¾″ diam. Chevron pattern on outside with knob for bezel.

η 186. Brass bangle, 3¼″ diam., plain.

η 45, 82, etc., Beads as in other courts.

Coins.

η 21. 1. Copper coin of S͟hāh Jahān.

Mint—Bairāṭ.

Obv. . . . . صاحب قران ثاني

Rev. ضرب بيرات

Cf. Wright, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. III, No. 1108 and Pl. XI.

2. Copper coin of Aurangzeb.

Mint—Delhi (S͟hāhjahānābād).

Obv. . . . . ضرب شاه جهان آباد سنة

Rev. جلوس مبارک سنة

Cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

The date, which was recorded in terms of the Hijra era on *obv.* and of the regnal year on the reverse, is lost.

3. Another copper coin of Aurangzeb, struck at the same mint. The legends are also identical but the coin belongs to a different issue.

4. Twelve copper coins of the same type, of the reign of Aurangzeb.

Mint—Nārnol.

Obv. جلوس مبارک سنة

Rev. ضرب [نا] رنول

Cf. Wright. *op. cit.*, No. 1648 and Plate XIV.

5. Two copper coins of the same type, probably of Aurangzeb.

Mint—Bairāṭ.

Obv. ضرب بيرات

Rev. . . . . [سنة] جلوس مبارک

6. Two Muhammadan copper coins, the *obv.* on one of which appears to read—

دارالسلطنت حيدر آباد

There were, besides these, a few other coins which cannot be identified.

From 2nd Court on east.

Scenes.

η 1. Relief partly defaced and upper part missing. Buddha descending from the Trāyastriṁśa Heaven. Head and l. hand missing. To proper l., attendant (? Indra) holding umbrella over Buddha's head ; to r., a second attendant (? Brahmā). Below, flight of five steps, on r. and l. of which two worshippers in kneeling attitude. Late Gupta style. Ht. 1′ 3″. Plate XIII, *g*.

η 2. Fragment of relief, containing parts of 2 panels. In upper panel, throne supported by lion on l. side. Below throne, two worshippers and deer couchant in front. To l. of throne, lotus supporting figure, of which feet only remain. In lower panel, temptation scene (?). To l. *chauri* or torch (?) bearer. Above, three demon figures and head of one below. Early Gupta style. Ht. 1′ 8″. Plate XIII, *c*.

Buddha images.

ι 6. Relief. Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā* on lotus throne with halo ; on each

side of Buddha, a figure with halo; on each side of throne, attendants. Above, *mahāparinirvāṇa* scene: Buddha reclining on r. side. On back, Buddhist creed in characters of 10th—11th centuries. Ht. 1′ 4¼″.

ι 50. Lower half of statue. Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā* seated on lotus. Ht. 9½″.

ι 7. Buddha in attitude of meditation on lotus. Head missing. Ht. 5½″.

ι 46. Head of Buddha with short curls. Ht. 6″.

Bōdhisattvas and other deities.

ι 44. Head of Avalōkitēśvara, with Amitābha Buddha in headdress. Ht. 5½″.

η 10. Fragment of three-headed figure (? Mārīchī) of green stone. Two heads are female, the third that of a boar. Highly ornamented. Ht. 6¾″.

ι 145. Colossal image of Śiva in relief, measuring 12′ 1½″ high × 3′ 11″ broad and 1′ 10″ thick. The god is represented spearing his adversary, Tripura (?) on his trident, which he holds with one l. and one r. hand. A second r. hand holds a sword; a third holds two arrows and a fourth his *ḍamaru*, while the fifth grasps an uncertain object which is broken at the upper end. The second l. hand holds the mace, adorned with a skull (*khaṭvāṅga*); the third grasps a shield, the handle of which is visible; the fourth supports the bowl for catching the blood of Śiva's enemy; and the fifth holds a bow of double flexure (*pināka*).

The demon Tripura grasps a sword in his r. hand; his l. forearm is broken. Beneath Śiva's l. foot is another figure fighting upwards, with sword in r. hand and shield in l. and by the side of the last mentioned, a buffalo (?) head looking upwards.

The carving of this colossal sculpture was never finished and the ornaments which the god wears on his body and upper part of legs are incomplete.

The image was found in the débris above monastery IV, which will be described below, at a ht. of about 8′ above the floor level. Near it were two other large stones, one a rough block, 9′ 5″ long, the other seemingly intended to be used as a pedestal for the statue.

ι 138. Śiva (?) dancing the *tāṇḍava*. Wears long necklace of skulls. Ht. 1′ 10½″.

ι 104. Figure of Śiva and Pārvatī (?). Śiva 3-faced, with trident in r. hand and vase in l. Ht. 1′ 11½″.

Decorative and miscellaneous sculptures.

ι 49. Standing figure of attendant from proper r. of image. Half of face, feet and l. hand missing. Thumb of r. hand, which is raised to shoulder, bears a ring.

ι 1. Torso of male figure, ornamented. Ht. 3¼″.

ι 4. Female figure, with lavishly ornamented head. The legs from knees, r. arm and l. forearm are missing. Much defaced. Ht. 8¾″.

ι 16. Figure of female worshipper offering oblation in front of throne. Ht. 4″.

ι 105. Hand holding lotus. Very fine work. Length 5″.

ι 29. Fragment of statue, similar to ι 137; but no trace of ornament on leg; uncertain figures below throne. Ht. 7″.

ι 11. Fragment of miniature pilaster, with elephant emerging from r. side. The pilaster is divided by a horizontal band into two panels, in each of which is an uncertain figure. Ht. 7″.

ι 3. Lintel of doorway. Decorated with floral bands, etc. In centre, Tārā holding lotus in l. hand. Length 4′ 4″. Fig. 7.



Fig. 7.

ι 108. Fragment of column decorated with foliated design in typical Gupta style. Ht. 1′ 5¼″.

η 4. Stone offertory dish with 4 projecting handles round rim and lotus in relief inside. Diam. 4¾″. *Cf.* Proceedings of Soc. of Antiquaries of London, Vol. XXII, I, pp. 89 sqq.

Terra-cottas.

ι 96. Round clay seal, 1¾″ diam. Inscribed with 18 lines of writing from Buddhist texts, in very small letters of the 8th or 9th century. The 3rd and 4th lines read:—*Tathāgatāya Bhagavatē Śākya-*[*siṁhāya*]*namaḥ Tathāgatāy=Ārhatē samyak-saṁbuddhāya.* The last four lines contain the Buddhist creed. The rest of the inscription has not been deciphered.

ι 144. Clay seal, 1⅛″ diam., impressed with Buddhist creed in characters of 7th century.

ι 142. Clay seals, early Nāgarī, 9th century (?) 1⅛″ diam., writing reversed *ka-sha-na* (?)

ι 7. Carved bricks and plaques decorated with lotus and chequer patterns, all of good Gupta style.

ι 134. Terra-cotta pedestal, with octagonal section in middle. Decorated roughly in imitation of hanging garlands. Ht. 5¾″.

ι 54. Terra-cotta fragment of Buddha. Only head and shoulders remain. Traces of white paint on clay. Good Gupta style. Ht. 4¾″.

ι 63. Miniature female figure in relief. R. hand raised above shoulder, holding uncertain object. L. hand hangs down. Ht. 3½″.

ι 88 and 112. Two toy horses of terra-cotta.

Trench to south of 2nd Court.

ι 45. Fragment of frieze with two bands of figures above, and one of flowing foliated design below. Ht. 1′4″. Plate XIII, *h.*

ι 12. Corner of column. Supporting Atlant, with foliated design above. Gupta style. Ht. 14¾″. Plate XIII, *d.*

East of 2nd gateway of Monastery I.

η 55. Halo, with celestial figure bearing garland in cloud, to l. Floral border of late Gupta style. Broken. Ht. 11½″.

η 74. Halo, with *pīpal* leaves on branch above. Floral border. Ht. 10″.

η 180. Lintel of doorway. In centre, Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā*. Much defaced. Length 2′ 11″.

η 67. Fragment of frieze of Gupta date. Male figure in *chaitya* window, flying across to right, with hair arranged in wiglike curls, necklaces and bracelets ; l. hand holds flower stalk. Ht. 8¾″.

η 88. Stone rolling-pin, furnished with a ball handle at each end. Length 13¼″.

We may now proceed to describe the three earlier monasteries referred to above. One of these, distinguished by the Roman numeral II, is situated on the west side of the late monastery building, its outer wall forming the western limit of the monastery area. The second (III) is immediately in front of the eastern entrance of the later monastery building and lies partly beneath its first court on the east and partly beneath its second court. The third (IV) extends beneath the second court and under its boundary wall in a southern direction. The first and second of these monasteries were struck by us during the digging of 1906-07, and are referred to at pages 76 and 85 *sqq*. of the Report for that year. All three, as will be seen from the following descriptions, present the same general features and conform, so far as can be judged at present, to the usual type with which we are familiar from examples at Kasiā and other places, though certain details in them are new to us.

Monastery II.

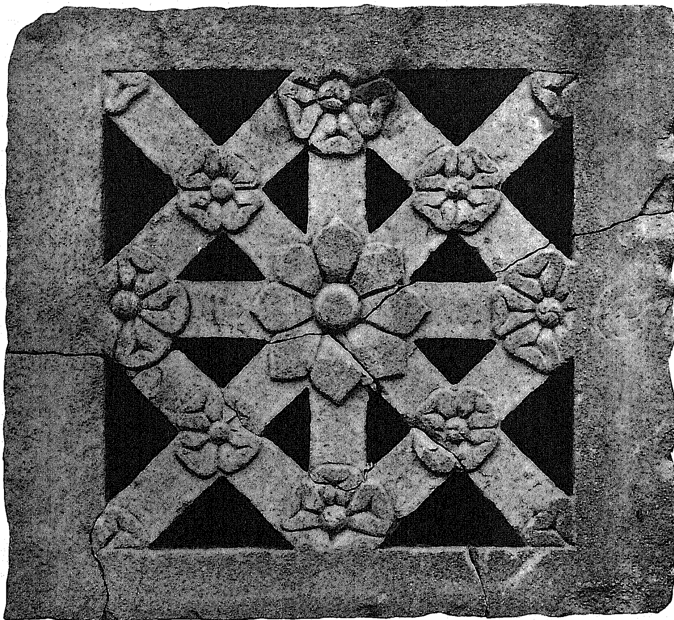
The part of this monastery so far excavated comprises a row of 9 chambers on the west side starting from the south-west corner, part of two chambers at the south-east corner, most of the low verandah wall on the south side and about one-third of it on the west. There is thus enough to reconstruct roughly the plan of the building.

The inner court measures about 90′ 10″ from side to side, and will no doubt be found to be approximately square; the low wall around this, carrying the columns of the verandah, is 3′ 3″ thick, and the verandah itself 9′ 8″ broad, behind which are the cells and common rooms of the monks. The front wall of the latter is about 4′ 10″ thick, the parti-walls about 3′ 8″, and the back wall on the western side 10′ 1″. Assuming that the back wall on the eastern side has the same dimensions, this will give us an over all measurement, from west to east, of 165′ 2″; but it is likely that the back wall on the west was thicker than that on the east, as it needed to be especially massive at the outer limit of the site. However this may be, the dimensions of the monastery shown on the plan cannot be more than a foot or so out.

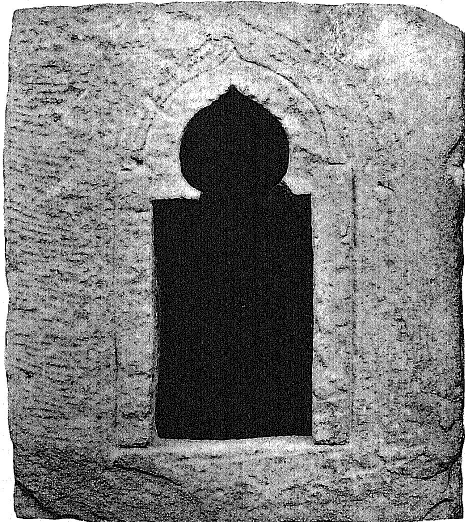
So far as it has yet been excavated, this monastery is by no means in so good a state of preservation as the other two; indeed, it is nowhere standing to a height of more than three or four feet above the foundations, and in parts there are complete gaps in the structure. A view of the south-west corner is shown in Plate XIV, *a*. The wall at this point, as stated above, is just over 10′ thick, and is composed of



a. WEST WALL OF MONASTERY II. SOUTH-WEST CORNER.



b



c

STONE PANELS FROM MONASTERY III.

bricks of slightly varying sizes, the average being about 15″×9½″×2¾″. On the outside, it is furnished with footings, rising from the ground level, and part of the foundations beneath belong to an older structure, which will be referred to later. The face of all exposed brickwork both outside and inside the building was chiselled, except in the interior of the cells. Of the chambers along the inside of this wall, the 5th from the south end is larger than the other ones, and appears to be the centre room on this side. On the lower verandah wall in front of these chambers near its southern end are two square slabs of stone, evidently meant as a foundation for the verandah pillars, which we may assume to have been of stone similar to those *in situ* in the other contemporary monasteries. In the intercolumniations was a low wall, 1′ 8″ broad, which divided off the courtyard from the verandah and at the same time helped to secure the stability of the columns.

Beneath this verandah wall on the west and south sides, and beneath the surrounding cells, are the remains of a more ancient structure, which appears to have had a slightly different orientation. This earlier structure can be observed most clearly in the trench alongside the south verandah wall, where a brick pavement belonging to the earlier building has been partly laid bare. This pavement is just over 6 feet below the level of monastery II, and above it the wall of the earlier structure is standing, in parts, to a height of 3½′, and has been used as a foundation of the later wall above it. How far the foundations of the earlier building go down below the pavement, and whether there are still other buildings beneath, has not yet been ascertained. The pavement itself is 17′ 9″ below the surface of the ground, and excavation at this depth is, of necessity, very slow and laborious. Nor would it be advisable to carry the digging lower, until a considerable area at least of the early building has been laid bare.



Fig. 8.

At present, the trench sunk to the level of the pavement is a very narrow one and only a strip of pavement a few feet wide has been exposed. From this it may be gathered that the antiquities recovered from this early stratum are very few and not such as to afford any conclusive evidence as to the date of the building. Indeed, there is only one small object sufficiently characteristic to be of help to us; but small as it is, it has a very exceptional interest. This is the terra-cotta head shown in Fig. 8. It was found on the brick pavement, not far from the middle of the south verandah wall. It is of a fine light clay, hollow within, and without slip, though with traces of a white pigment here and there. The modelling is rough, but thoroughly artistic, and the western classical influence in the treatment of the features is very strikingly apparent. Indeed, there is nothing whatever Indian about it. On the head is a peaked conical hat or helmet, with apparently a cap of some sort worn beneath it, from which side lappets descend, covering the ears and almost meeting under the chin. For the origin of this headdress we must look towards Persia,[1] and it may well be that the terra-cotta itself or the artist who executed it, came from that country. Be this, however, as it may, we may feel fairly secure in assigning this terra-cotta head to a date hardly later and possibly somewhat earlier

[1] *Cf.* O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pp. 47—54, where various authorities regarding Persian dress are quoted.

than the 1st century B.C. Its markedly Perso-Hellenic character, taken in conjunction with its place of finding, so far to the east of India, gives it an especial value, and it is greatly to be hoped that more antiquities of a like character will come to light as the excavation of this early monastery proceeds.

As to the date of the Monastery II., there is not yet enough evidence to speak with certainty, but the style and details of its construction leave us no room to doubt that it belongs approximately to the same age as the better preserved Monasteries III and IV described below, which we assign with some hesitation, be it said, to the Gupta period. This impression is borne out generally by the finds made within it, though it must be admitted that their evidence, if taken apart from other considerations, is not of a kind to be regarded as convincing.

The antiquities found in this building include the following :—

δ 1. Head of statue with characteristic Gupta headdress and traces of red paint. Ht. 6½″.

δ 21. Upper part of small stone image. Ht. 2″.

δ 22 and 23. Terra-cotta votive images representing—

(*a*) small Gaṇēśa. Ht. 2¾″.

(*b*) bust of female. Ht. 2¼″.

δ 2*a*. Seal, inscribed with Buddhist creed in characters of 6th or 7th century.

δ 2. A playing die of bone, 2½″ long, marked in dots with the figures from 1 to 4 on the four long sides.

Monastery III.

As surmised last year, this building has turned out to be a monastery, planned so far as can be seen at present on the same lines as Monastery II. Three chambers on the west side and four on the south, with a part of the verandah and courtyard, have been excavated. The walls are still standing to a height in places of over 10′. The outer wall is 5′ 6″ thick on the west side, and just over 6′ on the south; the inner walls run to an inch or two over 3′. The verandah in front of the cells is about 11′ 0″ broad. Its roof was carried on stone pillars at the outer edge and stone pilasters, corresponding to them, against the face of the cells. A view showing some of these pillars *in situ* appears in Plate XV. They are 1′ 3″ square, approximately, at the base and rise to a height of 6′ 8″ above the floor of the verandah. The square base of the columns changes above to the octagon, then becomes 16 sided and reverts again below the cap to the square. The capitals appear to have been of the usual Hindu bracket type; several specimens of them were found in the débris, but none in position. The columns were built into a low wall which crossed the intercolumniations, and which from the indications given by the rough dressing at their bases, appears to have been about 1 foot high.

The courtyard as well as the verandah floor and the floors of the chambers around are all paved with brick, laid flat.

From the corner of the courtyard a covered drain runs under the floor of the verandah and of the open passage in the south-west corner of the monastery, to carry off the water from the open courtyard. This drain measures 10″ deep × 7″ wide, and is covered with slabs of stone. At its mouth a perforated stone is set up in a vertical position to act as a trap and prevent the drain becoming choked.



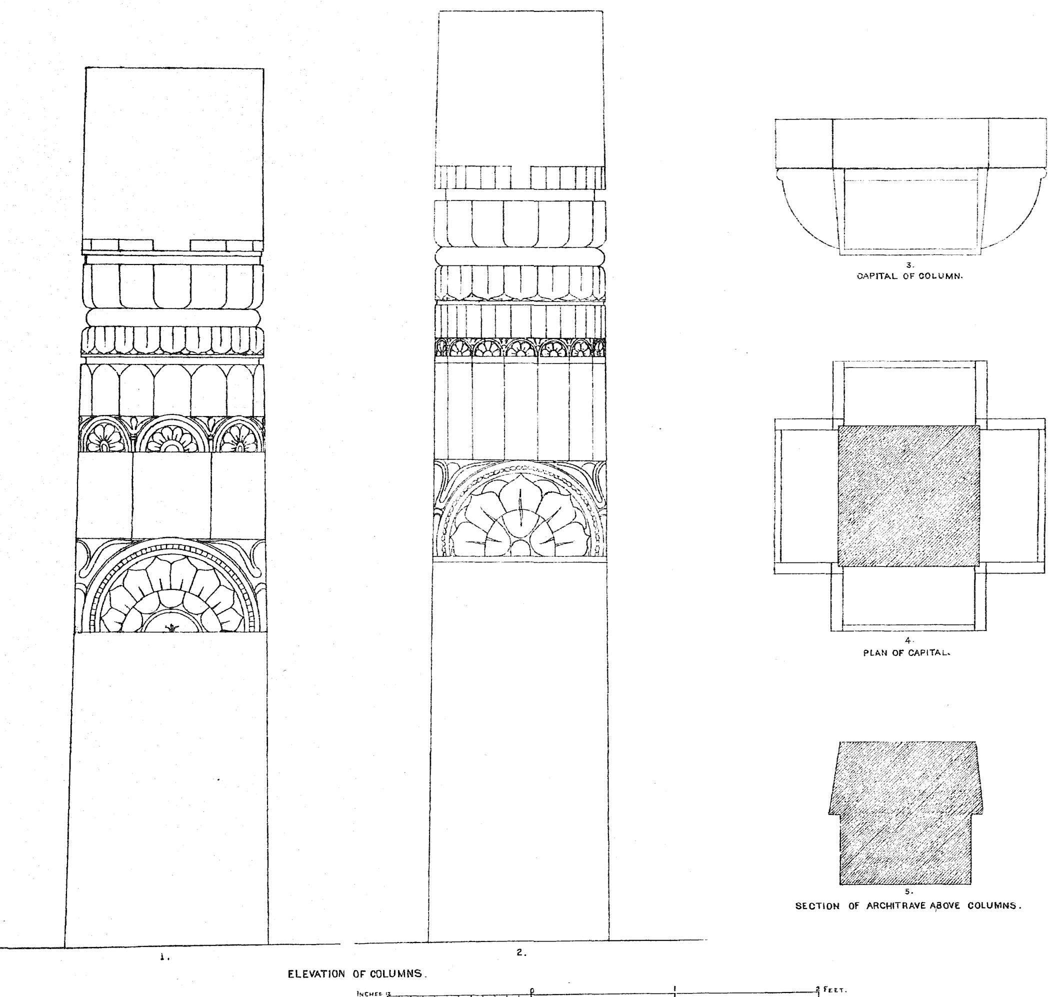
VIEW OF MONASTERY III. FROM NORTH-WEST.

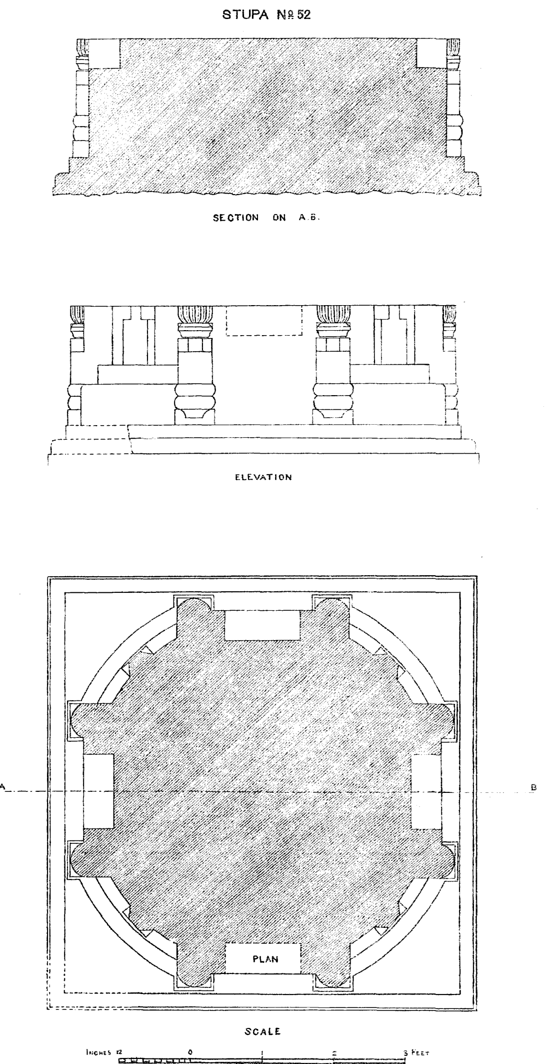


PILLARS IN MONASTERY III. WITH REMAINS OF 1ST. GATEWAY OF MONASTERY I. IN UPPER STRATUM.

EXCAVATIONS AT SARNATH.

PLATE XVI.





DETAIL OF COLUMNS, MONASTERY III.

Of actual cells for the monks, four only have as yet been opened up, namely, one on the west side, one in the corner, and two on the south side. Access to the corner cell is given by an open passage, which measures 8′ 5″ across and is somewhat narrower than the cells themselves. In the north wall of this passage is a neat little niche (1′ 3″ × 1′ 4½″), used perhaps for a lamp[1] or small image. The doorways of the cells measure approximately 4′ 2″ across and 6′ 7″ high. The door jambs and lintels may have been of wood. The doorway appearing to the right of the photograph in Plate XV, *a* opens into the cell No. 3 on the south side. When it was excavated, the courses of carved and plain brickwork above the lintel were still in position, but had sagged somewhat in the middle when the lintel below them rotted away. Course by course, therefore, the bricks were carefully removed and replaced again over a new lintel. *Cf.* Fig. 9. The interior walls of the cells are all left rough, while in all other parts of the monastery the face of the brickwork is carefully chiselled. Possibly, the cell walls were originally plastered over, but no traces of plaster have been found. To the east of the third chamber on the south side is what appears to have been an entrance to the monastery. There is no inner wall here on the side towards the courtyard, but its place is taken by a row of stone columns (Plate XV, *b*), similar but more ornamental than those around the verandah. Details of their decoration are shown in Plate XVI. They measure 1′ 3″ square at the base and stand 7′ 1″ high, above the level of the pavement. Up to the present, two columns and the pilaster against the west wall have been found standing *in situ*. It is probable that there only remains another pilaster to be found on the east side; in other words, that the front of the hall is "distyle in antis," but this is nothing more than a surmise. The excavation of the hall towards the east could not be proceeded with, as it is covered in part by the gateway of the first court of the upper monastery above, which would have to be removed if the whole area is to be cleared. In the débris of the hall were found a stone capital and broken architrave, of which drawings are given on Plate XVI. Neither of them is large enough to fit the columns on the ground floor[2], and the conjecture may be hazarded that they belonged to the superstructure, which in parts at any rate may well have been of stone.

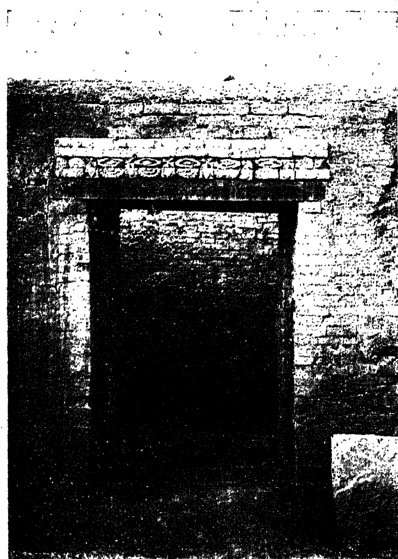


Fig. 9.

At the back of cell No. 3 on the south side is a chamber which projects out 16′ from the outer face of the monastery. The interior depth of this chamber, so far as it has yet been excavated, is 17′, and the walls are standing to a height of 5′ 9″ above the pavement on the south side of the monastery referred to below. On the north and west sides, within the chamber, the lower part of the walls project somewhat, but the projections are not at the same level. It seems likely

[1] There were no traces, however, of soot in the niche or on the face of the wall.

[2] See the photograph, Plate XV, where the small cap is shown on one of the columns *in situ*.

that the substructure here belongs to an earlier building, but it may prove of course to be nothing more than a deep foundation. There is no trace of a door or other aperture in any of the walls, and the purpose of the chamber is not apparent. It may have been used as a storage chamber of some sort or it may have been nothing more than the foundation of a superstructure entered from the first floor of the monastery. The latter view is the one which at present we are more inclined to take. It is noticeable that the footings of the southern wall of the monastery are returned along the west wall of this chamber. These footings do not, like the original footings at a much lower level on the west side of the monastery, form an integral part of the wall, and have no doubt been added on to it at a later date, when the ground around the monastery had risen considerably, and when the brick pavement on this side was laid. This pavement, which is 2′ 9″ above the interior of the monastery, has been followed up for about 44 feet towards the south, and 50′ east and west. It is constructed solidly of 5 or 6 courses as far as the line indicated on the plan, at a distance of 19′ 5″ from the south wall of the monastery and parallel to it, but from that point southward it is composed of a single course of bricks only, which now present an uneven surface.

The only antiquities which were found on the floor of this monastery, and which can be regarded with certainty as belonging to it, are the following:—

η 154. Iron ring, diameter $3\frac{1}{4}$″.

η 136. Six iron nails, some round headed, running up to 11″ in length.

η 215. Brass pear-shaped bell with ring attachment above, slit in base, and stone (?) ball inside; 2″ long.

η 204. Bone die with numbers marked by dot in circle from 1 to 4 on the 4 long sides. Length $2\frac{1}{8}$″.

η 130 & 144. Three pierced stone screens. One of these, measuring 1′10″ × 1′$8\frac{1}{2}$″ × 3′, is shown in Plate XIV, *b* and a second in Plate XIV, *c*. All three appear to have been used as window screens. The second is of more than usual interest in connection with the dating of two famous buildings in Kashmir, namely, the Tomb of Zainu-l-'Ābidīn's mother and the temple of Jyēshṭhēśvara on the Ta<u>kh</u>t-i-Sulaimān. Mr. Fergusson, it may be remembered, arguing from the form of the arched niches in the enclosure walls of these buildings, assigned them both to the Muhammadan period, though, had he visited the monuments in person, he must at once have seen that all other evidence which they furnish, is directly opposed to such a date. Now the form of the outer line of the arch shown in Plate XIV is practically identical with that of the arches decorating the wall around the tomb of Zainu-l-'Ābidīn's mother, of which those in the Ta<u>kh</u>t-i-Sulaimān temple are but a slight variation, and it follows from this that Fergusson's argument must now fall to the ground. The third screen has two arches side by side similar in outline to the one illustrated.

Monastery IV.

Only the north-east corner of the courtyard and verandah and two chambers on the east side of this monastery have as yet been cleared. Just as in the Monastery II, described above, the verandah is carried on stone pillars set in a low wall. The wall stands 2′2″ above the pavement of the court, and is 3′3″

broad. The full length of the columns averages about 8′, of which 5′ 6″ stood out above the wall. They are of the same general design as the verandah columns in monastery III, though some varieties are introduced in the details. The width of the verandah is from 7′ 6″ to 7′ 10″. The front wall of the cells is 3′ 6½″ wide, the party walls 2′ 4″, and the back wall of the monastery 6′ 1″. The bricks used in the construction of the walls are of the same kind as those used in monastery III. The level of the courtyard is about 9′ 6″ below the base of the long southern boundary wall of the upper monastery, and about 14′ 6″ below the level of the ground. The court is paved with bricks laid flat, as in monastery III, and sloping slightly towards the north-east corner, near which is a drain similar to that discovered at the south-west corner of monastery II.

The colossal statue of Śiva and its pedestal found lying a little above the top of the walls of the eastern cells have been described above at page 52. They plainly belong to a much later date, and could not have been put where they were found until the monastery we are describing was in ruins and covered over with débris. The only objects found on the floor of the monastery and belonging, approximately, to the period when it was destroyed are various iron implements, *viz.* :—

ι 110. A vegetable cutter, similar to those said to be used in the Benares district in the present day. The footpiece is 6″ long and 2″ broad; the blade 9″ long and from 1¼″ to 1½″ broad. The foot of the operator was placed on the flat footpiece, and the vegetable held in both hands and cut on the blade between them.

ι 65. Another somewhat similar implement, which at first sight looks rather like a broken sword handle and blade. It has 4 bent legs on the under side. Ht. 4″.

ι 139. A sickle. Length 10″.

ι 123. Knife-blade, with broken spike at the end for handle. The back of the knife is blunt and flat. Length 10″.

ι 119. Two spear heads of iron. 5″ and 6″ long.

η 73. Cutter, of chisel shape, with cutting end slightly curved, 3″ long.

Fragments of iron ring.

Ten nails of various sizes.

η 186. Brass ring, diam. 2⅛″. Convex on outside, concave inside.

η 101. Small chain of brass, single plain links. About 1′ 7″ long.

Group of stūpas on the north side of the Dhamēkh Tower.

We may turn now from the monastery area on the northern side of the site, to describe what has been done among the shrines and *stūpas* to the south of it ; and, first, let us start with an interesting group of remains that has been brought to light this year on the north side of the Dhamēkh Tower. All the ground around this monument had been excavated many years before by Major Kittoe, and the many *stūpas* unearthed by him had long since been destroyed. It was generally supposed, therefore, that nothing more remained to be discovered ; but a trench carried northward from the Tower soon disclosed the fact that Major Kittoe's excavations had in reality only touched the uppermost stratum, and that the monuments below this stratum still remained undisturbed. Those which have now been brought to light, consist of *stūpas*, chapels, walls and concrete floors. Among them three distinct

strata and some intermediate ones can be differentiated. The earliest of these goes back to the Gupta epoch, the second to the eighth or ninth century A.D., and the uppermost to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. It was to the last mentioned period, no doubt, that the structures found by Major Kittoe belonged, as they appear to have been unearthed on the level of the wide concrete floor which has been traced here and there for a distance of some 80 feet northwards from the Dhamēkh Tower; and at a depth of some 6 feet below its present base. On this level also was found the long and beautifully cut inscription (numbered XXIII in the list below) referable to the 12th century A.D. No doubt, other and still earlier remains exist lower down, but these have yet to be excavated. Of the structural character of these monuments there is little to be observed, as they are almost entirely of brick and plaster and analogous in character to what had already been found in other parts of the site. Perhaps the most interesting is the substructure of the building numbered 74 in the plan, which is the plinth of a *stūpa* belonging to the Gupta epoch, but concealed almost entirely beneath a building of the second stratum. The elevation of the plinth is shown in Fig. 10. Its complete height was about 3′ 4″, and the small pilasters projected 2½″ from the face of the wall. The bricks of which it is composed measure 8½″ × 6¾″ × 2½″, and, though covered with plaster, were well laid and finely chiselled. Between the *stūpas* 71 and 72 were brought to light the three finely preserved reliefs illustrated in Plate XVII, *a*, *b* and *c*. They belong to the second stratum of buildings (8th or 9th century A.D.) and appear to have formed a group together. That they are all three of the same date, and probably the work of same artist, their style leaves no room for doubt.

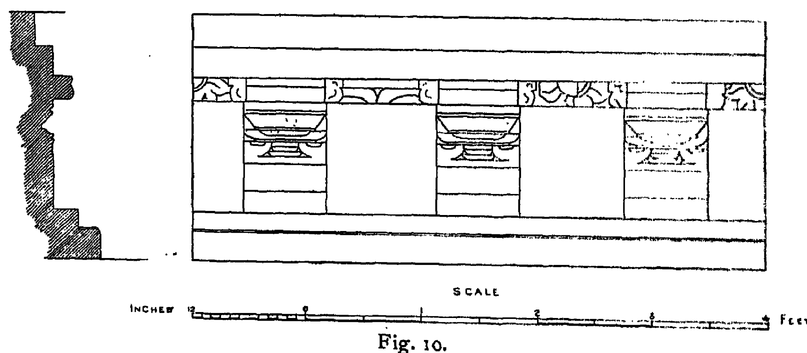


Fig. 10.

Among other antiquities found in this area may be noticed the following selected ones:

Buddha images.

η 172. Torso of Buddha. L. hand raised towards shoulder, holding garment. Ht. 6″.

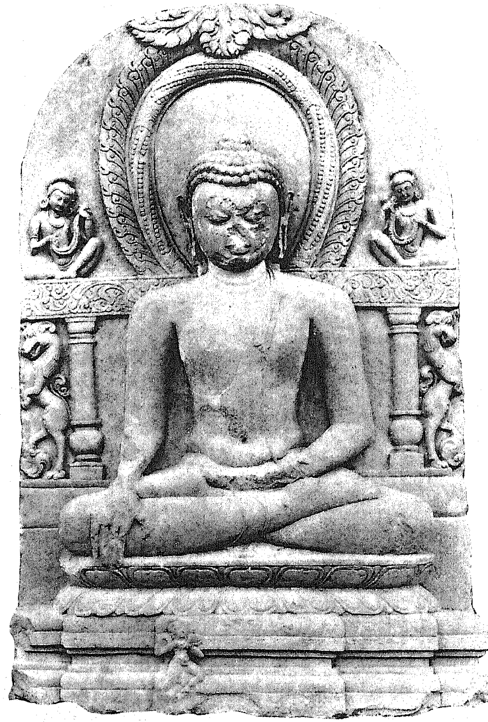
η 118. Head of Buddha, slightly defaced, 14″ high.

Bōdhisattva.

η 98. Head, lavishly ornamented, with Buddha in headdress and *ūrṇā* on forehead. Probably Avalōkitēśvara.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

Decorative and miscellaneous sculptures.

η 123. Stone relief. Four-armed female figure, seated in oriental style, with feet crossed, and two hands in front of knees; a third hand on l. holds vase. Beneath feet, a jar from which two snakes are issuing. On proper l., row of four snake heads, one above the other, with figure of Gaṇēśa at top. Similar snake heads on proper r., but upper part broken. Ht. 11″. See Plate XIX, *c*.

η 16. Female figure, feet missing. On proper r., stalk of lotus (?); behind legs, miniature figure of worshipper. Star pattern on garment. Ht. 10½″.

η 107. Female figure, with blue lotus to proper l., necklace, ear-rings and lofty headdress. Ht. 9″.

η 97. Lower part of female figure. Feet missing. To proper l., torso of female attendant. Ht. 6¾″.

η 128. Female (?) head, with lavishly decorated headdress. *Ūrṇā* mark on forehead. Ht. 8¾″.

η 162. Female head with ear-rings. Ht. 4″.

η 164. Standing figure of *chauri*-bearer; l. hand against l. hip, holding small vessel. Feet missing. Ht. 8¼″.

η 122. Head, with cap. The long nose, high cheek bones, full lips and small chin proclaim it of the Gupta period. Of coarse concrete covered with plaster. Ht. 6″. See Plate XIX, *b*.

η 150. Miniature dancing figure, in relief. Defaced. Ht. 3¼″.

η 178. Miniature *liṅga* and *yōni*. Ht. 3″.

η 100. Pedestal of statue, with spout at corner and defaced inscription. Ht. 5¼″.

η 160. Elephant's head, finely carved. Gupta period, length 5¾″.

η 139. Tiger's head. Good Gupta style. Length 4¾″.

η 4. Stone oblation dish, finely finished, with solid handles on each side. Diam. 20″.

η 140. Architectural fragment. Row of lotuses with leaves between. Ht. 4¾″.

Terra-cottas.

η 163. Buddha, seated. Much defaced. Ht. 9¼.″

A shallow trial trench was also sunk at a little distance to the east of the buildings described above, where the structure numbered 80 is shown in the plan. Here a beautiful little miniature of Avalōkitēśvara was found. It measures only 3½ inches in height and in point of delicacy and finish would do credit to a Chinese artist. At first sight it looks as if it were made of ivory slightly toned by age; but a closer inspection shows the material to be a composition mainly of clay. The figure, however, is not stamped from a mould but is carved out by hand, apparently, when the composition had hardened. Much of the work is undercut, and the right arm is completely detached from the background. The fragment of a miniature of similar style and made of the same material was found by Mr. Oertel at Sārnāth in 1905; and is illustrated on p. 84 of my Report for that year; but in that case the workmanship is scarcely so fine. On grounds of style, both figures may be assigned with

confidence to the 11th or 12th century A. D. Among other antiquities unearthed in this little trench, may be noticed the following :

Buddha image.

K 4. Fragment of seated Buddha in blue Gayā stone. Ht. 3¼″.

Decorative and miscellaneous sculptures.

K 5. Fragment of large statue, showing small Buddha seated in *bhūmispar-śamudrā.* Ht. 6″.

K 18. Fragment of statue in best Gupta style. To l., trace of fretted halo, with celestial being bearing garland at the sides. Ht. 7½″.

K 6. Female figure, moving to l. Carries mace, adorned with skull, over l. shoulder. Hair falls down back. Lower part below waist missing. Defaced. Ht. 9¼″.

K 2. Votive plaque. Standing male figure, with hands at side, holding uncertain objects. Ht. 4½″.

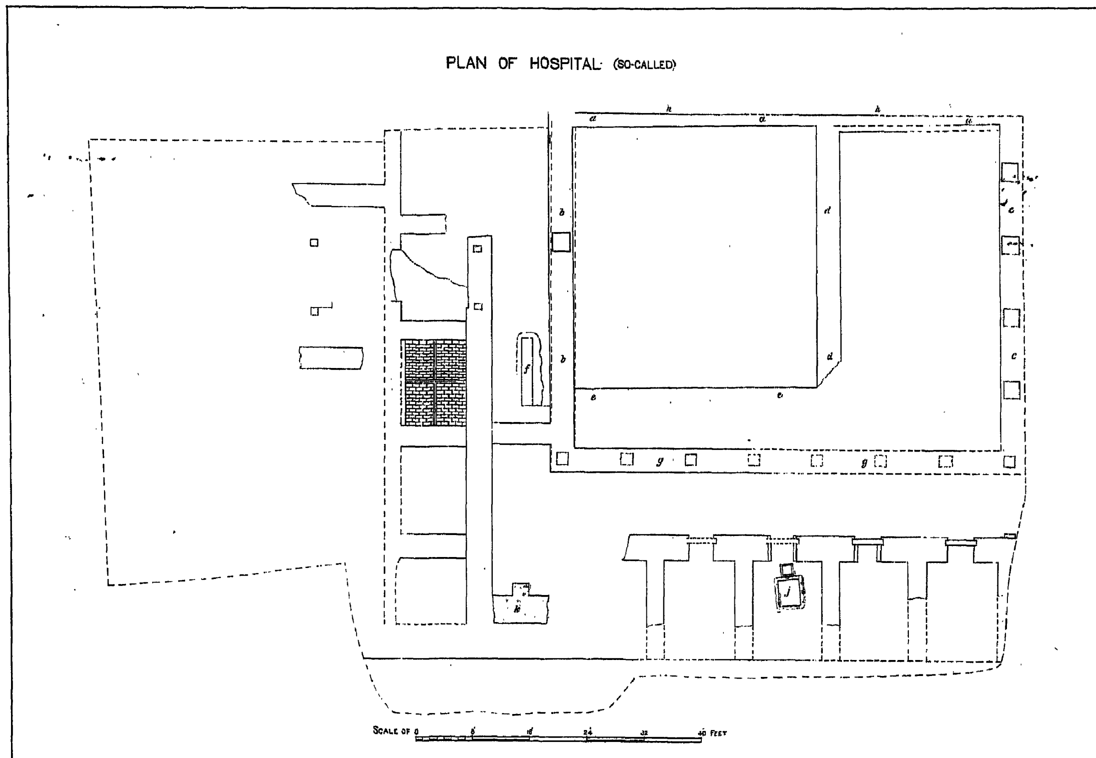
K 1. *Chaitya* window with lion's head within. Gupta period. Ht. 11½″.

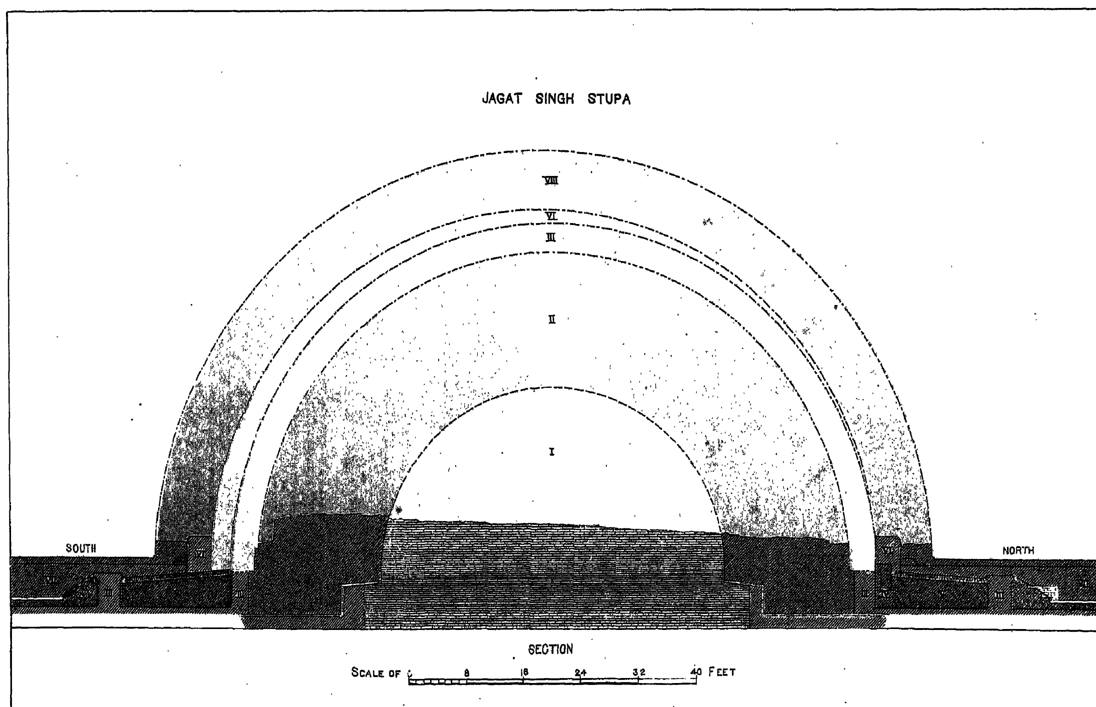
The so-called Hospital.

The extent to which the excavation of the so-called " Hospital " has been pushed this year will appear from the plan on Plate XVIII, *a*. The remains here are of two distinct buildings, one erected on the ruins of the other. Of these, the earlier, which is represented on the plan in blue, is apparently to be referred to the early Gupta period : the later, represented in red, belongs to the 8th or 9th century A.D. The floor level of the earlier building is approximately 4′ 9″ below that of the later one, and its foundations go down another two or three feet lower. The bricks, of which it is built, measure from 15″ to 16¾″×9½″ to 10¾″×2¼″ to 2¾″. The east, west and north walls are merely low parapets, covered originally with plaster, on which a row of columns stood. Five stone bases of these columns—one on the west wall and four on the east—still remain in position ; and others were found lying in the débris below. The southern wall completing the quadrangle of this earlier structure appears to have coincided with the position of the later wall on the south side. The purpose of the two inner walls forming a square at the north-west corner of the quadrangle, is not apparent. Their presence suggests that the building was not the ordinary type of monastery.

Outside the westwall of thi senclosure is a long narrow pit marked *f* in the plan. It is perhaps somewhat later than the quadrangle described above, but it certainly antedates the later building at a higher level. It appears to have been nothing more than a pit for preparing *chūna*.

The later building (coloured red in the plan) is built of smooth chiselled bricks, averaging 2¼″ in thickness, but varying in their other dimensions. In its centre, apparently, was a quadrangle, similar to those in the monasteries on the north side of the site, and approximately, it may be assumed, of the same size as the quadrangle of the earlier building just described, although its eastern limit has not yet been ascertained. The parapet wall on the south side of this quadrangle is well preserved.


PLAN OF HOSPITAL (SO-CALLED)
SCALE OF 0 8 16 24 32 40 FEET


JAGAT SINGH STUPA
VIII
VI
III
II
I
SOUTH
NORTH
SECTION
SCALE OF 0 8 16 24 32 40 FEET

It measures 1′ 2½″ in height by 3′ 2″ in width, and is built of a rough rubble brick with a coating of lime plaster, 1¾″ thick. Disposed at equal intervals along it were stone columns, about 1′ 4″ square at the base, the broken bases of four of which are still *in situ*. The row of columns no doubt extended round the four sides of th quadrangle and served to support the roof of the verandah.

On the south side of the quadrangle and at the back of the verandah is a row of chambers similar in all respects to those in the monasteries previously described. At the eastern end of the wall in front of them, one pilaster remains *in situ* corresponding to the pillar on the other side of the verandah, and manifestly intended to receive the architrave spanning the verandah; the other stone pilasters have all disappeared. The thresholds and door jambs of the chambers were of stone, and in the second chamber from the east, the threshold consists of a carved stone of excellent Gupta design taken no doubt from some earlier building. In the next chamber is a Hindu firepit[1] of some later date and oriented at a different angle to the walls of the chamber. The pit, which is built of brick and plaster, is 3′ 3″ square and 1′ 7″ deep. A smaller stone receptacle seems to have bee n added afterwards in front of it.

At the point *K* is a pedestal of brick covered with plaster. It appears to have been the base of a statue set up, perhaps, when the building we are describing had fallen to ruin, and subsequently used as a convenient place for mixing mortar, a mass of which still adheres to it. Beneath the pedestal are the remains of a floor of concrete laid on stone, belonging no doubt to the original building.

The chambers on the west side of the quadrangle have almost entirely disappeared, but their plan is more or less apparent from the foundations as well as from the indications given by the remains of concrete floors. The chamber in the centre of this side is a hall, giving access to the building, and approached from the west through another chamber, which probably served as an entrance portico. One of the door jambs on the east side of the central chamber is a lintel of late Gupta style, the carved side of which was built into the wall. The chamber on the south side of the central one has a pavement of brick divided into four quarters by two lines of brick, set on edge. The bricks measure 13″ long by 7¾″ to 8¼″ wide. The range of rooms on the west side, it will be observed, are different in shape to those on the south side. But whether the difference indicates that the building was erected for any other purpose than a monastery, is uncertain. In all other respects it appears to conform to the usual type of monastery, and the fact that Major Kittoe found numbers of pestles and mortars inside it is not, in our opinion, sufficient to warrant its being called a " Hospital."

The building excavated by Major Kittoe, it may be noticed, is described by Cunningham[2] as being 60′ from east to west and 42′ from north to south, "surrounded by a low wall, 3′ thick and 1½′ high above the level of the terraced floor, parts of which remain." General Cunningham adds that the stumps of 12 stone pillars were fixed into the wall and that they were split in all directions as if destroyed by fire. It is obvious from this description that Major Kittoe discovered only the inner quadrangle of the building, and was unaware of the existence of the surrounding chambers.

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[1] Kuṇḍa.

[2] *A. S. R.*, I., p. 125.

Jagat Singh Stūpa.

In spite of all the attention given to the Jagat Singh Stūpa by previous explorers, ever since it was first opened up in 1794, we had good reasons for hoping that with the aid of more careful and thorough excavations around its base, a good deal more might be learnt about its early form and history. Accordingly, a trench was carried down on the north side of the *stūpa* through the late concrete pavement, which extended up to this point from the walls of the Main Shrine, and it soon became manifest that we had not been wrong in our expectations. The first new feature that came to light was the outer wall of a *pradakshiṇa*, or ambulatory, around the *stūpa*, and at a distance of some 60 feet from its centre (see Fig. 11). In the

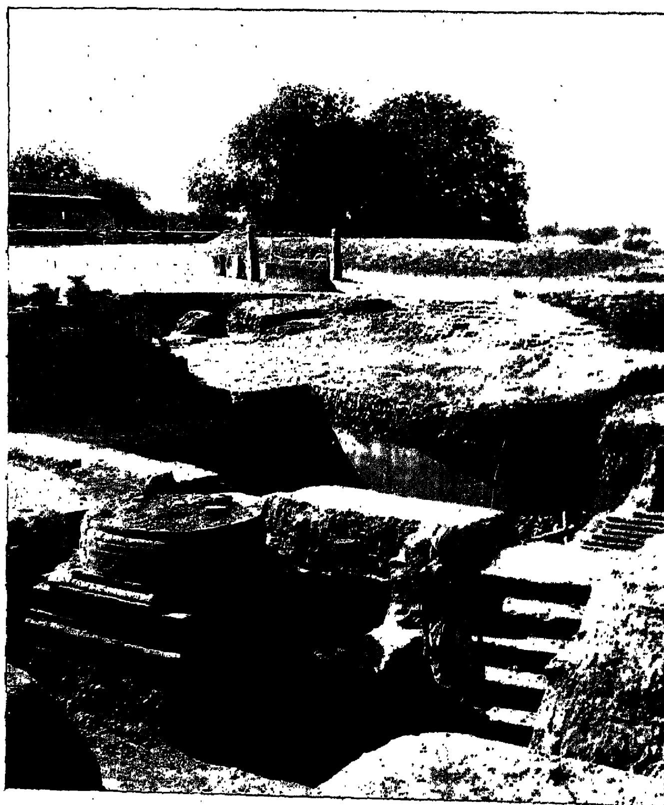


Fig. 11.

section on Plate XVIII, *b*, this *pradakshiṇa* is indicated in blue. In width it averages between 15 and 16 feet. The encircling wall is about 4′ 5″ high by 3′ 4″ in thickness at the base; and was pierced originally by four openings, one at each of the cardinal points, just as are the railings round the *stūpas* of Bharhut and Sāñchi. This, so far as we know, is the first example that we have in India of a *pradakshiṇa* closed in with a solid wall instead of an open rail.

At a later date the *pradakshiṇa* was filled in with débris, and access to the *stūpa* was then provided by bricking up the four doorways and placing flights of stone steps



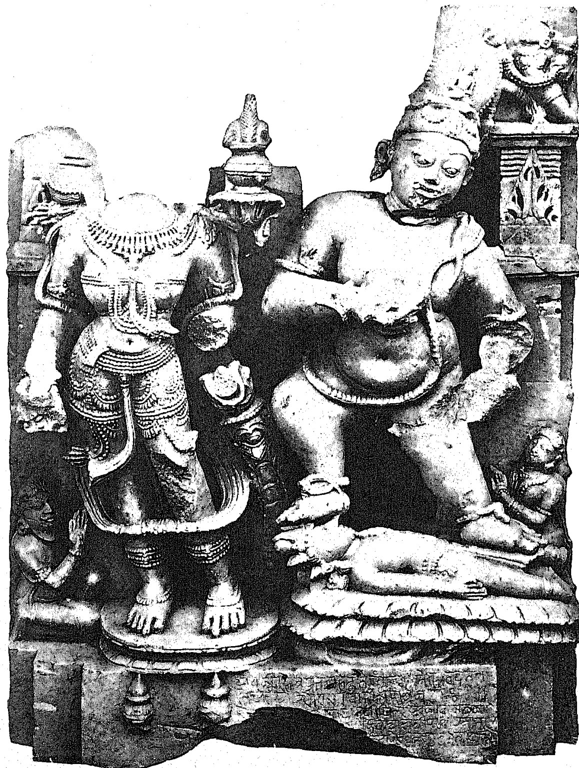
a



b



c



d

against the outside. At the same time a floor consisting of three layers of brick, with a 5″ thickness of concrete above, was laid over the top of the filling. Each of the flights of steps, it should be added, are cut from a solid block of stone.

The history of the various rebuildings, which the Jagat Singh Stūpa has undergone, is now clear, and can be understood at a glance from the section of the building which we publish on Plate XVIII, *b*. All that is actually left of it is hatched in on the section, and the upper part of the structure is merely outlined in rough, no attempt being made to indicate the changes in detail that must have been introduced at the various epochs. The original *stūpa* (I, yellow) dates back, we believe, to the time of Aśōka. Its bricks vary in size, some being $19\frac{1}{2}'' \times 14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$; others $16\frac{1}{2}'' \times 12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$, and others $16\frac{1}{4}'' \times 14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$. Most of them are slightly wedge-shaped, the smaller end being laid nearer the centre of the *stūpa;* but no effort seems to have been made to bond the courses together. The thick layer of concrete, with which this *stūpa* was covered, is well preserved at several points beneath the later additions, and the curve of the dome can be ascertained from the overhanging brickwork of the first addition.

The first addition to the original *stūpa* (II, green) appears to have been made in the Kushaṇa or early Gupta period. The bricks used average $1'\ 5'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$; but half bricks and bats are sparingly used. To this period, it might appear at first sight, that the *pradakshiṇa* (III) belonged, but what little is left of the outer surface of the brickwork of II, on the south side of the *stūpa*, shows that it was finished off on its exterior surface with well laid bricks covered with concrete, whereas the inner wall of the *pradakshiṇa* consists of a thin layer of lime plaster laid on a core of rubble and clay. The next addition (III, blue) is probably referable to the 5th or 6th century A.D. The materials used were, as just stated, anything but lasting; and it was probably not very long before the buttress (IV) on the north side had to be inserted, in order to prevent the shell falling away. No doubt it was for the same reason, also, that the *pradakshiṇa* was finally filled in altogether, as being the easiest method of buttressing up the whole of the base of the *stūpa*. The few finds made in the débris filling appear to indicate that this took place about the 7th century A.D. The next two additions (VI and VII) we assign to 9th or 10th century, and the last (VIII) to the final building epoch at Sārnāth, when the great monastery on the northern side of the site was erected. The brickwork is of precisely the same description, as we find there.

Outside the *pradakshiṇa* wall a large number of small subsidiary *stūpas* have also been unearthed, but none of them are of sufficient interest to claim special mention here. Of the smaller antiquities, however, recovered in this area the following deserve notice :—

Buddha images.

J. S. 18, 27 and 28. Three Buddha heads of Gupta style. Ht. $3\frac{1}{4}''$, 5″ and $2\frac{1}{4}''$, respectively.

Bōdhisattvas and other deities.

J. S. 8. Standing figure of Avalōkitēśvara. L. hand holds lotus. R. hand turned outwards at side. To proper r. of head, miniature *stūpa*. Ht. $5\frac{1}{4}''$.

J. S. 1. Bōdhisattva seated cross-legged on lotus, with ornaments and halo. Four arms, one pair joined in front of breast, the other two raised, and holding indistinguishable objects. Perhaps Avalōkitēśvara. If so, upper l. has been holding lotus rose and upper r. rosary. On base, part of creed in characters of 9th or 10th century.

J. S. 7. Figure of *Kubēra* in niche, with halo behind head. Partly defaced. Gupta style. Ht. 1′ 1″.

Decorative and miscellaneous sculptures.

J. S. 2. A lion's claw, finely modelled. Length 6¾″.

J. S. 5. Umbrella. Diam. 3′ 3″.

J. S. 6. Part of shaft of stone umbrella, with decorative band in middle. Gupta epoch. Ht. 1′ 11½″.

J. S. 26. Architectural fragment with *stūpa* sculpted in relief. On one side, conventional flower. Ht. 8¾″.

J. S. 3 and 4. Portions of octagonal pillar, decorated with two bands. Above, half lotuses; below, birds in festoons. Ht. 6¾″.

J. S. 13. Architectural fragment, decorated with part of *chaitya* window. Gupta style. Ht. 1′ 11″.

Terra-cottas.

J. S. 10. Carved *terra-cotta* capital of column. Gupta style. Ht. 4¾″.

J. S. Fragment of clay seal; above, wheel between deer couchant. Below, inscription in Gupta characters "Śrī Saddharmma-chakrē Mūla-gandhakutyām." The inscription is much broken. The seal appears to be from same die as others found in 1906-07.

Inscriptions.

J. S. 23. Two votive inscriptions in characters of the 6th century. See List of Inscriptions, IV.

J. S. 14. Fragmentary votive inscription in characters of 4th or 5th century. See List of Inscriptions, III.

Approach to the Main Shrine from East.

Another part of the site, which yielded a great number of antiquities, was the long passage by which the Main Shrine was approached from the east.[1] The western end of this passage was opened up in the previous season, and this year the digging has been carried for some 100′ towards the east, without, however, reaching the other end. On either side of the passage are low parapet walls, with small *stūpas* built into them and with recesses here and there for votive statues. The spot seems to have been a particularly favourite one for such images, for fifty or more of them in a broken or fragmentary condition were found on the floor of the passage. They range in date from the Imperial Gupta epoch down to the 11th or 12th century A.D., the majority being reliefs of Buddha or of one of the Bōdhisattvas. A characteristic head belonging to the latter class is of pale grey green stone, measuring

[1] This passage may have served as a *chaṅkrama*.

$11\frac{1}{2}''$ across, with a highly elaborate headdress and a halo behind, decorated with a rough floral design. Another interesting piece is the lower half of a Bōdhisattva seated in oriental fashion. He wears a long rosary, and on his left arm is a bracelet, while a broad ornamental band encircles his body below the waist. On the under side of the pedestal, which measures $10\frac{1}{4}''$ in width, is a typical relief of the late Gupta style— a lion's head spouting forth swags of beads from its mouth, and, on either side, a bull rampant. More remarkable, however, than either of these is the sculpture illustrated in Plate XIX, *d*, representing a male and female deity standing side by side,[1] with an inscription on the pedestal containing the Buddhist creed in characters of the 11th century. The male figure is nude, but his body, arms and legs are encircled with snakes. His headdress is elaborated with a Dhyānibuddha surrounded by a halo in front. From his mouth protrude two tusks. In his right hand is a bowl. Beneath his feet is a prostrate figure lying full length on a lotus, and also wearing an elaborate headdress with an ornament below his chin, etc. The female figure is lavishly decked with ornaments. Between the two is a lotus; while below are two kneeling worshippers, and, above, two celestial beings bearing garlands. Among the other antiquities obtained in the same place are the following :—

Buddha image.

ϒ 65. Figure of Buddha with attendant on either side. Ht. 1′.

Bōdhisattvas and other deities.

ϒ 30. Bōdhisattva, in *bhūmisparśamudrā*. On either side of head, miniature *stūpa* with high pinnacle. Below, standing figures of attendant Buddhas; the one on proper r. with hand raised in benediction; the one on l. with r. hand lowered and thumb turned outwards. Below throne, lions; and, between them, figure of woman fleeing to r. Ht. 10″. See Plate XIX, *a*.

ϒ 67. Upper part of male figure, lavishly adorned. L. hand holds full lotus (*padma*). In headdress, Dhyānibuddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā*. Latest style. Ht. $7\frac{1}{2}''$.

ϒ 25. Figure of Tārā in *līlāsana* attitude, holding lotus in l. hand. In headdress, Dhyānibuddha in *dhyānamudrā*. In front of throne on r., kneeling worshipper. 10th or 11th century. Pale buff stone. Ht. 11″. See Plate XVII, *d*.

ϒ 73. Fragment of blue stone from proper l. of statue, 4″ high. Tārā seated on lotus throne, holding blue lotus in l. hand; to her proper r., two figures of children, the nearer one in praying attitude.

Decorative and miscellaneous sculptures.

ϒ 68. Female figure with full lotus or rose in left hand. Dhyānibuddha in headdress. Latest style. Blue stone. Ht. $5\frac{1}{2}''$.

ϒ 56. Head of female image, of blue Gayā stone. Ht. $2\frac{1}{4}''$.

ϒ 66. Figure in *līlāsana* attitude. R. hand with palm turned outwards. Anklets and bracelets. Body and head missing.

[1] Dr. Bloch suggests that they are Kubēra and Hāritī.

Υ 72, *a* and *b*. Pieces of pedestal with three Buddhas in *dhyānamudrā* side by side. Ht. 4¼″.

Υ 28. Part of arm, adorned with armlet and inscription in characters of 10th or 11th century, containing Buddhist creed. Longest measurement, 8¼″.

Metallic object.

Υ 9. Iron spear head, 5″ long, flanged.

Area North of Main Shrine.

It remains in conclusion to describe our excavations in the area to the north of the Main Shrine, and between it and the monasteries on the north side of the site.

It will be seen from the plan on Plate XI that there is a distinct break in the group of buildings scattered over this area, and that there are remnants of a wall running north and south on the west of this break, and of another corresponding to it on the east. The broad passage between the two is entirely devoid of buildings, and it is natural to suppose that it afforded direct access to the Main Shrine from the monastery area. At its northern end there is a considerable gap in the southern boundary wall of monastery I, and at this point a gateway may well have existed. A number of detached antiquities belonging to the Gupta and later periods were found in this open space, approximately on the same level as the Main Shrine,[1] but it is hardly necessary to remark that they afford no evidence of the date of the stratum in which they were found.

On the west side of this open approach between 30 and 40 more *stūpas* have been laid bare, which link on with the large group in this part of the site excavated by us in 1907. One of these *stūpas* (No. 52 in the plan) is of a somewhat unusual form, consisting of a square base and round superstructure, with four niches flanked by brick pilasters. A plan, elevation and section of it are given in Plate XVI and a photograph on Plate XX, *a*. A little to the west, again, of this *stūpa* is a larger one with an unusual type of base and a round superstucture with niches. The rest of the structures unearthed this year, have suffered much damage, but they appear to have conformed in all essential particulars to the usual types, found in other parts of the site. As to their date, the results of this season's digging serve to confirm the conclusion we arrived at in 1907 regarding the remainder of this group. Of the minor finds, a few only belong to the Gupta period;[2] and the rest to a later epoch.[3] Among them we may notice, in particular, the metal image (List γ 27) the stucco heads and hands (List γ 28) and the small votive *stūpa* (List γ 1) found inside and near the top of one of the *stūpas* unearthed in 1907.

On the east side of the approach and immediately to the north-east of the Main Shrine, Mr. Oertel opened up a narrow paved passage flanked by small *stūpas* and shrines and ending in a flight of stone steps at its northern end. From this point the digging has now been continued in an easterly and northerly direction as far as the

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[1] *E.g.* Nos. β 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 75, 76, in the List below.

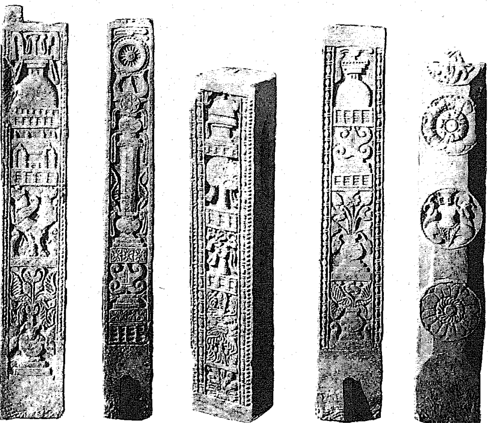
[2] *E.g.* γ 20 and 23 in the List below.

[3] *E.g.* Nos. ε 1, 8, 15, 16; γ 13, 18, 21, 22, 23*a*, 24, 25, 33, 35; β 51, 52 of List.

SARNATH EXCAVATIONS.



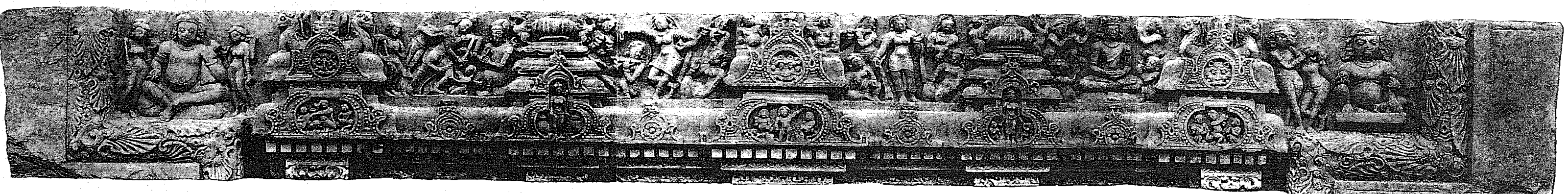
STUPA NO. 52.



DETAILS OF MAURYAN RAILING TO NORTH-EAST OF MAIN SHRINE.



MAURYAN RAILING TO NORTH-EAST OF MAIN SHRINE.



SCULPTURED LINTEL OF GUPTA DATE.

uth boundary wall of monastery I. The new *stūpas* unearthed in this plot—nine in number—are of various ages and disposed at various levels, later structures in several cases having been built directly over earlier ones. On one of the *stūpas* was found, *in situ*, an image of Buddha (β, 82) seated under an umbrella, and not far away from it another large stone umbrella (β 41), with lotus petals round the socket hole in the centre. But the most valuable discovery in this part of the site was made at the spot marked 50 in the site plan, some 20 odd feet north-east of the steps terminating the passage referred to above. At this point two pilasters were brought to light, facing each other, having once apparently formed the jambs of a doorway. They rest on a *kachcha* wall running north and south, below which, again, is an older wall built of bricks measuring $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$ at the bottom but smaller near the top. At its northern end this wall is returned at a right angle towards the west, and there are traces of a similar return at its southern end. Inside these walls, the posts of a Mauryan railing were found fixed into a floor made partly of brick and partly of mud (Plate XX). When complete in the place where it was found, the rail must have comprised 14 uprights, *i.e.*, five on the north and south sides, and four on the east and west, forming a rectangle of approximately 7′ 6″ × 8′ 6″. One upright, however, on the north and one on the west are missing, as well as all the coping stones and cross-bars. The posts vary in length from 4′ 2″ to 4′ 4″, of which the base up to a height of 6″ to 9″ was left rough, the rest of the surface being smoothed, dressed and carved. Three of the corner posts are sculpted on the two outer faces; the other corner post, at the north-east corner, and the rest of the intermediate posts are carved, as usual, on one face only. The devices sculpted upon them are as follows :—

North-west corner post (starting from bottom) —

On north side—

1. Pot with flowers.
2. Ornamental *triśūla* on platform, with rail below.
3. *Stūpa*, with rail, dome, neck, top, and umbrella with garlands.

On west side—

Pillar with round base and cap, surmounted by lotus, *triśūla* and wheel.

South-west corner post—

West side—

Ornamental flower decoration and, on top, *stūpa* with rail, etc., as above.

South side—

Four fields, separated by rails, and showing 1, petals, 2, pot with flowers, 3, *bōdhi* tree, 4, *gandhakuṭī*.

South-east corner post—

South side—

Two standing leogryphs, a *vihāra* with rail in front, and two doors; *stūpa* with rail, etc., as above.

East side—

Floral decoration and, above, pillar with flower, *triśūla*, and wheel, as above.

East corner—

Śārdūla, and, above, *stūpa*, with rail, etc. The remaining pillars contain representations of leaves, wheels, flowers, *stūpas*, leogryphs, etc. A special

interest attaches itself to the first post on the eastern side, from the south, where a fish god with two tails is engraved. See Plate XX.

In the débris, in which the rail was buried, were quantities of ashes extending from above the top of the rail right down to the floor, and the stone posts and brick wall beside them also showed evidences of burning. The date at which the conflagration took place appears to have been in the 6th century A.D., for a number of clay votive tablets and sealings belonging to that century[1] were found in and around the area, and their unworn condition, taken in conjunction with their number and variety, leaves no room for doubt that they must have been quite recently dedicated at the time when the fire took place. At what date, on the other hand, the railing was erected where it now stands, we have no means of determining with precision. The railing itself is, of course, late Mauryan in style; but that the position it occupies is not its original one, is obvious from the fact that the post at the north-east corner is not intended for a corner post, as well as from the fact that the posts are sunk so far into the floor as to conceal part of their sculptured reliefs. The only criterion that we have to help us are the walls near the railing and some of the neighbouring structures. These seem to indicate the early Gupta period as the time of its erection, and we shall probably not be far wrong in accepting this date. As to the sacred object which stood inside the rail, we are also left in some uncertainty. No traces whatever have been found of any *stūpa*, like the one we have inside the rail of the south chapel of the Main Shrine. But the presence of a stone pedestal and a stone umbrella[2] in the débris suggests that there may have been a statue here, which, if it was of wood, may have perished in the fire, or, if of stone, may have been subsequently removed. The base of a smaller statue, it should be added, was also found in the débris, one foot above the top of the rail.

Another find of great value and interest made in this part of the site is the magnificent door lintel of Gupta date figured in Plate XX. The end of this massive stone was seen peeping out from underneath the foundations of the structure marked 51*a*, in the site plan, which abuts on to the eastern side of the passage way referred to above. When we started to excavate it from its resting place, we imagined it to be hardly more than a few feet long, but foot after foot the tunnelling crept on until, when the other end was reached, we found that it measured no less than 16 feet. To withdraw such a gigantic block from the narrow tunnel in which it lay without damaging the carvings on its lower face was, it may well be imagined, no easy task. Fortunately, however, we were able to fix up two powerful levers on the platform above it, which enabled us first to turn the stone over, and then to raise it sufficiently to place rollers beneath. But even then it took the strength of 60 men to haul it on to the higher ground and convey it to the Museum.

β. 46. The reliefs on the face, it will be seen from the photo. (Plate XX), are divided up into fields, separated by representations of *vihāras*. The latter are of two kinds, alternating with each other. The first is the top of a *vihāra* with lions above; in the upper circular opening is a lion's head; below, figures with musical instruments. In the centre instead of lions, we find two fat figures above. The other kind

[1] *Cf.* List, below, Nos. *β* 64, 70, 81, etc.

[2] *β* 72.

2

3

4

1

5

6

INSCRIPTIONS 1 TO 6.

represents the top of a *vihāra* with *āmalaka;* below, standing female between pitchers.

In the different fields are, beginning from the left—

1. Jambhala with *nakulī* in l. and *bījapūraka* in r. hand, sitting in *līlāsana*, with two female *chauri*-bearers. Halo behind head.
2. A saint whose r. hand is being cut off by a man, whom two women try to restrain. He is shown clasping his hands towards his aggressor. The latter has a rope (?) hanging down from his shoulder, and behind him is a *chauri*-bearer. There can be little doubt that the scene represents the Jātaka of Kshāntivādin (the Preacher of Forbearance)[1], an identification for which we are indebted to Dr. Vogel.
3. Dancing and playing women.
4. Women with musical instruments. Note the garment open down the side on the main figure in the last two groups.
5. Bōdhisattva seated cross-legged; worshippers on both sides and above. This sculpture also perhaps refers to the *Kshāntivādi-jātaka*.
6. Jambhala with *nakulī* and *bījapūraka*. To his proper r., amorous couple.

A large number of smaller antiquities were found in this area, of which the following may be noticed here.

Scene.

β 22. Fragment of Bōdhi scene (?) ; two women standing on conventional rock. Head and r. arm of l. hand figure broken. To her l., smaller woman holding r. arm against l. breast (Māra's daughter).

Sandstone. Ht. 16″.

Buddha images.

β 33. Defaced sitting Buddha in *dhyānamudrā*. Ht. 7½″.

β 75. Lower part of Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā* seated cross-legged on lotus. Ht. 4¼″.

β 40. Feet of Buddha sitting cross-legged on lotus on throne. Below, wheel, deer, and six worshippers. Ht. 6″.

β 39. Buddha seated cross-legged on lotus throne, in *dharmachakramudrā*. Scolloped halo above throne, and roses on both sides of it. Below, wheel, deer and four worshippers. Ht. 7½″.

β 38. Headless defaced Buddha seated cross-legged on lotus in *dharmachakramudrā*. Below, wheel and traces of four worshippers, three to the l. and one to the r. Rest defaced. Ht. 10¾″.

γ 24. Headless Buddha seated cross-legged on throne in *dharmachakramudrā*. Below, wheel and deer and two worshippers. Ht. 7¼″.

β 82. Buddha seated in *dharmachakramudrā* with an umbrella above. Ht. 1′ 4″. Found in niche in small *stūpa* in corner, north-east of Main Shrine.

β 52. Bust of Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā*. Head missing. Ht. 3″.

β 16. Standing Buddha in *varadamudrā*; hands and feet broken; traces of halo behind. Ht. 1′.

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[1] No. XXVIII of the Jātakamālā (trans. Speyer, pp. 253 ff.) and No. 313 of the Pāli Jātaka.

γ 34. Upper part of Buddha in *varadamudrā.* Red paint. Ht. 11½″.

β 24. Bust of standing Buddha in *abhayamudrā*; l. hand and head missing; traces of halo. Sandstone painted red. Ht. 15½″.

β 31. Defaced standing Buddha in *abhayamudrā.* Head and feet missing. Ht. 1′.

β 48. Feet of standing Buddha with red paint. Ht. 1′ 2½″.

Bōdhisattvas and other deities.

β 15. Lower part of Avalōkitēśvara seated on lotus in *līlāsana*; r. hand in *varadamudrā*, and below it, Sūchīmukha, with pointed face turned upwards. Behind him kneeling figure with folded hands. On opposite side of base, fat squatting figure raising r. hand towards Bōdhisattva, and, behind him, kneeling female with folded hands. Ht. 8¼″.

γ 23. Bust of figure seated in *līlāsana* with traces of halo. To his r., traces of halo of bigger image. Ht. 11½″.

β 59. Legs of figure sitting cross-legged on lotus, l. hand holding object, perhaps purse. Red paint. Ht. 3″.

β 9. Upper part of sculpture, showing part of halo with one celestial being on each side, and foliage above. Ht. 5¼″.

γ 25. Upper part of four-armed goddess, holding sword in r. hand behind head, and long object in other r. L. arms broken; ornaments. Ht. 3¼″.

Decorative and miscellaneous sculptures.

β 60. Typical Gupta head of attendant. Ht. 2¼″.

β 4. Fragment of sculpture. Above, dancing female; below, tail and traces of body of lion. Ht. 13″.

γ 29. Celestial being with flowers in l. hand. In front, raised leg of similar figure. Ht. 6½″.

β 7. Female bust with ornaments and high headdress. L. arm and r. forearm missing. Ht. 14″.

β 18. Celestial being with garland, from bigger image. Gupta. Ht. 5¾″.

β 58. Broken stone with rough representation of lower part of female. Ht. 3½″.

β 56. Broken palm of r. hand with full blown *padma* in middle; 4″×3″.

γ 1. Small stone *stūpa* with four niches, containing seated Buddhas in *dharmachakramudrā*, *dhyānamudrā*, *dharmachakramudrā* and *bhūmisparśamudrā*, respectively. Ht. 11″.

β 1. Sculptured stone; upper part of *chaitya* window. Gupta.

γ 35. Decorative animal mask. Ht. 9″.

Terra-cottas, Sealings, etc.

γ 28. Fragments of Buddha heads and hands in stucco.

γ 1. Terra-cotta head with long nose. Gupta. Ht. 1½″.

β 62. Broken votive horse in terra-cotta. Ht. 3¼″.

β. 36. Votive image of bull in terra-cotta. Ht. 5¼″.

Several seals inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the same time were found. Some of them (β 64) have a representation of three *stūpas* over the

creed. Others are smaller and often still enclosed in small *stūpas*. These latter ones usually have a square base and a round dome, but sometimes also the base is round. One (β 81) has a square base in three tiers, a round dome and square neck. It is $2\frac{5}{16}''$ high, and the base measures $2\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{16}''$.

β 70. Votive tablet inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the 6th century. The inner face measures $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{7}{8}''$. In centre, a *stūpa* with a niche, in which a Buddha is seated cross-legged in *dharmachakra* or *dhyānamudrā*. From the top of the *stūpa* streamers (?), in which one small *stūpa* on each side (l. hand one broken). On both sides of central *stūpa*, figures, probably Bōdhisattvas, standing on lotuses, with r. hand raised in *abhayamudrā*, both provided with halos, and the one to the proper r. holding flower in l. hand.

β 70. Similar tablet, measuring $1\frac{6}{8}'' \times 1\frac{5}{8}''$. In centre, a *stūpa* with five umbrellas and streaming garlands. In niche, seated Buddha, apparently in *bhūmisparśamudrā;* on both sides, attendants on lotuses, with r. hand apparently raised in *abhayamudrā;* one to r. holds lotus stalk in l. hand. Below, traces of the creed in characters of the 6th century.

ϵ 36. Clay weight $\frac{1}{2}''$ long $\times$ 1″ broad $\times$ $\frac{3}{8}''$ thick. Inscribed on both faces. On one side the writing appears to be *kē-thu;* on the other uncertain. The characters are of the 9th or 10th centuries.

Metallic Object.

γ 27. Copper image, much corroded. Seated figure, halo behind head; r. hand holds rosary; l. hand uncertain object. Below is tenon. Total ht. $5\frac{1}{2}''$. Tenon 1″ long.

INSCRIPTIONS.

Twenty-three new inscriptions were discovered during the season. Most of them are repetitions of the Buddhist creed, or short dedicatory epigraphs, which are only of importance for settling the date of the objects on which they were found. Others are of more interest. In the notes which follow they have been arranged roughly in chronological order. None of them are of the Mauryan period, the oldest one dating from the century preceding the rise of the empire of the Guptas.

I.

The oldest inscription found during the season's work came to light after the excavation work had been closed. It was found by Babu Sohan Lal on the topmost step of the stone stairs on the south side of the Jagat Singh Stūpa. The inscription runs (Pl. XXI, I) :—

āchāryyāṇaṁ Sarvvāstivādinaṁ parigraha[ḥ] "homage of the Sarvāstivādin teachers."

The form of the letters *ā*, *ya*, *ṇa*, *pa*, etc. are older than the Gupta period, and, on the whole, the inscription may safely be assigned to the third, or more probably, to the second century A.D.

An identical inscription, of about the same period, is found in duplicate on the fine sandstone rail surrounding the old Stūpa, in the south chapel of the Main Shrine.[1]

[1] See *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, p. 96.

The Sarvāstivādins are an offshoot of the orthodox Sthaviravāda, just as the Sammitīyas, who have left an inscription on the Aśōka pillar.[1] Both these sects belong to the Hīnayāna, and their predominance in Sārnāth during the first centuries of our era is borne out by the discovery of an inscription in Pāli.[2]

II.

Another inscription (Pl. XXI, II), which certainly also belongs to the Hīnayāna, contains the so-called Buddhist Creed, and runs:—

1. *Yē dhammā hētuprabhavā*
2. *tēsaṁ hētuṁ tathāga-*
3. *tō avōcha tēsaṁ cha*
4. *yō nirōdhō ē-*
5. *vaṁ vādī mahā-*
6. *śramaṇō.*

The characters of this inscription are slightly younger than those of the preceding one. Compare the form of *ya* with a loop, the *a* and the *ma*. The epigraph probably belongs to the third, or, perhaps, to the fourth century. Its chief interest lies in the fact that the language is Pāli, intermixed with two Sanskrit forms, *viz.*, *prabhavā* (l. 1) and *-śramaṇō* (l. 6), though the terminations of both words are Pāli.

III.

A fragment of an inscription (Pl. XXI, III) in characters of the 4th or 5th century was found during the excavations carried on about the Jagat Singh Stūpa. It runs,—

1. *. . . . m=aṁgē nāśam=adhiyā . . .*
2. *. . . u[d*]diśya cha pitā ta . . . .*
3. *. . . pataya*ḥ *śā . . . .*

The inscription is too fragmentary for a translation which would give any idea of the contents.

IV.

Another inscription (Pl. XXI, IV), belonging to the same period, was found in the same neighbourhood on the base of a double image. The stone has two sockets, each of them with an inscription. That to the l. runs,—

dēyaṁ dharmmō=yaḥ upāṅgaṁ bhabatōlē.

The *pa* of *upāṅgam* has been added below the line. The inscription is extremely corrupt. The beginning ought to have run *dēyadharmmō=yam*, and the whole legend is unintelligible. The mason has evidently been unable to understand his original. It is probable that *upāṅga* has been miswritten for *upāsaka*, and that the image was a gift from the *upāsakas*.

The r. hand inscription runs,—

1. *dēyam dharmmō=yaḥ*
2. *upāśkikula*

[1] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 172. It should be noted that, according to the Sinhalese Chronicles, the Sammitīyas were a branch of the Vajjiputtakas, *i.e.*, the Vātsīputrīyas.

[2] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 292.

The correct text would be *dēyadharmmō=yaṁ upāsikā-kulē:* this is the pious gift in the collection of *upāsikās.*

V.

This inscription (Pl. XXI, V) was found on the base of an image to the north-west of the Main Shrine (β 32). It runs,—

1. *dēyadharmmō=yaṁ Śākyabhikshōḥ sthavira ..... [yad=a]tra puṇyaṁ tad=bhavatv=āchāry-ōpādhyāya-mātā-pitr[ōḥ]*
2. *pūrvvaṅgamaṁ kṛitvā sarvvasatvānām-ut(an)-uttara-jñān-āvāptayē=stu* ||

"This is the pious gift of the Buddhist Friar, the *sthavira* .... Whatever religious merit there is herein, let it be for the acquisition of unsurpassed knowledge for all beings, beginning with his *āchārya, upādhyāya,* mother and father."

The name of the donor has been lost. It must have consisted of four or five *aksharas.* The characters belong to the 8th century A.D.

VI.

This inscription (Pl. XXI, VI) was found on a stone in the court-yard of the large modern monastery to the north of the Main Shrine, but it is impossible to state where it originally came from. It runs,—

Viśvapālaḥ || *daśa chaityāṁs=tu yat=puṇyaṁ kārayitv=ārjjitaṁ mayā* [|*] *sarvvalōkō bhavē[t=tēna]*[1] *sarvvajñaḥ karuṇāmayaḥ* || *Śrī-Jayapāla ... ētān=uddiśya kāritam=Amṛitapālē[na].*

"Viśvapāla. By the merit which has been acquired by me after having caused ten *chaityas* to be made, let the whole world become omniscient, filled with compassion. A .... of *śrī*-Jayapāla has been made with reference to those (*chaityas*) by Amṛitapāla."

The name Viśvapāla does not seem to have any connexion with the context. It will be seen that two syllables are lost after the word Jayapāla. They probably contained a word indicating the object erected by Amṛitapāla. Jayapāla is perhaps the father of the Pāla king Vigrahapāla I. Jayapāla's father, Vākpāla, was a younger brother of king Dharmapāla, who lived about A.D. 861. The palæography of the inscription would take us down to the 9th century A.D.

VIII—XVI.

All these inscriptions contain the Buddhist Creed, or fragments of it. They belong to the 10th—12th centuries.

XVII.

Fragment of an inscription found on a stone to the east of the modern monastery north of the Main Shrine. It runs,

1. ... *ītraḥ śrī-Vra* ...
2. ... *[dhi]patyaṁ sātā bhuvanāśri* ...
3. ... *[va]bhūva tasya* || *saumyaḥ śrī* ...
4. ... *ṇḍ[i]tō=bhūt sutō=sya* |

[1] *bhavēt-tēna* cannot be read.

5. ... *gra-Śarvvadāsa-sutō* *s* *nusēś* ..
6. ... *sarvvasatvasya hētōḥ svasti*
7. ... *[Dha]rmmachakrē chakāra* ‖ *śrīmad-Dāda* ...
8. ... *taḥ Lōkēśvaradāsaḥ* ‖ *Ōm.*[1]

The beginning of the inscription contained the genealogy of a man, perhaps Lōkēśvaradāsa, who did something in the Dharmachakra. Of his ancestors, one was Sarvvadāsa, perhaps his father. I cannot identify any of these persons. Dharmachakra is known as the name of the Sārnāth monastery or a shrine within it (see below, Inscription XXIII). The characters of the inscription belong to the 10th century.

XVIII.

The uppermost r. hand corner of the inscription of the Kalachuri Kṛishṇa found during the excavations carried on in 1907. It only contains some laudatory epithets.

XIX—XX.

Two inscriptions of the 10th or 11th century which are too far gone to be made out. They seem to contain dedications of images.

XXI.

Found near the Dhamēkh Stūpa. Registers a gift of the Rājaputra Hātharidēva, the son of the Rājaputra Nājunadēva (?). 11th century.

XXII.

The Buddhist Creed, to which is added a note that "this is the gift of the *mahāyānānuyāyin*, the *paramōpāsaka* .... whatever merit is in this, let that be, etc., etc." The name of the donor has been lost. 11th or 12th century.

XXIII.

This inscription was found incised on a rectangular slab excavated to the north of the Dhamēkh Stūpa just below the raised mound running east and west over the remnants of the old Gupta monasteries.

The characters are Nāgarī of a very ornamental kind, covering a space of $21'' \times 15\frac{1}{2}''$. The inscription, which is in an excellent state of preservation, has been published in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. IX). As will be seen from the subjoined translation, it records the construction of a *vihāra* by Kumaradēvī, the queen of Gōvindachandra of Kanauj, whose inscriptions range from A.D. 1114 to 1154. It accordingly belongs to the first half of the 12th century. It is written in verse.

Translation.

Hail. Obeisance to the exalted noble Vasudhārā.

(Verse 1). May Vasudhārā protect the worlds (she, who is) a nectar stream of *Dharma;* who abates the broad stream of unlimited misery in the manifold universe;

[1] Expressed by a symbol.

who pours out riches of wealth and gold over earth, skies, and heaven, and who conquers all the misery of men in them.

(V. 2). Victorious be that lover of the lotuses, the flashing torch for the illumination of the world, who causes oozing of the lovely moon-gems and (brings tears into) the eyes of longing people; who opens the knot of pride in haughty damsels and also the closed lotuses; who, with his nectar-filled beams, revives the god of love, who was burnt to ashes by the impassioned Īśvara.

(V. 3). In his (the Moon's) lineage, which enjoys a valour worthy of homage; which is resplendent with shining fame; which speedily annihilates the pride of the river of the gods by its purity; which destroys the splendour of its adversaries, was a chief, known by the name of *Vallabharāja*, honoured among princes, the victorious lord of broad *Pīṭhikā*, of increasing mighty prowess.

(Vs. 4—5). The full moon elevating the lotuses of the Chhikkōra-family, known on earth as *śrī-Dēvarakshita*, the lord of Pīṭhī, (who) surpassed even the splendour of Gajapati by his splendour; whose glory alone ravished the hearts of the world, was descended from him (*i.e.*, Vallabharāja), as the moon from the ocean, a second Vishṇu, (*vidhu*) together with Lakshmī in the shape of his charm; a second moon bringing the ocean of joy to rise to the eyes (as the moon raises the ocean), a second moon, the lustre of whose light was his fame (or, a second Vishṇu with Śrī in the shape of the lustre of his fame); an incomparable treasure of goodness, a treasure of resplendent virtues, an ocean of profundity, a peerless store of religion, a store of energy, the only depositary of the love of arms;

(V. 6). who was a wishing tree visible to the eye bestowing goods longed for on those in need; who was an irresistible thunderbolt in accomplishing the splitting of the mighty mountains, his haughty foes; whose arm was like a sprout of a marvellous herb in healing the fever of Cupid in enamoured people, while he astonished the minds of kings.

(V. 7). In the Gauḍa-country there was a peerless warrior, with his quiver, the incomparable diadem of kshatriyas, the famous prince *Mahaṇa*, praised by kings, the maternal uncle (of Rāmapāla). He conquered Dēvarakshita in war and made the glory of Rāmapāla rise in splendour because the obstruction caused by his foes was removed.

(V. 8). The daughter of this Mahaṇadēva was like the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.* Pārvatī); she was married to the lord of Pīṭhī (as Pārvatī) to Svayambhū;

(V. 9). Known under the name of *Śaṅkaradēvī*, full of mercy like Tārā, and she was victorious in the effort to secure the creepers of the wishing tree.

(V. 10). To them, forsooth, was born *Kumaradēvī*, like a dēvī lovely like the charming streak of the spotless autumnal moon, as if Tāriṇī herself, prompted by compassion, had descended to earth with a wish to free the world from the ocean of misery.

(V. 11). After having created her, Brahmā was filled with pride at his own cleverness in applying his art; excelled by her face the moon was ashamed, remained in the air, postponed to rise till night, becoming impure and subsequently full of spots; how can this her marvellous beauty be described by people like us?

(V. 12). She, who in a wonderful way possesses a beautiful body, which is a glittering net for entrapping those antelopes, the moving eyes; which robs the wealth

of beauty of the waves of the playful milky ocean by her brilliant charm of lovely splendour; who does away with the infatuation of the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.*, Pārvatī) by her proud grace.

(V. 13). Her mind was set on religion alone, her desire was bent on virtues, what she accumulated was merit, she found a noble satisfaction in bestowing gifts, her gait was like that of an elephant, her appearance charming to the eye, she bowed down to the Creator, and the people sang her praise; she took her stand in the play of commiseration, was the permanent abode of luck, annihilated sin, and took her pride in abundant virtue.

(V. 14). In the royal Gahaḍavāla lineage, famous in the world, was born a king, Chandra by name, a moon among rulers. By the streams of tears of the beloved wives of the kings who could not resist him, the water of the Yamunā forsooth became darker.

(V. 15). The king Madanachandra, a crest jewel amongst impetuous kings, was born from him, the lord who brought the circle of the earth under one sceptre, the splendour of the fire of his valor being great and mighty, and who even lowered the glory of Maghavan by his glory.

(V. 16). Hari who had been commissioned by Hara in order to protect Vārāṇasī from the wicked Turushka warrior, was again born from him, as the only one who was able to protect the earth, his name being renowned as Gōvindachandra.

(V. 17). Wonderful, the calfs of the wishing cows could not formerly get even drops of the milk stream to drink, on account of its continuous use for satisfying the hearts of petitioners, but after the multitude of his petitioners had been gladdened through the liberality of that king, they sit down to the feast of drinking the milk which is always plentiful and applied according to their wishes.

(V. 18). In the capital of his adversaries hunters pick up fallen necklaces with a mind to use them as nooses for the deer in it, and not through mistake, and hunters quickly remove the fallen gold ring with sticks, their hands shaking with fear, mistaking it for a snake on account of its large size.

(V. 19). The chariot of the sun was delayed because its span of horses were greedy after the mouthfuls of fresh, shining, thick grass on the roofs of the palaces in the towns of his uprooted foes; and also the moon became slow, because he had to protect the gazelle (in its orb), which was falling down, having become covetous after the grass.

(V. 20). Kumaradēvī, forsooth, was famous with that king, like Śrī with Vishṇu, and her praises were sung in the three worlds, and in the splendid harem of that king, she was indeed like the streak of the moon amongst the stars.

(V. 21). This *vihāra*, an ornament to the earth, the round of which consists of nine segments, was made by her, and decorated as it were by Vasudhārā herself in the shape of Tāriṇī, and even the Creator himself was taken with wonder when he saw it accomplished with the highest skill in the applying of wonderful arts and like to (the palaces of) the gods.

(V. 22). Having prepared that copper-plate grant which was connected with the teaching of the *śrī-Dharmachakra-Jina,* and having given it to *Jambukī,* the foremost of all *pattalikās,* for so long a time as moon and sun endure on earth.

(V. 23). This Lord of the Wheel of the Law was again restored by her in accordance with the way in which it existed in the days of Dharmāśōka, the ruler of men, and even more wonderfully, and this *Vihāra* for that *sthavira*, was elaborately erected by her, and might he, placed there, stay there as long as moon and sun (endure).

(V. 24). If anyone on the surface of the world preserves her fame, then you *jinas*, who are intent on bowing down to the pair of feet of the Blessed one, must be his witnesses; but if any fool robs her fame, then those *lōkapālas* will quickly punish that wicked man in their wrath.

(V. 25). The poet in eight *bhāshās*, known as the trusted friend of the Baṅga-king, *Śrīkunda* by name, the learned, who was the only lion to attack the troop of the elephant like heretics, who was a Rōhaṇa mountain of the flashing jewels of poetical composition, he made this eulogy of her, charming with strings of letters beautifully arranged.

(V. 26). This *praśasti* has been engraved by the *śilpin Vāmana* on this excellent stone which rivals the *rājāvarta* (*i.e.*, Lapis Lazuli).

It will be seen that, after invocations of Vasudhārā and the Moon, the inscription gives the genealogy of Kumaradēvī and Gōvindachandra. The latter is well known, and his lineage is given in the same way as in other inscriptions. We learn that he was an incarnation of Vishṇu for the purpose of freeing Benares from the wicked Tarushka soldiers, *i.e.*, from Muhammadan raiders. Gōvindachandra was himself an orthodox Hindu, but we see from our inscription that he was tolerant enough to marry a Buddhist wife.

Kumaradēvī was the daughter of Śaṅkaradēvī and Dēvarakshita. The latter who must have lived in the last part of the 11th century, was the son of Vallabharāja and, like him, apparently a local governor or general in Pīṭhī, which may be identified with Piṭṭāpuram in the Gōdāvarī District. Śaṅkaradēvī was the daughter of Mahaṇa the maternal uncle of the Gauḍa king Rāmapāla.

The chief importance of the inscription for the history of Sārnāth rests with the description of the gift it registers. We are first told, in V. 21, that a *vihāra* was constructed. Then Vv. 22-23 inform us how the queen prepared a copper-plate connected with the teaching of the Lord of the Wheel of the Law (*śrī-Dharmachakra-jina*) and gave it to a certain Jambukī, who is described as the foremost of all *pattalikās*,[1] and that she then restored the Lord of the Wheel of the Law as it had been in Dharmāśōka's days. Then it is stated that the *vihāra* of that *Sthavira* (*i.e.*, of the Lord of the Wheel of the Law) was caused to be made with great care, and the wish is expressed that he (the Lord of the Wheel of the Law) may reside in that *vihāra* for ever.

It seems necessary to infer that the "Lord of the Wheel of the Law" (*śrī-Dharma-chakra-jina*), which is stated to have existed in Dharmāśōka's days, was an image of the Buddha, and that the *vihāra* built by queen Kumaradēvī as a dwelling

[1] This is the feminine of *pattalaka*, which word is elsewhere found in connection with *viśvāsika*; see *Ep. Ind* Vol. iii, p. 44, l. 33.

place for him, was a shrine, a *gandhakuṭī*. The copper-plate mentioned may have contained the famous Benares Sermon, but the wording of the text can also be constructed to mean simply that it was drawn up in accordance with the teaching of the Buddha.

We thus learn from our inscription that there was an old image of the Buddha in Sārnāth, known as the Dharmachakrajina, the Lord of the Wheel of the Law. His shrine was known as *Dharmachakra-jinavihāra*. We have already met with the term *Dharmachakra* or *Dharmachakravihāra* as a name of the whole Sārnāth establishment of which a *gandhakuṭi* formed part. We now see that Dharmachakra was also used to denote an image, and *Dharmachakrajinavihāra* as the name of a shrine.

J. H. MARSHALL.

STEN KONOW.

Plan of Saheth-Maheth

References.

Ancient Site	
Glade	G
Depression	D
Mound	M
Well	W
Foot-path	

Reg. No. 4063 E., 09.—II.—450.

EXCAVATIONS AT SAHĒṬH-MAHĒṬH.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

IN view of the famine prevailing in certain districts of the United Provinces it was decided that, instead of resuming my explorations at Kasiā,[1] I was to transfer operations to the ancient site of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh in the Gonda and Bahraich districts. This site is situated at nearly equal distances from Bahraich and Gonda, 5 miles east of Akaunā (Bahraich) and 12 miles west of Balrāmpur (Gonda). According to Cunningham, it lies 58 miles north of Ayōdhyā (Faizābād district). Mr. Marshall arranged that in connection with the excavations a complete survey of the site should be made by Mr. A. J. Wilson. He also lent me the services of Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, whose assistance proved of great use. Besides these two officers and my ordinary staff, a sub-overseer and a temporary clerk were appointed. The work was started as an ordinary work and, after the R3,000 originally sanctioned for the Kasiā excavations had been exhausted, it was turned into a civil work, financed from famine funds. In addition to the R3,000 already sanctioned, R7,289-2-0 were spent, the total expenditure amounting to R10,289-2-0. Moreover, a sum of R1,753 was granted for the preservation of the buildings excavated.

After some preliminary work had been done under the supervision of Mr. Wilson and Pandit Daya Ram, the excavations were actually started with 640 labourers on the 3rd of February and carried on till the end of April. During the month of April the excavations were continued by the Pandit and my head-draftsman. The number of labourers was gradually increased to 1,600 men. Among these, only 325 were diggers, whereas 1,000 were employed in carrying earth and 230 in clearing the jungle which completely covered the site.

In the course of the work my two draftsmen prepared 14 drawings and my photographer took 34 photographs of the buildings excavated. The finds have been provisionally placed in the *taḵḵhāna* of the Lucknow Museum, as the Museum building does not afford room for their proper exhibition.

The second portion of this paper, dealing with the excavations at Sahēṭh, is the work of Pandit Daya Ram Sahni.

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[1] Cf. *A. S. R.* for 1904-5, pp. 43—58, for 1905-6, pp. 61—85 and for 1906-7, pp. 44—67.

Before giving an account of this year's excavations at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh, I wish to insert here a résumé of previous explorations on this important site. In January 1863 Sir A. Cunningham first excavated the mounds of Mahēṭh and Sahēṭh which he identified as the site of the ancient city of Śrāvastī (Pali *Sāvatthī*) and that of the Jētavana, the famous Buddhist establishment outside that city.[1] This identification was confirmed by the discovery of a colossal Bōdhisattva image in one of the ruined shrines of Sahēṭh. An inscription incised on the base of this statue in characters of the Kushaṇa period records that the Bōdhisattva, together with a parasol, was set up by Friar Bala at Śrāvastī, at the Promenade *(chaṅkrama)* of the Lord Buddha in the Kōsamba-kuṭī. The date of the inscription is lost, but the subsequent discovery of the inscribed Bōdhisattva of Sārnāth, dedicated by the same Friar Bala in the 3rd year of the reign of Kanishka, proves that it belongs to the early Kushaṇa period.[2]

Before Cunningham resumed his explorations, Mr. W. C. Benet, C.S., Settlement Officer, did a few days' digging in Mahēṭh. It appears that he dug into the mound known as Pakkī Kuṭī, which Cunningham had identified with the Aṅgulimāla Stūpa[3] mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims. All that is known about his diggings are a few lines reproduced by Cunningham from the Oudh Gazetteer.[4]

Cunningham resumed his explorations at Sahēṭh in 1876, when he laid bare some sixteen distinct buildings, mostly *stūpas* and small temples of a comparatively late date. The little shrine (No. 3), in which the Bōdhisattva image had been found, he identified with the Kōsamba-kuṭī mentioned in the inscription, and another similar edifice, situated to the north of the former, he believed to represent the Gandha-kuṭī, the most notable monument of the Jētavana. The latter identification was solely based on the well-known Barāhat relief which portrays the donation of the Jētavana by Anāthapiṇḍika and in which the Gandha-kuṭī is shown to the left of the Kōsamba-kuṭī. It may, however, rightly be doubted whether the bas-relief is accurate as regards the relative position of the two temples.

It appears that about the same time (1875-6) Dr. W. Hoey, I.C.S., did some excavation at Mahēṭh, but no account is available of his diggings. It may be gathered, however, that he obtained some images from Sōbhnāth, the Jaina temple in the western portion of Mahēṭh. They included one of Sumati, the fifth Tīrthaṁkara.

More extensive explorations were carried out by Dr. Hoey both at Sahēṭh and Mahēṭh from 15th December 1884 till 15th May, 1885, at a cost of R5,000, supplied by the Balrāmpur Estate. They dealt with no less than 34 different buildings at Sahēṭh and some more in and around Mahēṭh. Unfortunately, not a single one of these monuments was completely excavated, and both the descriptions and plans subsequently published are inadequate to convey an accurate idea of the remains discovered. In his report[5] Dr. Hoey attempts to identify some of the buildings with

[1] Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. I, pp. 330 ff. (*cf.* also pp. 317 ff.) Pl. L (*cf.* also Pl. VII) and Vol. XI, pp. 78 ff.; Pl. XXIV—XXX. *Cf.* also Vol. V, p. VII.

[2] *Cf.* Bloch, *J. A. S. B.* Vol. LXVII (1898) Pl. I, pp. 274 ff. and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII (1905-6) pp. 179 ff. with plate.

[3] Previous authors use throughout the form *Aṅgulimāliya*. The correct Prākrit form, however, appears to be *Aṅgulimāla*. Cf. *Jātaka* (ed. Fausböll) Vol. V, p. 466. I do not know whether the name occurs in Sanskrit.

[4] *Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh* (Allahabad 1878) Vol. III, p. 286.

[5] *J. A. S. B.* Vol. LXI (1892), Pt. I, extra number, plates I—XXX.

monuments mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, but fails in most cases to adduce any proof. The etymologies of local place-names proposed by him in support of his identifications do not deserve a serious discussion. One of the most important finds made in the course of his excavations was a well-preserved stone inscription dated *Saṁvat* 1176 (A.D. 1119). It records the foundation of a monastery (*vihāra*) by an individual of the name of Vidyādhara, apparently a counsellor of Madana-pāla of Kanauj. This inscription was found in the courtyard of a Monastery (No. 21), which occupies the south-western corner of the Sahēṭh mound. It is now placed in the Lucknow Museum.[1]

As in his report Dr. Hoey fails to furnish accurate information regarding the objects discovered in the course of his diggings, I insert here a list[2] of "Accessions to the Lucknow Museum for the month of May 1886" which were obtained by him from Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh.

1. A large inscribed slab dated *Saṁvat 1186* (*read 1176*).
2. A reddish sandstone, inscribed, Gupta period.
3. Six fragments of two inscriptions from images of Jaina pontiffs.
4. An ancient inkpot (*sic*).
5. A bronze figure of a dragon.
6. An inscribed seal of a Buddhist Monastery.
7. Two baked clay seals, inscribed.
8. Ten clay seals (two unbaked) holding the Buddhist creed formula.
9. A collection of 500 unbaked clay seals.
10. A copper coin of Kanerki (*read* Kanishka).

The first inscription of this list is evidently the stone slab, found in Monastery No. 21, just referred to. Of the second inscription no mention whatever is made in Dr. Hoey's report, though in all probability it was the oldest and most important record found in the course of his excavations. It appears that it is a fragment of the post of the stone parasol erected by Friar Bala together with the Bōdhisattva statue. The inscription, though partly defaced, is identical with that on the image.[3] The inscribed clay-seals found by Dr. Hoey, it is impossible now to identify owing to the absence of any reliable record of the Lucknow Museum collections. The 500 unbaked clay seals mentioned sub 9 are no longer traceable. Dr. Hoey refers to them in the course of his report (p. 37).

So far the identity of Mahēṭh with Śrāvastī had been universally accepted. In 1898, however, Mr. Vincent A. Smith published a paper[4] in which he undertook to disprove Cunningham's identification. His arguments were chiefly derived from the data contained in the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims. Mr. Smith claimed, moreover, to have discovered the true site of Śrāvastī between the villages of Bālāpur, Kaṁdi and Iṇṭāvā in Nepal territory near the place where the Rāptī leaves the hills. In a subsequent paper Mr. Smith dealt with the question of the colossal Bōdhisattva image of Sahēṭh which formed the main support of Cunningham's theory. There can be little doubt that originally this image stood in the open, sheltered by its stone

[1] *Cf.* Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, (1888), pp. 61f.

[2] *Minutes of the Managing Commitee, Provincial Museum, N. W. P. and Oudh, August 1883 to March 1888* (Allahabad 1889), p. 171.

[3] *Cf.* Bloch, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, pp. 290*f.*

[4] V. A. Smith, *Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī, J. R. A. S.* for 1898, pp. 503ff. *Cf.* also *Śrāvastī J. R. A. S.* for 1900, pp. 1ff.

parasol. When discovered, however, it was enshrined in a small temple, apparently of a late date. Mr. Smith concluded that it was removed from the true Srāvastī to Sahēṭh at a time when the former place had become deserted. The distance of the two places is about 50 miles, but the Rāptī would have afforded a convenient water-way for the removal of the image. In support of his theory Mr. Smith adduced the example of a Birār image which is said to have been removed from Nāgpur to Lonār over a distance of 70 miles.

The question of the identity of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh with Śrāvastī and the Jētavan was, therefore, still a matter of dispute at the time when the excavations were resumed in the winter of 1908.

As the modern name of the site has been adduced in favour of the identification, a few words may be said on this point. There exists a considerable variety in the spelling adopted by different writers. Cunningham gives the name as Sāhet-Māhet and Mr. Smith has Sāheṭ-Māheṭ. Dr. Hoey was first inclined to adopt the spelling Sēṭ-Mahēṭ, but afterwards changed it into Sēt-Mahēt, a spelling which has since been followed by other authors.[1] Regarding the minor site Dr. Hoey remarks that "the settlement map first prepared after the annexation calls it Set, and the patwaris of the neighbourhood preserve the name." Considering the great carelessness in the rendering of place-names noticeable in Indian maps, I do not think that much importance can be attached to the settlement map quoted by Dr. Hoey. According to the local pronunciation the correct spelling is Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh which agrees with that followed by the *paṭvārī* of Chakar Bhaṇḍār. This spelling I have adopted in the present publication.

I.—MAHEṬH.

A.—General Description.

It should be noticed first of all that the names Sahēṭh and Mahēṭh are applied to two distinct sites situated at a distance of ¼ mile from each other. Mahēṭh, the larger of the two, is described by Cunningham as "an almost semi-circular crescent with its diameter of one mile and a third in length, curved inwards and facing the north-east, along the old bank of the Rapti river." He makes its circuit 17,300 feet or upwards of 3¼ miles. According to our recent survey the circuit is 17,250 feet, enclosing an area of 40,743 acres.

Both the extent and configuration of Mahēṭh can leave no doubt that it is the site of an ancient city. Its outline is very distinctly marked by earthen ramparts. These considerably vary in height, those to the west being 35′ to 40′ high, while those on the south and east are not more than 25′ to 30′. In the ramparts there are a series of openings giving access to the interior, which is almost entirely covered with jungle. These passages are denoted by the name of *darwāza,* but it is clear that they cannot all represent real city gates. Most of them are certainly only gaps or depressions in the ramparts.

On the accompanying plan I have given the names by which these so-called gates are locally known, but I have altered some of them, so as to make them more

[1] Hoey, *Report* pp. 3f. Cf. *Ind. Int.* Vol. XVII (1888), p. 61, footnote, and V. A. Smith *J. R. A. S.* for 1900 p. 7.

intelligible. As there were no less than three gates indicated by the name *Piprāhvā*, (*i.e.*, *Pīpal*) Gate, I have adopted new names for two of them. It will be seen that the gates are named either after villages or buildings from or to which they lead, or after particular trees which grow on the adjoining ramparts. The latter nomenclature is far from satisfactory, and I have, as far as possible, replaced the names of trees by names of localities. I shall now briefly describe these gates and try to establish which of them represent real city gates.

At the eastern extremity of the site are two passages, named Bāṅkī and Gaṅgāpur Darwāza, after two neighbouring villages. The Bāṅkī gate is only a slight depression, 8′ wide, and does not seem to mark an original city gate. The Gaṅgāpur gate is 14′ wide. Through these two passages footpaths lead into the eastern portion of Mahēṭh which is comparatively open and free from vegetation. The Gaṅgāpur gate is locally known by the name of Khuṛkhuṛihā Darwāza, the meaning of which I have not been able to find out.

From this gate the ramparts run south-west for about 1,500′ and then turn due west. At the turning-point there is a gate of very peculiar aspect. It is locally known as Piprāhvā Darwāza, but I have renamed it after the village Kānd-bhārī which lies just opposite. It consists of two passages separated by a roughly circular space which is surrounded by mounds. The outer passage, which is 18′ wide, is enclosed between two low mounds, but on both sides of the circular space are two distinct bastions, that to the west rising to a height of 29′. The inner passage is a long ravine, 8′ wide. Outside, distinct from the gate proper, there are two low mounds which apparently are the remains of outworks. The appearance of the Kānd-bhārī Gate suggests an original city gate, but further exploration would be required to settle this point definitely. Inside there is a depression of the soil. A footpath leads from here to the Juṛihā Gate.

At a distance of only 460′ is the next gate, which is called Niddhī Darwāza. It is said to have been named after a man who was buried in the neighbourhood, but no grave is now anywhere traceable. The Niddhī Darwāza is only a slight depression, 14′ wide. On both sides of the Kānd-bhārī Gate the brick parapets are still extant. They are 12′ 10″ wide to the west, and 17′ 6″ to the east of the gate. To the east, a second wall seems to have been built on to it. The bricks are of various sizes. The common size is 11″ by $5\frac{1}{2}$″ by 3″, but some are large flat bricks, $11\frac{1}{2}$″ square by $3\frac{1}{2}$″ thick. Each brick has three grooves, apparently intended to make the mortar adhere to it more firmly. It is noteworthy, that, though the parapets on both sides still stand to a height of 2′, there is no trace of a gateway. This makes it very doubtful whether there originally existed a gate on this spot.

The next gate I have named Chīrēnāth Gate after a small shrine, situated outside it, which is known as Chīrēnāth Mahādēv, on account of the stone *liṅga* which it contains being split (Hindī *chīrnā* "to split"). As pointed out by Dr. Hoey,[1] the temple, which is modern, stands on earlier ruins. For his assumption that the *linga* is the lower portion of a memorial column there does not exist any foundation.

[1] *Report*, p. 43; Plate IV.

Next comes the Bāzār Gate, a passage 12′ wide, which gives access to a broad path leading almost due north and widening out into a glade, which is marked by the settlement pillar *b* and situated south-east of the ruined temple known as the Kachchī Kuṭī. Dr. Hoey[1] remarks that the Bāzār Gate (his Gate Y) "seems to have consisted of two arches in the wall. The traces of the centre pillar and of the side walls are still clearly marked." It is a pity that the plan published by Dr. Hoey (Plate XIII) fails to show any structural remains. At present there is no trace of a gate, either with one or two arches. Anyhow, there is good reason to suppose that the Bāzār Darwāza marks in reality the site of one of the city gates, as it seems to be the starting point of a broad street or bāzār. Dr. Hoey also remarks that this gate is situated right opposite Oṛā Jhār. It thus would provide a communication between this important site and the main group of ancient monuments inside the city.

The two next gates are known as Kachrī and Nīm Darwāza (the exact local forms are Kachrīhvā and Nibihā Darwāza) after two species of trees. They are only narrow passages, 13′ and 8′ respectively in width. From both there are footpaths leading to the main group of buildings. The Kachrī Darwāza I have renamed Bagahī-bhārī Gate after the neighbouring village.

More important is the Baitārā Darwāza (Dr. Hoey's X ?) named after the Baitārā Tāl, a rectangular tank situated near it. Dr. Hoey[2] proposes to identify this tank with the place where Dēvadatta was engulfed, "because the very name may obviously be a corruption of *baitāl,* a demon, the connection of which with the story of Devadatta is easily seen." I must confess that to me the connection does not appear to be as obvious as it seems to Dr. Hoey. The Baitārā Gate faces the village of Chakar-bhaṇḍār. The ramparts to the west rise to a height of 32′. The passage is 40′ wide and is the starting point of a footpath which leads by the settlement pillar to the Pakkī Kuṭī, passing at a short distance by the group of three small Brahmanical (?) shrines excavated by Dr. Hoey.[3]

At a little distance east of the Baitārā Gate I made two cuttings, 13′ wide through the ramparts; that nearest the gate reached a depth of 16′ below the top of the mound. No trace of a wall was found, though from the abundance of loose bricks, both in and outside, it is evident that once brick parapets must have existed here. Owing to the absence of structural remains, it is impossible to prove the existence of a gate on this spot. Inside some irregular walls built of small bricks were found.

To the west of the Baitārā Gate also a cutting was made, 14′ wide, but with the same negative result. In making these cuttings, however, a few objects were discovered, of which I insert a list.

A terra-cotta figurine of a female seated and holding a child at her left breast. Head missing. Ht. 0 m. 09.

A terra-cotta figurine of a woman standing and holding a child at her left breast. Heads and feet missing. Ht. 0 m. 10.

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[1] *Report*, p. 38, Plate XIII.

[2] *Report*, p. 41.

[3] Dr. Hoey refers to these temples on p. 57 of his Report, but it is not clear for what reason he calls them Hindū. Among the images figured on Plate XXIV there is one (ht. 1′ 6″) in unbaked clay, which apparently represents Śiva destroying the demons. It is now in the Lucknow Museum, but I do not find mention of where exactly it was discovered. Dr. Hoey gives a plan of the supposed Hindū temple on Plate XX.

A terra-cotta figurine of a female standing with her left hand resting on her hip. Ht. 0 m. 09.
Five spindle-whorls of baked clay.
Fragment of a ring of baked clay.
Fifteen beads.
Fragment of cornelian (?).
An iron ring.
Three copper-coins.
Two arrow-heads. Length 0 m. 18 and 0 m. 08.

Next we have a slight depression, 12′ wide, called Pipārā, *i.e.*, Pīpal Gate. There is no evidence that there existed here a gate originally, as trial excavations did not reveal any structural remains either of a gate or a wall.

Then follows the Galhi or Gelhi Darwāza (Narrow Gate?), which possibly represents an original passage. It will be noticed that this is the point nearest Sahēṭh, the distance from here to the northern edge of the Sahēṭh mound being 1,386′ or a little more than a quarter of a mile. Inside this gate we find a group of Jain temples which will be described in connection with Sōbhnāth.

The so-called Sōbhnāth Darwāza is nothing but a narrow and shallow passage, 8′ wide, across the ramparts and evidently not an original city gate. In making a cutting here, a punch-marked silver coin was found.

The Imlī Darwāza or Tamarind Gate opposite the village of Husain Jōt, has distinctly the aspect of a main entrance to the ancient city. It is a passage, some 26′ wide, flanked by two pronounced mounds. That on the right or south side crowned by a cluster of tamarind trees, after which the gate is named, is 48′ and that to the left 42′ high. A distinct gateway, however, could not be traced. On the top of the southern mound there is an irregular masonry platform, built of large bricks (17″ by 12″ by 3″.) Dr. Hoey may be right in surmising that these remains have belonged to a brick watch-tower. A trench run into the mound from the west revealed some irregular walling of small bricks, but this can hardly have made part of the fortifications. The mound itself is apparently nothing but a mass of mud. On the top of the northern bastion—if we may use this term—there is a brick platform which possibly represents the foundation of another watch tower. The bricks of which it is built are mostly broken, but their size appears to have been 15″ by 11″ by 3″, which, as we shall see subsequently, is the same size as that of the bricks used in the bastions of the Nausahrā Gate. This point is of some interest, as it indicates that the fortifications on both the opposite sides of the ancient city belong to the same period of construction. In exploring the northern bastion of the Tamarind Gate, I found a brick wall, 31′ long, 7′ wide, and 3′ high, which runs out from it in a westerly direction. Here the size of the bricks is 12″ by 9″ by 2″. It is noteworthy that this wall is built on a slope. In describing the Nausahrā Gate, we shall have occasion to note similar flanking walls.

In front of the Tamarind Gate I wish to notice a group of ruins covering an area of about 300′ by 250′. Dr. Hoey[1] who did some excavations here refers to these remains as "an external work, an apron-wall probably, inside which appear to have been

[1] *Report*, p. 37.

quarters for soldiers. The central space was occupied by a building, which may have been a guard-room, or a monk's residence or an octroi post; in fact it may have served all these purposes at various periods." As long as these remains have not been fully explored, it is difficult to decide as to their exact purpose. What is left of Dr. Hoey's excavation, shows a large brick structure, the west wall of which has a thickness of 7'. To the west of it is a depression, possibly once a tank, enclosed by low mounds. Inside this building Dr. Hoey discovered the 500 inscribed sealings of unbaked clay, already mentioned, which were sent to the Lucknow Museum and have since disappeared.

From the Imlī to the Pīpal Darwāza the ramparts run due north. The Kañjī Gate is merely a footpath leading over the ramparts. It is situated opposite the tank, Sagrā Tāl, to the north-west of which rises a small mound known by the name of Barm Dēv.

The next two gates are very distinct passages, 49′ and 46′ wide respectively and equal in level with the fields. They are named Khairā and Khairī Darwāza, after the two pools which occupy the north-west corner of Mahēṭh. On Cunningham's plan they are shown as one lake—narrow in the centre. But in reality there are two distinct pools separated by a mound on which a *sādhu* has taken up his residence. The mound contains an old well. I may add that the names Khairā and Khairī, as applied to these pools, are often interchanged. With reference to the gates, the names are hardly appropriate, as both give access to the southern pool usually called Khairā. A footpath leads from both gates to the northern, or Khairī, pool. In this connection I may also mention a small tank called Sūraj Kuṇḍ, where an annual *mēlā* takes place on the *pūrṇamāsī* of the month of Kārttika, supposed to be the date of Rāma's birthday. At the south-west corner of this tank is a small mound on which a *sādhu* used to live. It will be noticed that opposite the Khairā Gate there is a mango grove containing a well and a *liṅga* temple, known by the name of Banī-nāth "the Lord of the Grove."

The north-western corner of the fortifications is marked by a bastion, 40′ high, to the north of which a passage, 12′7″ wide, crosses the ramparts. It is named Pīpa-rhiyā Darwāza or Pīpal Gate after a large *pīpal* tree growing on the top. From here the ramparts turn eastwards in the direction of the Naukhān or old bed of the Rāptī. On its right bank, at a little distance north of Mahēṭh, once stood the village of Rājgaṛh. Some forty years ago, when the village was destroyed by a flood, the inhabitants settled in Gularihā, west of Mahēṭh, which since then has become known by the double name of Rājgaṛh-Gularihā. The northernmost gate of Mahēṭh has been named Rājgaṛh-Darwāza, after the original village. It is 33′ wide and gives access to the Khairī Tāl. The ramparts rise here to a height of 63′.

At the spot where the old Rāptī approaches the northern extremity of Mahēṭh there is a gap, some 500′ wide, in the old ramparts. It is evidently due to the action of the river. This gap is locally known as Kalbalā Darwāza, *i.e.*, Karbalā Gate, because on occasion of the Muḥarram the villagers dispose of their *tāzias* on the adjoining river bank. I may note that in the various parts of Oudh this festival is celebrated both by Hindūs and Moslims. The name Kalbalā affords an instance of the interchange of *l* and *r* in the dialects of these sub-Himalayan districts, which is also

noticeable in certain place-names such as Rummin Dei (from *Lumbinī-Lumminī*), and Piprāhvā (from *pīpal* "ficus religiosa").

From the so-called Karbalā Gate the ramparts run south-east with a slight inward curve. The Naukhān or old Rāptī gradually recedes from the ancient site, thus leaving a widening strip of fertile soil which is indicated by the name of Nausahrā. Along the river-face there are no less than twelve "gates", including the Karbalā Darwāza just mentioned and the Bāṅkī Darwāza from which we began our circumambulation of the ancient city. It will, however, be seen that only one of these—the Nausahrā Darwāza, named after the low land along the river—has been proved to be one of the original city gates. A detailed description of this gate will be given in a subsequent section of the present paper. The remaining so-called gates, whether original or not, deserve only a short notice.

First come the Sandel (Channan) and Bēl (Bēlharī or Bēlahī) Gates, the latter 40′ wide, both named after trees. The next three are named after three prominent monuments inside Mahēṭh: the tomb of Mirān Sayyid, the Pakkī Kuṭī and the Kachchī Kuṭī. The Mirān Sayyid Gate is 18′ wide, the Pakkī Kuṭī Gate is a narrow gap of 8′; and the Kachchī Kuṭī Gate is 17′ wide. Next comes the Nausahrā Gate, to be described subsequently. After the Nausahrā Gate we have the Juṛihā Darwāza, a twin gate, as the name indicates. That to the west is a distinct passage and the other only a slight depression. Near the former a small cutting, 2′ wide, was made; but nothing was found, except earth and loose bricks. From the Twin Gate a footpath leads to the Kānd-bhārī Darwāza, as has been stated above. The Potters Gate (Kumharā Darwāza) is a passage, 8′ wide, with masonry remains, consisting of small bricks, on both sides. The Madār Gate (Madarhana Darwāza), called after the tree of that name, is a slight depression at a small distance from the Potters Gate.

Before proceeding to give a detailed account of the monuments of Mahēṭh, I wish briefly to mention a hypothesis advanced by Mr. V. A. Smith.[1] "The walled town", he says, "was protected in old days on the north, and perhaps also on the east, by the Rāptī, which used to flow under the ramparts, and has cut away a portion of them. The walls in the eastern portion of the northern face are lower and weaker than the fortifications on the north-western and western side. Major Jaskaran Singh of Balrāmpur who accompanied me on the occasion of my second visit in March 1899 believes that these lower walls are comparatively late substitutes, perhaps dating from the time of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, for parts of the original fortifications are cut away by the river. The country-people say that masonry is found far out in the bed of the river, of which the stream has moved a couple of miles away. The city was originally probably of a rectangular shape, as indicated by the dotted line inserted in the tracing."

I do not exactly know how far Major Jaskaran Singh can be trusted as an authority in matters archæological, but I may say at once that my excavations at the Dasahrā Gate leave little doubt as to the antiquity of the gate itself and the adjoining fortifications. The main point on which Mr. Smith's conjecture is based can—I believe—be explained without resorting to the assumption that half the ancient city

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[1] *J. R. A. S.* for 1900, p. 14.

has been washed away by the Rāptī. The ramparts from the Tamarind Gate to the Karbalā Darwāza are higher and broader than elsewhere, most probably because this portion was not protected by a river. There was consequently greater need here for strong ramparts in the absence of natural defences.

There is good reason to assume that the south face was at some time likewise sheltered by a natural watercourse. Cunningham marks on his plan a distinct moat along the south-west side of the ancient city. Mr. Smith[1] observes that this moat—now for the most part a rice swamp—communicates through ponds with a canal, six miles long, which runs due south and joins the Kuānā river. This canal is known by the name of Bhūibanda Nālā. It seems to me that those ponds—Khajuhā Tāl, Baitārā Tāl, Voindā Tāl, and another Khajuhā Tāl—mark the course of an ancient river which once flowed along the south-west corner of Mahēṭh. It is quite natural that tanks should be dug in the depressions caused by a dried-up river bed. The existence of such an old river bed is very clear to the south of Ōṛā Jhār ("Basket Dust"). This mound, apparently a ruined *stūpa*, together with the smaller mounds of Panahiyā Jhār ("Shoe Dust") and Kharahuā̃ Jhār ("Sandal Dust") forms another ancient site which still remains to be explored. The names of these three mounds refer to a tradition that, when the buildings of Sahēṭh were being constructed, the workmen, on their return home, daily used to knock out their baskets on this spot. The Ōṛā Jhār mound stands on the right bank of the river bed just referred to. It seems most likely that when the monument represented by this mound was raised, the river was still in existence.

Dr. Hoey's identifications[2] of Ōṛā Jhār and Panahiyā Jhār with the palace of Virūḍhaka and a cockpit (*sic*) hardly deserve serious consideration. At the present stage of our knowledge of the remains of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh it would indeed be vain to attempt to identify any of the individual monuments mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims. It should not be lost sight of that the ruins of this site reflect the condition of the ancient city and its environs at the time immediately preceding the Muhammadan conquest. It is most unlikely that at that time the position of the city, its gates and different edifices should have been the same as nearly six centuries before, when Hiuen Tsiang visited the sacred sites of Buddhism.

Mr. Smith rightly points out that the site of Mahēṭh represents a ruined town and not merely a palace. I doubt, however, whether it is quite correct to say that it is "a town all complete in itself." There were no doubt suburbs outside the walled enclosure. Their former existence is indicated by brick remains and minor mounds and by the frequent discovery of coins in the fields all around. It would perhaps be most correct to call Mahēṭh an akropolis—the fortified inner city containing, besides the palace, a number of temples and other religious monuments, tanks, barracks and bāzārs. It may be compared with the *Qila* ' of the Muhammadan period. Evidently this is exactly what Beal in his translation of Hiuen Tsiang's description of Śrāvastī renders by " the royal precincts " and Cunningham is, therefore, quite right in asserting that the circuit of 20 *li* of " these royal precincts " closely agrees with that of the ancient site of Mahēṭh.

[1] *J. R. A. S.* for 1900, p. 14.

[2] *Report*, pp. 39f. The names of these mounds are modern. *Cf.* Smith *J. R. A. S.* for 1900, p. 16.

B.— Kachchī Kuṭī. (Plates XXIII—XXVI.)

The most important group of monuments in Mahēṭh is found about the middle of the river face in the immediate proximity of the ramparts. Included in the ramparts between the Pakkī Kuṭī and Kachchī Kuṭī Gates is a large *stūpa* which I have called *A*. Due west of it at a distance of 300′ is a mound containing a massive brick building known as Pakkī Kuṭī. Cunningham called it *E* and identified it with the Aṅgulimālā *stūpa*. South-east of this building at a distance of 250′ rises another brick edifice of considerable size, called the Kachchī Kuṭī. It is Cunningham's *D*, which he identified with the *stūpa* of Sudatta. It is not clear which buildings he indicates as *B* and *C*, as there are only a few small mounds to the west of the Kachchī Kuṭī. Due west of the Pakkī Kuṭī, at a distance of 360[1], there is an extensive but flat mound of rectangular shape which hitherto has remained unexplored. Near its north-western corner we notice a Muhammadan grave in a plain brick enclosure. It is the tomb of Mīrān Sayyid, who is said to have been the first Muslim governor of the place.

The Kachchī Kuṭī was partly excavated by Dr. Hoey, but both his description and plan[1] are inadequate to convey an idea of this building. I must point out first of all that this ruin represents different periods of construction. Latest in date is a small brick shrine, which stands in the top of the mound and of which the west and north walls are still extant. The other two sides have been rebuilt with *kachchā* masonry apparently by the *sādhu* who once resided here. This accounts for the name Kachchī Kuṭī, the latter word being applied to the residence of an ascetic. The *sādhu* is probably responsible for caves dug in the solid masonry of the ancient plinth on which the shrine is raised and for an arched entrance on the east side. The original entrance was to the west, but had been closed—perhaps by the same *sādhu* or by a previous occupant—by means of a stone which must once have formed the pedestal of an image. It measures 3′ 6″ in length, 1′ 6″ in width and $7\frac{1}{2}''$ in height, has a depression ($2'\ 5'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2''$) cut in the top and is pierced in its centre with a mortice ($9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$) for the reception of the tenon of the image. Possibly this pedestal once carried the idol enshrined in the temple. Stone fragments, which must have belonged to an image, were found in the course of excavation around the plinth, but they are too small and indistinct to allow us to decide which deity the image represented. In any case, we may safely assume that the latest temple, the ruins of which are still extant on the top of the mound, contained a stone image.

The pedestal is equal in length to the width of the doorway, which is 3′ 6″ wide, and leads into a passage $5'\ 8\frac{1}{2}''$ wide. Of the actual shrine only the west and north walls are partly preserved. The distance from the north-west corner of the chamber to the passage is $3'\ 4\frac{1}{2}''$. As the latter must have been in the centre of the wall, it follows that the length of the wall internally was $3'\ 4\frac{1}{2}'' + 5'\ 8\frac{1}{2}'' + 3'\ 4\frac{1}{2}'' = 12'\ 5\frac{1}{2}''$. The shrine was probably square, approximately at least, as the north wall can be traced inside over a length of 12′ 9″. Adjoining the north wall we found a bit of a concrete floor, but as it is 3′ above what appears to have been the floor-level of

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[1] *Report*, p. 54, Pl. XVI. *Cf.* also V. A. Smith, *J. R. A. S.* for 1900, p. 17.

the chamber, it can hardly have belonged to the original shrine. The original building had recessed corners which could be traced along the north side. Subsequently it was encased in a retaining wall and became rectangular in shape.

It is obvious that the insignificant shrine just described is much later than the grand plinth on which it is raised. This plinth must have belonged to an edifice of much more imposing dimensions. It is true that the top building stands in the same axis as the rectangular plinth. But if this plinth had been raised merely as a substructure for that insignificant little shrine, it is not clear why—as we shall presently see—it was extended so far westward.

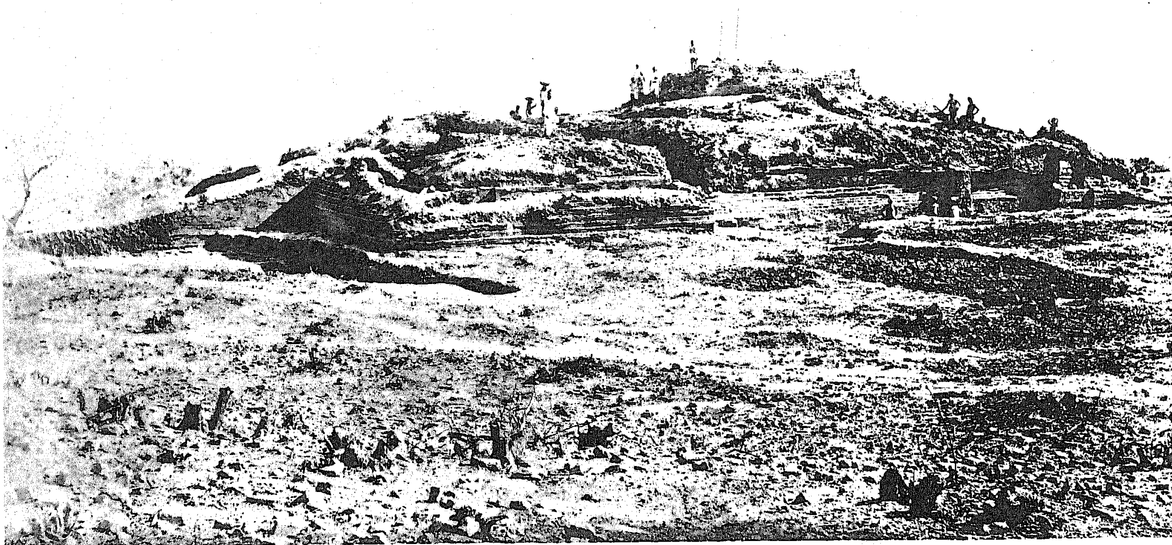
Excluding the projections and additions to be noted in the sequel, the plinth proper measures 105′ from east to west by 72′ from north to south. It is approached from the west side by a flight of steps, 45′ long and 14′ 5″ wide, which is curved in outline at the lower end—a peculiarity which we shall also notice in our description of *stūpa A* and the Jain temple of Sōbhnāth. On both sides of the steps is a later structure built on against the plinth wall and continued along the north and south sides for a distance of 24′ from the corners of the plinth. The exact purpose of this platform is not apparent, but there can be no doubt that it is a later addition. On the south side its shape is very irregular. The flight of steps itself is contemporaneous with the plinth, as both are similar in construction and equally covered with a layer of plaster. The existence of this flight of steps as well as the absence of doors and windows leaves no doubt that the rectangular structure is indeed a plinth.

All that remains of the temple which once surmounted this substructure is a portion of a floor of glazed green tiles, 9″ square by 1¼″ thick, which was discovered by Dr. Hoey immediately in front of the entrance to the later shrine. The level of this floor is about 2′ below that of the later shrine, and its width is 15′ 3″. It is continued under the foundations of the later building.

Each side of the rectangular plinth has a double projection, from 18′ to 19′ wide, at both ends. The north-east corner appears to have been rebuilt. The plinth-wall is best preserved on the north side where it stands to a height of 14′. Here we find the upper portion decorated with a row of pilasters of plain brickwork, 11″ wide, alternating with sunk panels, which are placed at distances of 3′ 10″. These panels are 16½″ or 17″ wide and 3″ deep. The height is no longer ascertainable, as the upper portions are missing. Presumably they once contained terra-cotta plaques, numerous fragments of which were found along the four sides of the building.

The pilasters rest on a cornice of four courses of brickwork, the lower course consisting of dentated bricks. Under this course are two receding courses. Then the wall goes down in offsets formed by courses of rounded bricks. At about 5′ beneath the cornice there is a row of weep-holes placed at distance of 6′ to 8′. At the foot of the north, east and south walls we notice two rectangular projections of brickwork, about 10′ wide, which possibly belong to some earlier structure. At the corners, also, there are double projections, but these apparently make part of the foundations, as they agree in outline with the double projections above. The upper portion of the wall is partly covered with a layer of plaster, ⅜″ thick.

In the course of his excavations Dr. Hoey pierced the northern and southern wall of the plinth and cleared what appeared to be two chambers (marked *a* and *b*



KACHCHI KUTI FROM SOUTH-WEST.



NAUSAHRA GATE FROM NORTH-EAST.

on his plan) rectangular in shape and enclosed by high brick walls. For convenience' sake I shall refer to these open spaces as "rooms," though it is evident that they never served the purpose of habitation. On the east side they are shut off by a continuous wall (E-E) of an ornamental appearance, which must have belonged to an earlier plinth, presumably square in plan. It will be seen from plate XXIV that the portion of the plinth to the east of this wall is approximately square and must represent the original plinth.

At the north side of the southern room Dr. Hoey found a wall of ornamental brickwork (F-F), and a similar wall (G-G) on the south side of the northern room. These two walls are distinct from the wall E-E and have evidently been added. The space between was covered with a sloping pavement of bricks set on edge. This ramp is, as it were, a continuation of the long flight of steps leading up to the plinth. I removed the pavement and cleared the space between the walls F-F and G-G. This space I shall refer to as "the central room." This excavation made it quite evident that E-E is one continuous wall decorated in a uniform fashion. The mode of decoration—see plate LVI—is similar in character to that of the later, rectangular plinth, but differs in detail. Here also we notice a series of sunk panels for the reception of terra-cotta plaques. Seven of these panels are preserved. They are square, and measure 1′ 7″ in width and height and 2½″ in depth. The plaques which they contained must, therefore, have been somewhat wider than those of the later, rectangular plinth. The sunk panels are separated by dwarf pilasters which are 3′ 5″ high and placed at distances of 4′ 9″. The pilasters are surmounted by a cornice supported on a row of small brackets. The top of the preserved portion of the wall is formed by the remnants of a similar cornice likewise resting on dwarf pilasters and brackets. The central portion of the wall is decorated with two bracketed cornices similar of construction but without pilasters. The length of the preserved portion of this decorated wall is nearly 42′. The size of the bricks is 11″ (or 12″) by 8″ by 2″. The lower portion of wall E-E, which is built of plain masonry, is separated from the upper decorated portion by a layer of earth 2″ thick. It, therefore, seems that the lower portion belongs to some earlier building. We notice along the top of this lower portion three weep-holes, similar to those found in the lower portion of the rectangular plinth, or, to speak quite correctly, in the portion of the rectangular plinth east of wall E-E. This weep-holed wall, therefore, forms a square and seems to represent a third plinth of still earlier date than that to which the ornamental wall E-E belonged.

It is a point of special interest that in the northern room the remnants were found of two circular structures partly hidden under wall E-E. From their shape we may infer that they are the remains of two small *stūpas* circular in plan and consequently early in date. Another point to be noticed here is that in clearing the central room several large carved bricks were found including the capital of a pilaster which was discovered immediately under the sloping pavement. Bricks of this type are not used in either of the two ornamental plinths just described. They point, therefore, to the former existence of a still earlier edifice of a highly decorative character. This edifice has completely disappeared, unless we are to assume that the earliest square plinth with the weep-holes belonged to it. As the large carved bricks are of the same type as those used in the early plinth of the Nirvāṇa temple of Kasiā, the building to which

they belonged may be assigned to the Kushaṇa or early Gupta period. Similar ornamental bricks came to light also in the northern and southern rooms at a very low level. Dr. Hoey does not mention whether he found any in clearing those two rooms, but a few specimens are reproduced on plate XXX of his Report.

It is obvious that the débris found in the central room represents an earlier deposit than that of the northern and southern rooms. It is, therefore, quite natural that the specimens of these early carved bricks should be found in the central room at a much higher level than in the two adjoining chambers.

This point is also of great interest in connection with the discovery of numerous terra-cotta fragments in these three rooms as well as outside at the foot of the wall enclosing the rectangular plinth. A few specimens came to light in excavation on the top of the plinth. It is clear that these terra-cottas found inside the three rooms are earlier than the rectangular plinth, and must have belonged either to the same building as the decorative wall E-E or to some still earlier edifice. Unfortunately, only very few more or less complete plaques were found and their size (17″ by 12″) does not agree with that of the sunk panels in E-E. But it should be remembered that this wall is only a portion of a plinth and that the building which once crowned it was most probably decorated in the same manner and may have contained panels of different sizes. I may also note here that the terra-cottas seem to belong to different periods and that those representing an earlier type were mostly found in the central room together with the large carved bricks.

We, therefore, obtain the following list of structural remains arranged in chronological order and shown on plate XXIV in different colours :

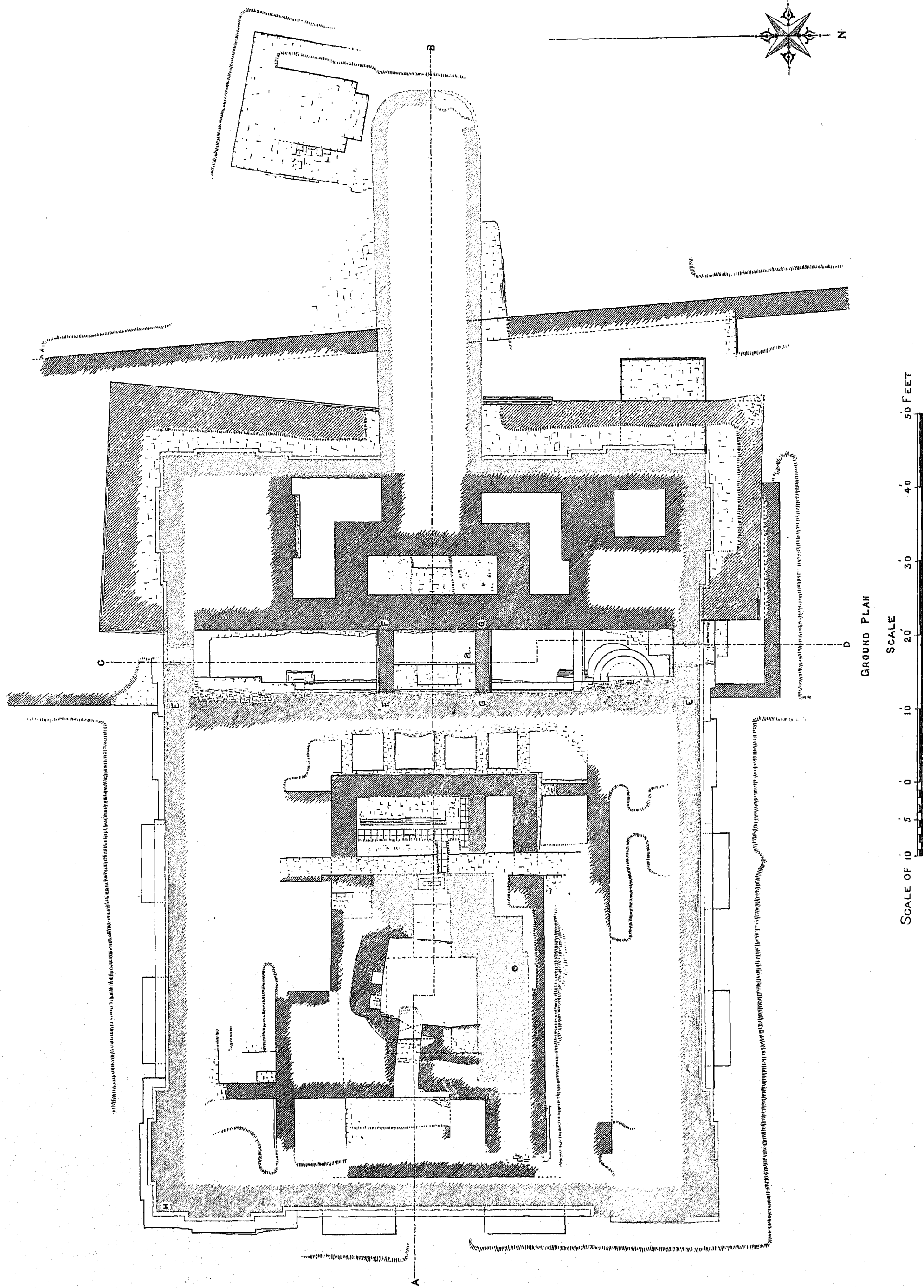
1st.—Two circular basements of small *stūpas*, probably Buddhist, found in the northern room in the foundation of wall E-E.

2nd.—Square plinth with double projections on both ends of each wall. Bricks 12″ by 8″ by $2\frac{1}{4}$″. Wall only extant to a height of 5′ to 6′ ; weep-holes along the top of the preserved portion. Possibly the superstructure of this plinth was decorated with carved bricks and terra-cottas of the earlier type found in excavation. Presumable date : Kushaṇa period.

3rd.—Square plinth raised on No. 2, apparently also provided with double projections on both ends of each wall. West wall E-E (shown in blue) extant to a height of 11′ 8″ above remains of No. 2. Decoration of moulded bricks; cornice supported by pilasters alternating with square panels evidently meant for the reception of terra-cotta reliefs, perhaps contemporaneous with the terra-cottas of the later type (Rāmāyaṇa series). Probable date : Gupta period.

4th.—Double wall (F-F and G-G) facing north and south, built at right angles against west wall of No. 3 and decorated with cornices of moulded brickwork. Both walls are cut off on the west side. The space between these two walls filled with débris, including carved bricks and terra-cottas of the earlier type which may have belonged to No. 2. The top was paved with brick tiles set on edge and slanting so as to form a ramp. Judging from this ramp, it seems probable that these walls were built to provide a means of access to No. 3. Originally the entrance of No. 3 must have been on one of the other sides, but no trace of it was found. Probable date between A.D. 600 and 800.

PLATE XXIV.


EXCAVATIONS AT SAHETH-MAHETH.
KACHCHI KUTI.
N
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
a.
GROUND PLAN
SCALE
SCALE OF 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET

5th.—Rectangular plinth (red) and with double projections on both ends of each wall and flight of steps leading up to it from the west. This plinth is raised on the ruins of No. 2. In its construction the square plinth was extended westward and the whole enclosed in a new wall decorated with moulded brickwork. The upper portion has a row of pilasters alternating with rectangular (?) panels probably meant for the reception of terra-cotta reliefs. Probable date between A.D. 800 and 1000.

6th.—Platform built along the west wall and parts of the south and north walls of No. 5.

7th.— Shrine (green) built on the top of the rectangular plinth No. 6. It forms a single, approximately square cell,—probably containing a stone image the pedestal of which is still extant. The plan of this shrine shows recesses and projections on the four sides, but subsequently it was encased in a retaining wall either square or rectangular in outline. Probable date; A.D. 1000—1200.

It should be distinctly understood that the above is only an attempt at analysing the confused mass of remains of the various buildings which have succeeded each other on the site of the Kachchī Kuṭī. As regards the more prominent ruins the order of their construction is at once evident from their relative position. But it is often doubtful to which of the main buildings we are to assign the less conspicuous or the detached portions of the ruin, like the floor of glazed tiles in front of shrine No. 7. As to the dates attributed to the various buildings, I may remark that the oldest dateable documents found in the course of excavation are a few inscribed clay sealings and one seal-die. As their legends are written in the Brāhmī character of the Kushaṇa type, I infer that the earliest monument which stood on this site goes back to the same period. A few of the terra-cotta reliefs are marked with numerals which enable us to assign them to the Gupta period. As stated above, they must have belonged either to building No. 3 or to some earlier edifice. For each of the later monuments I have put down a period of 200 years as the approximate date of their erection. I assume that after the Muhammadan conquest no new temples were built.

At a distance of 120′ to the east of the rectangular plinth a detached wall came to light running from south to north and turning westward at its northern extremity. Evidently this wall represents the enclosure of one of the ancient monuments which we have tried to trace in the ruins of the Kachchī Kuṭī.

Before finishing my account of the Kachchī Kuṭī, I wish to offer some remarks regarding the terra-cottas found in such profusion in the excavation of this building (plate XXVII, B). Their total number amounts to 356, as will be seen from the list inserted beneath. This list includes only those pieces which have preserved a distinct shape. I have arranged them in the order in which they were found so that their relative depth can be inferred from their place in the list. It should further be remembered that the so-called northern and southern rooms had been partly excavated by Dr. Hoey, who mentions that he found a clay figure of a monkey (his plate XXV d) and a head of an image in the southern enclosure.

The great difficulty in the way of adequately discussing the terra-cottas of the Kachchī Kuṭī is their very fragmentary state. We possess only seven base-reliefs which are more or less complete (Nos. 287, 288, 289, 313, 333, 334 and 335).

These were all discovered along the foot of the north wall of the rectangular plinth, with the exception of No. 288 which was found on the east side. These panels are uniform in size, their height being 12″ and their width about 15″. They are all provided with a raised border rudely decorated with a foliated design. It is noteworthy that on the complete panels we find a double border on the proper left side, whereas to the proper right the border is wanting. This clearly indicates that these bas-reliefs were meant to form a continuous frieze on the wall of the building. This observation renders it less likely that they belonged to the same monument as the square plinth No. 3, as on its preserved portion we find a different arrangement, namely, that of panels alternating with pilasters. It should be noticed that on the north side the complete panels were found 3½′ below the ground level of the rectangular plinth. This ground-level is clearly marked by a course of projecting bricks immediately over the weep-holes. On the east side also No. 288 was found at the level of the lower plinth.

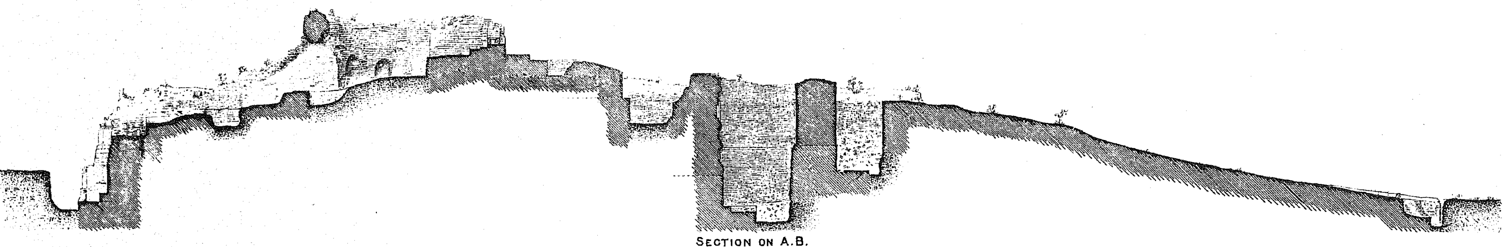
Except No. 334, the seven preserved bas-reliefs contain each two figures. The action of these figures is well expressed, but the treatment of the faces, hands and feet is second-rate. This will become more obvious if we compare the terra-cotta sculptures of the temple of Bhītargaon. In both cases, however, the terra-cottas, owing to imperfect burning, are black and comparatively soft inside.

The most interesting of the Mahēṭh terra-cottas is No. 287 of my list which shows a monkey brandishing a long mace in both hands and attacking a warrior armed with a sword (Pl. XXVII). In No. 335 we have a very similar scene; but here the heads of the two figures were found detached from the panel, and had to be refixed. There can be little doubt that these two scenes refer to the exploits of the monkey hero Hanumān described in the 5th and 6th cantos of the Rāmāyaṇa. Nos. 325, 326 and 333 which were found close together also represent fighting scenes; but it is impossible to identify the actors. In No. 288 we may perhaps recognize the meeting between Lakshmaṇa and the Rākshasī, Śūrpaṇakhā, who with bent knees and folded hands implores him to grant her his love (Pl. XXVII). Anyhow, the occurrence of the fighting ape on two of these bas-reliefs (Dr. Hoey's monkey is most probably a third Hanumān) indicates that these panels represent scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa. There can consequently be little doubt that the monument which they once decorated was Brahmanical. Most probably it was a Vishṇu temple. In any case the conclusion arrived at disposes of Cunningham's and Dr. Hoey's attempts to identify the Kachchī Kuṭī with one of the Buddhist monuments described by Hiuen Tsiang in the city of Śrāvastī.

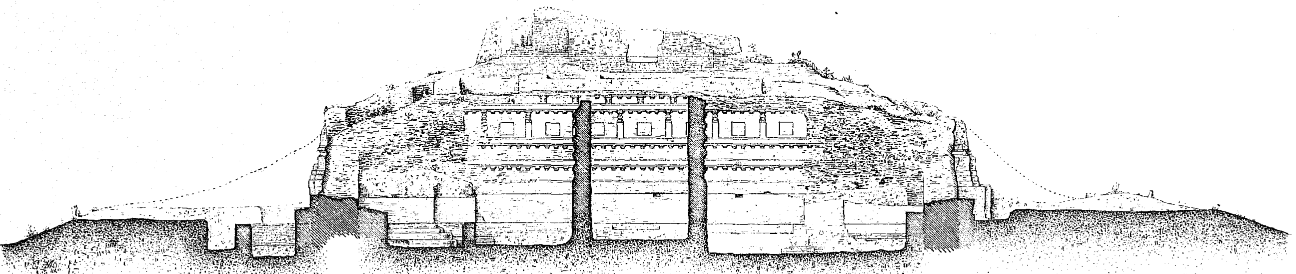
It has already been noticed that some of these terra-cotta panels are marked with numerical figures, evidently indicating the position which they were to occupy in the frieze. These numerals are incised on the lower border of the panel. Nos. 333 and 334 have each two figures which I read 18 and 23 respectively. On No. 287 also there are two figures which I am unable to identify. The figures exhibit the type found in the inscriptions of the Gupta period, and we may infer that this is the time to which these terra-cottas belong. I may note that from other sources also it appears that during the Gupta period terra-cotta sculpture was largely used for the decoration of brick buildings.

EXCAVATIONS AT SAHETH-MAHETH.

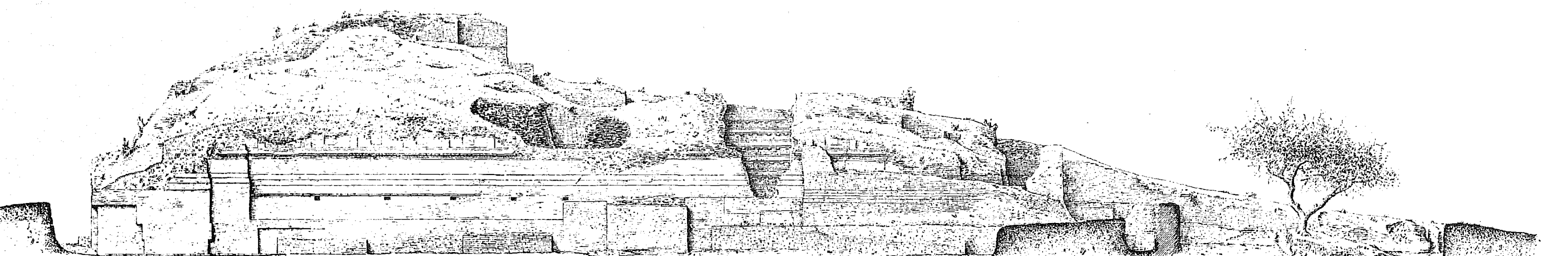
KACHCHI KUTI.



SECTION ON A.B.



SECTION ON C.D.



NORTHERN ELEVATION

SCALE OF 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET

SECTIONS AND ELEVATION.

Among the numerous fragments found in the course of excavation there are several which show the same foliated border as the complete panels of the Rāmāyaṇa type, and therefore must belong to the same series. Instances are Nos. 35, 59, 74, 145 and 226. On No. 35 we have the lower portion of a standing figure very similar to that on No. 288, which I suppose to represent Lakshmaṇa. In front of the figure in question we notice what appears to be a monkey's tail similar to Hanumān's tail in No. 287. Moreover, we have here the foliated border also. There is thus reason to suppose that it belongs to the Rāmāyaṇa series. It was found inside the northern room. Nos. 59,145 and 226, which I believe to belong to the same series, were found in the central room.

The southern room yielded nine fragments (Nos. 20, 28—34 and 40) which, when put together, formed a panel of semi-circular shape (ht. 13¼″ ; width 16½″). It represents a woman running after a little boy. The interpretation which at once suggests itself is that it refers to some episode of Kṛishṇa's childhood and that the woman is his fostermother Yaśodhā. Though different in size and shape, this panel exhibits the same style as those discussed above. It has the same foliated border. The figures are clumsy, especially the little Kṛishṇa, who is decidedly the ugliest urchin ever portrayed. The head of Yaśodhā is unfortunately lost, but her hands and feet are badly modelled.

In the course of excavation we found several fragments of superior workmanship, which I believe to belong to an older monument than those discussed above. In some cases the figures are remarkably well modelled. Among these more artistic fragments are several which contain the leg of an apparently seated figure shod with a boot or sock (Nos. 146, 151, 152, 294, 303 and 324). It is curious that all these fragments, except 324, were discovered in the central room, but not at a very low level. There is also a border fragment (No. 150) with an exquisitely modelled hand, which came to light on the same spot. We have further a curious fragment (No. 141) with what appears to be a monkey's paw. It seems to belong to the older type, as it is both well-baked and well-modelled. It was found in the central room.

A point of difference between the older and later terra-cottas is the border. Those of the Rāmāyaṇa series have, as we noticed above, foliated borders ; those of the older type have either plain borders, or they are cut in a simple geometrical pattern. Sometimes the border consists of only a single or double straight line. Then the older fragments are much better baked. They are just as hard as bricks, whereas the later ones are soft inside. The size also differs, and they seem in general to be thinner than those of the Rāmāyaṇa type. No. 273, which exhibits a prancing horse[1] very well modelled, is 13¾″ high. It was found at the foot of the south wall of the rectangular plinth. Unfortunately, not a single complete specimen of the older type came to light.

Besides the terra-cotta bas-reliefs which served the purpose of building decoration, I must mention some fragments of a nearly life-size figure of the same material which were found to the north of the flight of steps not far from the platform built on to the rectangular plinth. The largest fragment is a portion of a bent leg of a seated image (No. 104), which fits together with a left hand holding a lotus bud (No. 156).

[1] Possibly this fragment refers to the episode of Kṛishṇa's fight with the demon Dhēnuka. Cf. *Prēm Sāgar*, ch. XVI.

We found, moreover, the upper portion of an arm with a very elaborate ornament and remains of drapery (No. 174), and a fragment of a lotus seat (No. 175) which were discovered close together and appear to belong to the same image. It would be interesting to know whether the upper portion of a head with curious locks also made part of this image, as, on account of its frontal eye, it may be supposed to have belonged to a Śiva figure. It agrees with the other fragments in size, but it should be remarked that a lotus-bud would be a very unusual emblem in the hand of Śiva. Two other fragments of heads certainly belong to another figure.

In all probability the images represented by these fragments were once used as objects of worship, but it is difficult to decide in which temple they were enshrined. Most of the fragments came to light at a distance of 24′ to the north of the flight of steps and 11′ from the detached wall which crosses it at right angles. As this wall is continued on the south side of the staircase, it is evident that it belongs to an earlier period of construction than the rectangular plinth. The fragments were found 1½′ below the ground-level of the staircase. It follows that most probably they were already buried at the time when this staircase and the rectangular plinth were constructed. The image or images to which they belong cannot, therefore, have stood in a temple raised on that plinth. It seems plausible that the terra-cotta idols are contemporaneous with the terra-cotta bas-reliefs and were enshrined in one of the earlier temples, either No. 2 or 3. The Brahmanical character of the terra-cottas found at the Kachchī Kuṭī is confirmed by a three-faced head (No. 292) with top-knot and pointed beard, which presumably represents Brahmā. It was found on the south side of the plinth.

Finally, we must speak of another class of terra-cottas which have no connection with any particular building, namely, those rudely modelled animals of baked clay which are found on nearly every ancient site in India, whether Brahmanical or Buddhist. The use of such clay beasts as toys is often referred to in ancient literature. Among the ruins south-east of the Kachchī Kuṭī were found the fragments of a rudely fashioned figure (ht. 0 m. 27) of the same type as the "pot-images" of Kasiā.[1] We have been able to restore it, with the exception of the left leg which is missing. The body has the appearance of a reversed pot to which the head, arms and legs have been attached. The figure is distinctly marked as a male; he is seated and holds in his left hand a cup and in his right hand an indistinct object, perhaps a bag. He has a protruding belly with a deep navel, a necklace and a sacred thread. A plain bracelet round the left wrist is partly preserved. The head bears a high headdress and heavy ear-rings. Numerous fragments of similar "pot-images" were found at Mahēṭh in the course of excavation. I notice particularly a right foot (0 m. 12 long) with disproportionately long toes.

C.—Finds.

KĀCHCHĪ KUṬĪ.

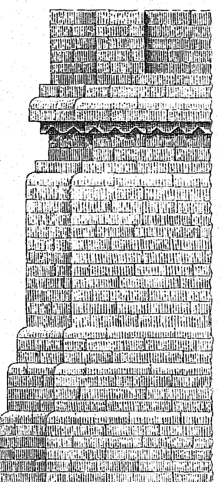
a.—Terra-cottas.

1. Lower half of figure with drapery round legs. Ht. 0 m. 14. Along west wall.
2. Indistinct fragment with drapery. Ht. 0 m. 08. Along south wall.

[1] Cf. *A. S. R.* for 1906-07, p. 56.

EXCAVATIONS AT SAHETH-MAHETH.

KACHCHI KUTI.



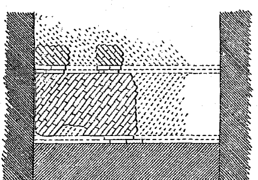
DETAIL H.

DETAIL a.

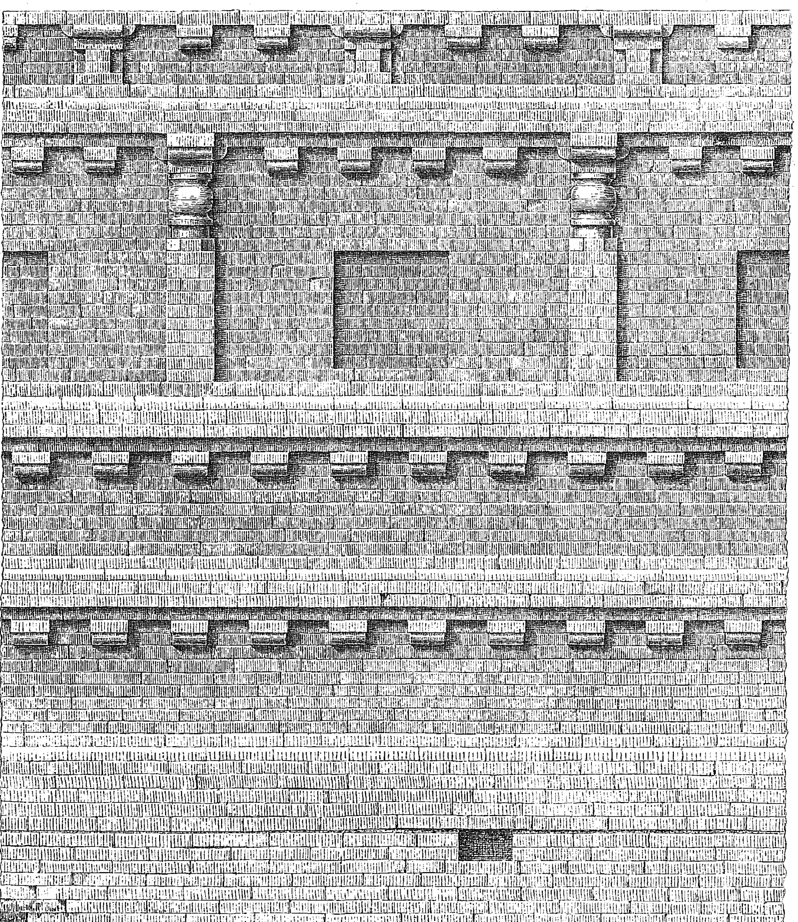
SECTION



PLAN



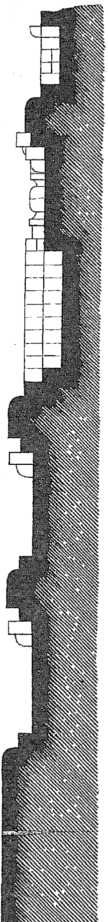
INCHES 12 0 1 2 3 4 5 FEET



DETAIL F. G. OF WALL E. E.

SCALE

INCHES 12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 FEET



3. Left arm and part of bust of male figure. Ht. o m. 07. Along north wall.

4. Fragment of border of panel. Ht. o m. 14.

5. Boss with four-petalled rosette. Diameter o m. 07. Along southern wall near southern room.

6. Hip and thigh of standing figure with scarf round loins. Ht. o. m 11. Northern wall low excavation.

7. Fragment of hip and hand. Ht. o m. 08. Inside northern room.

8. Fragment of carved brick. Length o m. 105. Surface of mound.

9. Fragment of female figurine standing with left hand resting on hip. Head and right arm missing. Hand of other figure on her left shoulder. Ht. o m. 13. In southern room.

10. Head defaced with curly hair and a kerchief. Ht. o m. 06. Southern wall.

11. Hand roughly modelled. Ht. o m. 075. South side of Pakkī Kutī.

12. Bust of figurine. Ht. o m. 04. Southern wall.

13. Head with ringlets and protruding lips. Ht. o m. 09. Northern room.

14. Bust of male figure, head and arms broken. Double necklace. Ht. o m. 12. Northern room under later wall to west.

15. Right hand with plain bracelet. Length o m. 08. Northern room.

16. Portion of leg. Length o m. 10. Northern room.

17. Two hands holding jar. Length o m. 09. Southern room.

18. Corner of panel with hand holding garland or snake. Ht. o m. 11. Southern room.

19. Head, defaced, with ringlets and earrings. Southern room.

20. Fragment of medallion with lotus border and left arm of figure. Ht. o m. 23. Southern room (under later wall to west). It fits together with Nos. 28-34 and 40.

21. Fragment with shoulder (?) of figure. Length o m. 075. Northern room.

22. Fragment with drapery. Length o m. 08. Northern room.

23. Fragment of border of panel. Length. o m. 135. Southern room.

24. Indistinct hollow fragment. Length o m. 12. Southern room.

25. Foot with anklet of rude figure or pot-image. Length o m. 07. Found 10′ from northern wall near detached room.

26. Fragment of vessel (?) curved and rudely ornamented. Length o m. 14. Same spot as No. 25.

27. Tortoise with female figure on reverse. Length o m. 035. Outside along northern wall.

28. Short thick-set figure of a child looking over its left shoulder. Girdle and bracelets. Hands and feet missing. Ht. o m. 05. Southern room. Cf. No. 20.

29. Lower fragment of panel with right leg of a draped figure walking in front. Ht. o m. 14. Southern room. Cf. No. 20.

30. Fragment of border of medallion decorated with lotus petals (o m. 22). Southern room. Cf. No. 20.

31. Fragment of foliated border. Ht. o m. 15. Southern room. Cf. No. 20.

32. Fragment of foliated border. Ht. o m. 16. Southern room. Cf. No. 20.

33. Corner fragment of rectangular panel with lotus petals and foot of a child. Ht. o m. 14. Southern room. Cf. No. 20.

34. Corner fragment of panel decorated with lotus petals. Ht. o m. 19. Southern room. Cf. No. 20.

35. Fragment with lower portion of male figure. Ht. o m. 16. Northern room.

36. Small fragment apparently of same panel as 35. Ht. o m. 065. Northern room.

37. Fragment with foot. Ht. o m. 07. Northern room.

38. Hand holding some indistinct object. Northern room.

39. Fragment with bell. Ht. o m. 11. Southern room.

40. Bust of female figure. Ht. o m. 07. Southern room. Cf. No. 20.

41. Lower half of arm. Ht. o m. 07. Southern room.

42. Fragment with hand on hip. Ht. o m. 07. Northern room.

43. Head with curly hair and earrings. Ht. o m. 12. Northern room.

44. Torso of female figure with necklace and bowl in left hand. Broken in five fragments. Ht. o m. 16. Northern room.

45. Circular panel with rosette. Diameter o m. 185. Northern room.

46. Head with high head-dress. Nose broken. Ht. o m. 09. Northern room.

47. Head; surface disintegrated. Ht. o m. 07. Northern room.

48. Head of image-pot. Ht. o m. 11. Outside along west wall near staircase.

49. Bust of female figure with prominent breasts. Ht. o m. 11. One of the top rooms, western side.

50. Corner of rectangular panel with snake. Ht. o m. 20. Northern room.

51. Head; left portion of face injured. Ht. o m. 08. Outside near south-west corner in spoil earth.

52. Circular panel similar to No. 45. Northern room.

53. Small indistinct fragment. Ht. o m. 04. Outside, along northern wall.

54. Indistinct fragment. Ht. o m. 09. East side.

55. Border fragment of rectangular panel. Ht. o m. 10. Northern room.

56. Corner brick with capital of pilaster. 14″ × 14″ × 5″. Northern room.

57. Torso of male figure with bare breast. Right hand against shoulder, left against breast. Ht. o m. 15. Northern room; north end.

58. Head with flat hair and curved nose, concave at back. Ht. o m. 065. Outside south side.

58*a*. Border of panel with bust and left arm of male figure. Broken in two pieces. Ht. o m. 11. Top of mound; in front of entrance to shrine.

59. Border of panel with hand or foot. Ht. o m. 14. Central room under ramp.

60. Indistinct fragment, apparently breast with necklace. Ht. o m. 10. Southern room.

61. Fragment of border. Ht. o m. 075. Outside along southern wall.

62. Head defaced with top knot and long curls. Ht. o m. 09. Outside along southern wall.

63. Small fragment. Ht. o m. 04. Central room.

64. Small fragment necklace (?). Ht. o m. 04. Northern room.

65. Indistinct fragment. Ht. o m. 10. Northern room.

66. Small fragment with hand. Ht. o m. 065. In spoil earth.

67. ,, ,, ,, ,, Ht. o m. 06. In spoil earth.

69. Border fragment with indistinct object. Ht. o m. 22. On top of mound, in spoil earth near old pavement.

70. Fragment of arm with drapery. Ht. o m. 17. Near north-east corner at foot of plinth wall.

71. Border fragment. Ht. o m. 13. From spoilt earth.

72. Rude head probably of pot-image. Ht. o m. 11. South-east corner enclosure.

73. Rude foot with bangle. Broken in two pieces. Ht. o m. 08. North wall of plinth.

74. Corner fragment with standing male figure, holding rope or snake (?) or perhaps shooting a bow. Head, right arm and legs broken. Ht. o m. 20. Central room below panel in east wall.

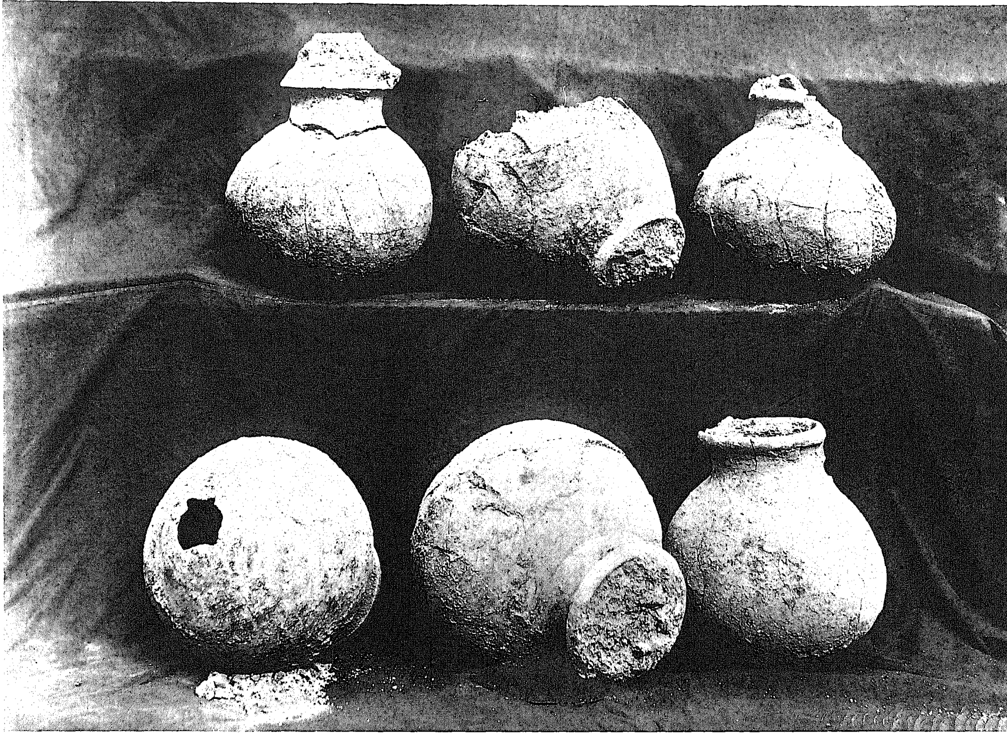
75. Border fragment with right foot. Ht. o m. 10. Central room.

76. Head; forehead and left eye broken. Ht. o m. 10. Central room.

77. Fragment of large head with right eye, forehead and hair. Ht. o m. 09. Central room.

78. Corner fragment of panel; o m. 19 by o m. 14. Central room.

79. Lower portion of standing figure clad in a tunic; o m. 12. Central room.



SIX POTS FROM DRAIN.



TERRA-COTTAS FROM KACHCHI KUTI.

80. Torso of male figure, in two pieces; o m. 14. Central room.

81. Portion of leg (?); o m. 12. Central room.

82. Portion of arm (?); o m. 08. Central room.

83. Crouching male figure, head lost; o m. 23. Central room.

84. Lower portion of standing figure, surface disintegrated; o m. 18. Central room.

85. Right hand holding rope (?); o m. 09. Central room.

86. Head, surface disintegrated; o m. 12. Central room.

87. Fragment with hand (?) holding indistinct object; o m. 14. Central room.

88. Head with ringlets, looking sideways; o. m. 14. Outside along northern wall.

89. Fragment of circular panel with hand and piece of drapery; o. m. 245. Outside at foot of north wall.

90. Torso of male figure; o m. 105. Outside at foot of north wall.

91. Fragment of bird; o m. 11. Same spot.

92. Head with ringlets and earrings; o m. 11. Outside at foot of south wall.

93. Lower portion of sitting female (?) figure; o. m. 12. Outside, foot of south wall.

94. Fragment of right leg of sitting figure; o m. 095. Outside, south side.

95. Border fragment of circular panel; o m. 16. Outside, south side.

96. Upper portion of nearly life-size head with long curly locks and frontal eye. Top broken. Ht. o m. 09. On north side of steps, west of connecting wall (8 small fragments apparently of same image).

97. Fragment of torso of female figure with arms crossed in front of the breast; o m. 08. At foot of south wall.

98-99. Two indistinct fragments, one apparently knee of seated figure; o m. 08 and o m. 07. At foot of south wall.

100. Upper portion of head with ornamental head-dress, hollow; o m. 075. Along north wall.

101. Torso of male figure, surface disintegrated, o m. 22. Central room, under ramp.

102. Fragment with arm (?); o m. 085. Central room under ramp.

103. Indistinct fragment; o m. 085. Central room under ramp.

104. Portion of leg of seated image. Lotus-flower and tassel. Knee broken. Length o m. 35. North of flight of steps, west of connecting wall. Same find-place as No. 96.

105. Fragment of arm; o m. 18. Same find-spot as No. 104.

106. Indistinct fragment with head of cobra; o m. 11. Same find-spot.

107. Portion of arm with two bracelets, broken in two. Same find-spot.

108. Fragment of arm or leg; o m. 105. Same find-spot.

109. Small fragment of arm (?); o m. 14. Same find-spot.

110. Other fragment; o m. 13. Same find-spot.

111. Fragment of head, with left eye and curly hair. Same find-spot.

112. Corner fragment of panel with male figure, standing, clad in tunic, boots and holding whip (?) in left hand. Head missing. Broken in two pieces. Ht. o m. 20. Same find-spot.

113. Head with long ringlets and heavy earrings. Right eye and left cheek damaged. Ht. o. m. 10. Same find-spot.

114. Indistinct fragment with *liṅga* (?); o m. 14. Same find-spot.

115. Left hand holding object, broken in two pieces; o m. 09. Same find-spot.

116. Indistinct fragment; o m. 07. Same find-spot.

117. Toe of large image; o m. 04. Same find-spot.

118. Fragment of head (burned) with right eye and ornamental head-dress; o m. 08. Same find-spot.

119-132. Various fragments. Same find-spot.

133. Border fragment; o m. 20. Same find-spot.

134. Fragment of head. Proper right side broken. Hair indicated by holes. Ht. o m. 10. Central room under ramp.

135. Indistinct fragment with foot (?); o m. 15. Central room under ramp.

136. Border fragment with right foot (?); o m. 055. Central room under ramp.

137. Thigh of seated figure; o m. 12. Central room under ramp.

138. Corner-piece with male figure running. Right arm and leg missing. Head defaced. Ht. o m. 30. Central room.

139. Fragment with bust of male figure, left arm raised; o m. 17. Central room.

140. Fragment with torso of male figure; o m. 13. Central room.

141. Corner fragment with hand or foot of monkey (?); o m. 105. Central room.

141*a*. Border fragment with lotus petal ornament; o m. 095. Central room.

142. Fragment of leg with ring; o m. 06. Central room.

143. Indistinct fragment; o m. 07. Central room.

144. Head with ringlets and earrings; o m. 06. North of steps.

145. Border fragment with lower portion of male (?) figure clad in *dhōtī* and seated on a low couch; o m. 14. Central room.

146. Border fragment with right leg of figure, apparently seated cross-legged, and wearing boots. Width o. m. 18. Central room.

147. Fragment with leg of standing figure. Ht. o m. 17. Central room.

148. Border fragment with upper portion of figure (?). Ht. o m. 16. Central room.

149. Fragment with hand. Ht. o m. 10. Central room.

150. Fragment with hand. Ht. o m. 08. Central room.

151. Fragment with portion of leg, calf and boot. Ht. o m. 09. Central room.

152. Fragment with portion of boot; o m. 09. Central room.

153. Head with long ringlets. Ht. o m. 07. Central room.

154. Small fragment with portion of arm or leg. Ht. o m. 05. Central room.

155. Small fragment. Ht. o m. 05. Central room.

156. Large left hand holding a lotus bud. Bracelet round wrist. Length o m. 16. North of steps.

157. Border fragment with right leg of standing figure. It is being clasped by a girl (?) prostrate behind it. Ht. o m. 12. North of steps.

158. Four toes of left foot with flower beneath; o. m. 065. North of steps.

160. Fragment of arm or leg of large image; o m. 09. North of steps.

161. Fragment of rod; o m. 10. North of steps.

162. Indistinct fragment perhaps of large image; o m. 08. North of steps.

163. Head of pot-image; o m. 07. South of steps.

164. Indistinct fragment; o m. 08. North of steps.

165. Fragment of head; o m. 105. North of steps.

166. Leg with bent knee, draped; o m. 07. North of steps.

167-172. Various indistinct fragments. North of steps.

173. Left hand with bracelet. South of temple.

174. Upper portion of arm with bracelet; o m. 24. North of steps.

175. Fragment of lotus-seat; o m. 13. North of steps.

176. Left foot, disintegrated; o m. 13. North of steps.

177. Fragment of female figure with child at left breast; o m. 13. North of steps.

178. Fragment of lower arm with two bracelets; o m. 08. North of steps.

179. Indistinct fragment; o m. 11. North of steps.

180. Proper left, upper portion of head with curly locks; o m. 11. North of steps.

181. Small head with curly hair; o m. 07. North of steps.

182. Arm of pot-image; o m. 08. North of steps.

183. Foot of pot-image ; o m. 05. North of steps.

184. Indistinct fragment with scrollwork ; o m. 10. North of steps.

185. Fragment of hand (?) with bracelet ; o m. 10. North of steps.

186. Indistinct fragment ; o m. 13. North of steps.

187. Fragment of pot-image (?); o m. 13. North of steps.

188. Indistinct fragment, probably of large figure ; o m. 10. North of steps.

189. Indistinct fragment, probably of large figure, with drapery indicated ; o m. 11. North of steps.

190. Indistinct fragment with drapery indicated ; o m. 11. North of steps.

191. Fragment of garland (?); o m. 08. North of steps.

192. Border fragment of panel with left foot of walking figure ; o m. 08. North of steps.

193. Fragment of flat brick with floral border on edge ; o m. 12. North of steps.

194. Fragment of breast (?) of large image with indication of drapery ; o m. 14. North of steps.

195. Indistinct fragment with necklace (?); o m. 07. North of steps.

196. Foot of pot-image with anklet ; o m. 06. North of steps.

197-199. Three indistinct fragments.

200. Torso of crouching corpulent male figure, apparently wearing sacred thread ; o m. 16. South of steps.

201. Torso of male figure ; o m. 10. South of steps.

202. Fragment of face ; o m. 06. South of steps.

203. Fragment with right hand ; o m. 07. Outside south wall.

204. Head ; o m. 07. Outside south wall.

205. Indistinct fragment ; o m. 08. Outside south wall.

206-207. Fragments of panels.

208. Proper right half of panel with flying garland-carrying male figure ; o m. 29. North of steps.

209. Torso of female figure, apparently seated ; o. m. 18. North of steps.

210 Fragment with legs of figure draped ; o m. 095. Outside south wall.

211. Border fragment of panel curved ; o m. 12. Central room.

212. Fragment of right foot ; o m. 07. North of steps.

213. Indistinct fragment with drapery indicated ; o m. 09. North of steps.

214. Indistinct fragment ; o m. 08. Along south wall.

215. Leg and hoof of horse ; o m. 10. Central room.

216. Indistinct fragment ; o m. 06. North of steps.

217. Border fragment with legs of standing male figure ; o m. 15. Along south wall.

218. Border fragment with lotus-petal border ; o m. 18. South wall.

219. Indistinct fragment, perhaps leg ; o m. 15. Along south wall.

220. Curved (?) border fragment with left hand holding garland ; o m. 15. Along south wall.

221. Border fragment with paw of some animal (lion ?) ; o m. 14. Along south wall.

222. Curved border fragment ; o m. 13. Along south wall.

223. Two fragments of right leg and foot ; o m. 15. Along south wall.

224. Indistinct fragment ; o m. 055. Along south wall.

225. Fragment with torso of male figure ; o m. 16. Along south wall.

226. Border fragment with mace (?) ; o m. 10. Central room.

227. Fragment with bent knee ; o m. 08. Central room.

228. Indistinct fragment ; o m. 07. Central room.

229. Fragment of arm or leg ; o m. 165. North of steps.

230. Right foot with anklet ; o m. 15. North of steps.

231-239. Various fragments, partly belonging to images. North of steps.

240. Border fragment with well-modelled right leg and boot (or sock) of seated figure, o m. 10. Similar to No. 146.

241. Portion of leg; o m. 125.

242. Curved fragment, perhaps of vessel; o m. 16.

243. Indistinct fragment.

244. Fragment of breast (?) with curious necklace; o m. 14. North of steps.

245. Fragment of leg (?) of image; o m. 12. North of steps.

246-248. Indistinct fragments, apparently of image. North of steps.

249. Small fragment with grooved ornament; o m. 07. North of steps.

250. Torso of male figure; o m. 15. Central room.

251. Torso and two arms of figure seated to right; o m. 15. Along south wall.

252. Head with long ringlets and earrings. Top broken; o m. 15. Along south wall.

253. Portion of leg of standing figure; o m. 11. Along south wall.

254. Head with small top not; o m. 07. Along south wall.

255. Head with curious head-dress; o m. 09. South wall.

256. Bust of female figure; o m. 04. Inside plinth, north side.

257. Indistinct fragment; o m. 085. Along south wall.

258. Indistinct fragment; o m. 07. Along south wall.

259. Border fragment with lower portion of seated female figure. Ht. o m. 14. Along south wall.

260. Border fragment; o m. 16. Along south wall.

261. Left arm of figures; o m. 12. Along south wall.

262. Fragment with lotus panel; o m. 10. Along south wall.

263. Head; o m. 06. Along south wall.

264. Small fragment; o m. 05. Along south wall.

265. Border fragment with portion of leg or arm with ring; o m. 115. Along north wall.

266. Fragment with right shoulder and arm; o m. 06. Along south wall.

267. Head with high head-dress; o m. 08. Along south wall.

268. Fragment of right arm and fist with bracelet; o m. 07. Along south wall.

269. Indistinct fragment; o m. 10. Along south wall.

270-271. Two indistinct fragments. Along south wall.

272. Fragment of head (?); o m. 04. Along south wall.

273 Proper left portion of square or rectangular panel. With prancing horse and left leg of human figure apparently in the act of kicking it. Ht. o m. 36, width o m. 21. Along south wall.

274. Indistinct fragment; o m. 07. Along south wall.

275. Thigh of seated female figure; o m. 12. Along south wall.

276. Fragment of figure; o m. 075. Along south wall.

277. Female figure seated to left; o m. 21. Along north wall.

278. Border fragment with lion's (?) head; o m. 11. Along north wall.

279. Flat fragment carved with peacock's tail; o m. 26. Along north wall.

280. Torso of mail figure; o m. 16. Along north wall.

281. Curved border fragment with lotus-petal ornament; o m. 17. Along north wall.

282. Border fragment with right leg of seated male figure wearing boot or sock; o m. 17. Along north wall.

283. Fragment of torso (?) of male figure; o m. 11. Along north wall.

284-285. Two fragments of pot-images. Inside plinth, north side.

286. Indistinct fragment; o m. 04. Along north wall.

287. Almost complete rectangular panel showing a monkey, probably Hanumān, holding an axe in both hands and fighting a Rākshasa who holds a sword in his right hand. The borders

is carved with a lotus-petal design. Two numerals on the lower border. No border to the proper right. Ht. 0 m. 315 or 12″; width 0 m. 40 or 15″. Along north wall. (Plate LVII.)

288. Panel with male figure standing to right, raising his right hand in front of breast and holding indistinct object in left hand. A female figure is kneeling in front. Perhaps Lakshmaṇa and Śūrpaṇakhā. Ht. 0 m. 302 or 11½″. The size, when complete, must have been the same as No. 287. The proper left end is missing and the preserved portion broken. Along east wall. (Plate XXVII.)

289. Fragments of panel with two figures, apparently Rākshasas (moustaches !) walking to right. The second one holds in both hands a staff to which a fly-whisk (?) is attached. Ht. 0 m. 315 or 12″. Same size as Nos. 287 and 288. Along north wall. (Plate XXVII.)

290. Torso of male figure wearing tunic and cross belt across breast. Ht. 0 m. 18. Along north wall.

291. Torso of male figure wearing curious necklace and belt with short dagger. Ht. 0 m. 19. North wall. Broken in two pieces.

292. Three-faced head with top-knot, probably Brahmā. Central face has pointed beard. Ht. 0 m. 09. South wall.

293. Corner fragment of panel. Border indicated with dots. Scroll in corner. Ht. 0 m. 16. South wall.

294. Well-baked border fragment with foot clad in sock. Ht. 0 m. 09. Central room.

295. Knee of seated figure; 0 m. 10. South wall.

296. Indistinct fragment; 0 m. 07. South wall.

297. Border fragment; 0 m. 08. South wall.

298. Fragment with portion of human figure completely worn; 0 m. 14. Central room.

299. Foot with sock; 0 m. 085. Central room.

300. Legs of standing figurine; 0 m. 045. Central room.

301. Torso of male figure. Right hand (bracelet) raised against shoulder. Ht. 0 m. 12. Central room.

302. Corner fragment of panel with hand (bracelet); 0 m. 13. Central room.

303. Leg of seated figure; 0 m. 095. Central room.

304. Corner fragment; 0 m. 095. Central room.

305. Border fragment with leg of seated figure; 0 m. 11. Central room.

306. Head of monkey (?) much worn; 0 m. 08. Central room.

307. Arm of pot-image holding cup; 0 m. 10. Central room.

308. Fragment of lotus-petal border; 0 m. 11. North wall.

309. Fragment of left thigh of figure; 0 m. 10. North wall.

310. Indistinct fragment; 0 m. 06. North wall.

311. Head with thick moustache; 0 m. 05. North wall.

312. Lower portion of left arm and hand. Quadruple bracelet. Ht. 0 m. 09. North wall.

313. Panel, broken into several pieces, with two male figures standing and each beating a drum (*ḍhōl*) with a stick which they hold in their right hand. Ht. 12″ or 0 m. 315; width 15½″ or 0 m. 405. Along north wall. No border to the proper right. It belongs to the same series as Nos. 287, 288 and 289. (Plate XXVII.)

314. Curved border fragment. Ht. 0 m. 175. Central room.

315. Border fragment with foot. Ht. 0 m. 08. Central room.

316. Head with long ringlets. Ht. 0 m. 10. Central room.

317. Head of monkey. Ht. 0 m. 07. Central room.

318. Fragment with curved border. Tail of a fish. Ht. 0 m. 24. Along northern wall.

319. Head; 0 m. 08. North-east corner.

320. Head; 0 m. 06. Northern wall.

321. Panel. Ht. 0 m. 31 (11¾″); width 0 m. 23 (8¾″), broken in two pieces. Male and

female figure standing on a bird apparently a peacock. The male figure seems to touch the left breast of the female. Central room in low excavation.

322. Border fragment with hand holding wreath (?) ; o m. 10. Central room.

323. Border fragment plain ; o m. 10. Central room.

324. Corner fragment with foliated border and leg, broken above knee, and foot with sock perhaps belonging to a flying figure. Ht. o m. 19. Foot of north wall.

325. Fragment of panel with male figure running to right and swinging battle-axe in right hand. Legs broken beneath knees. Ht. o m. 25. Foot of north wall near centre.

326. Fragment of panel with male figure, running to left and holding a bow in his right hand. Left hand applied to ear. Legs broken beneath knees. Ht. o m. 25. Foot of north wall near centre.

327. Fragment with the head and neck of a horse to right. Ht. o m. 15. Foot of north wall, east side.

328. Fragment of panel with foliated border and torsoes of two male figures apparently standing. Of one the left arm is preserved. Ht. o m. 15. Inside plinth, south side.

329. Fragment with right thigh of figure, apparently seated, and hand holding an indefinite object. Ht. o m. 12. Foot of north wall, near north-east corner.

330. Fragment of panel with portions of two figures. Of one, seated in a natural fashion with the left hand placed on the thigh, the lower portion is preserved. Of the other figure only the right hand is still extant. Ht. o m. 17. Inside plinth in chamber between central room and top of steps.

331. Fragment of head of pot-image. Ht. o m. 09. Foot of north wall outside northern room.

332. Fragment of panel with foliage. Ht. o m. 21. Foot of north wall, near west end.

333. Fragment of panel with foliated border and two figures fighting One, the head of which is lost, stands with outstretched left hand and his right foot placed on the left thigh of the other figure which has fallen on its knees. Two numerals on lower border which I read 23. Ht. o m. 32 ; width o m. 35. At foot of north wall, outside northern room.

334. Fragment of panelwith foliated border and standing figure of a Kinnara (?), the lower half of the body being that of a horse. Head, arms and breast broken. The left hand is raised at the level of the head. Two numerals on lower border which I read 18. Ht. o m. 31 ; width o m. 35. At foot of north wall, outside northern room.

335. Panel with foliated border and two male figures wrestling. The right-hand figure holds a shield in his left hand, whilst his right arm is slung round the body of the second figure which stands with his right arm stretched out, as if ready to strike. Close to this panel two heads were found—one of a man and the other of a monkey which seem to belong to the two figures. Ht. o m. 32 ; width o m. 39. At foot of north wall, outside northern room.

336. Two fragments of female figure, standing. Face, breasts, arms and legs broken. Ht. o m. 19. North-east corner of plinth.

337. Fragment with a left arm with plain bracelet. The hand holds an arrow (?) between the second and third finger. Ht. o m. 11. Found close to No. 327.

338. Torso of male figure. Ht. o m. 15. East wall.

339. Fragment with leg of male (?) figure, apparently standing. Ht. o m. 12.

340. Fragment of panel with torso of female figure. Breasts broken. Ht. o m. 14. Inside plinth in chamber between central room and top of steps.

341. Fragment of panel with plain border and foot of seated (?) figure. Ht. o m. 13. Central room.

342. Fragment with portion of left foot. Ht. o m. 105. Central room.

343. Fragment with right hand holding indefinite object. Ht. o m. 08. North-east corner of plinth.

344. Fragment consisting of the left breast and shoulder of a male figure. Ht. o m. 11. Along north wall.

345. Fragment of panel with a left hand and indefinite object. Ht. o m. 13. Along north wall.

346. Fragment with portion of leg (?). Ht. o m. 09. Along north wall.

347. Head of male figure with moustache slightly marked. Ht. o m. 06. Along north wall.

348. Head of male figure with hair tied up in a top-knot. Lower portion missing. Ht. o m. 07. Along north wall.

349. Fragment consisting of a foot. Ht. o m. 055. Near centre of north wall.

350. Fragment of an arm decorated with an elaborate bracelet. Ht. o m. 08. Along northern wall.

351. Fragment consisting of the fore-leg of an elephant. Ht. o m. 08. Same spot as No. 334.

352. Fragment consisting of the left arm and breast of a male figure. Ht. o m. 08. Along north wall.

353. Fragment consisting of the bent leg of a figure. Ht. o m. 075. In central room.

354. Well-modelled head of a female figure with long-drawn eyes, curly hair and plain ear-rings. Ht. o m. 06. Same spot as No. 324.

355. Fragment of head of male figure with open mouth. Ht. o m. 055. Same spot as No. 324.

356. Fragment consisting of left foot. Ht. o m. 05. Same spot as No. 324.

b.—Stone Sculptures.

1. Sculpture representing Śiva and Pārvatī. Ht. o m. 35. Found on mound south-west of Kachchī Kuṭī.

2. Fragment of basalt sculpture with upper portion of four-armed attendant, holding trident and waterpot in his two left hands. Right hands broken. Ht. o m. 11. East of Kachchī Kuṭī on top of enclosing wall.

3. Fragment in sandstone. Legs of standing figure, feet missing. Ht. o m. 09. South side of Kachchī Kuṭī.

4. Indistinct fragment in sandstone with two grooves. Ht. o m. 05. South side of Kachchī Kuṭī.

5. Fragment with standing Jain figure (ht. o m. 23) found on top of mound, south-west of Kachchī Kuṭī. (*Cf.* above No. 1.)

6. Fragment in blue stone of head of image with portion of forehead (proper left side) hair and high headdress. Ht. o m.14. Along south wall of plinth.

7. Fragment of sandstone, apparently portion of pedestal of image. Ht. o m. 14.

8. Fragment with right hand holding some object; o m. 12. Southern room.

9. Fragment with heads of two figures side by side. High headdress. Ht. o m. 05. Outside along northern wall.

10. Fragment of face of stone figure. Ht. o m. 06. Outside along north wall.

11. Fragment of stone figure. Ht. o m. 06. Outside, along north wall.

12. Upper portion of Buddha (?) figure. Ht. o m. 115. Drapery; right shoulder bare. On top of mound south-west of Kachchī Kuṭī. Same find-place as No. 1.

13. Indistinct fragment of stone sculpture; o m. 105. Found on spoil earth.

14. Fragment of stone sculpture with right arm of figure. Ht. o m. 18. Found near old bed of Rāptī.

15. Fragment of hand; o m. 075. Along northern wall of Kachchī Kuṭī.

16. Indistinct fragment; o m. 105. Same find-place as No. 15.

17. Two small fragments. Along northern wall.

18. Fragment in blue stone carved with scrollwork in low relief; o m. 12. In jungle south-west of Kachchī Kuṭī. Find-spot about same as No. 1.

19. Elephant (?), defaced, in sandstone; o m. 08. Same find-spot.

20. Small fragment; o m. 05. South wall of Kachchī Kuṭī.

21. Head with tiara; o m. 045. East of Kachchī Kuṭī.

22. Head with long ringlets, chin and mouth broken. Ht. o. m. 10. Outside, at foot of east wall near south-east corner.

23. Sandstone fragment with short, thick arm with bracelet; o m. 22. Along north wall of Kachchī Kuṭī.

24. Sandstone fragment with leg; o. m. 15. Along south wall.

25. Fragment in sandstone consisting of right cheek, nose and mouth of face; o m. 08. Inside plinth, north side.

c.—Clay Seals and Sealings.

1. Clay sealing (diameter o m. 015) with horse walking to right. Found on the north side of rectangular plinth, outside the northern room.

2. Clay signet (diameter o m. 017) with pierced handle and legend *Rudraghoshasa* in Kushaṇa Brāhmī. Found outside the northern room.

3. Clay sealing with elliptical seal impression (longer diameter o m. 015). Legend *Nayamitasa* in Kushaṇa Brāhmī. Found inside the extension of the north wall of the small shrine on the top of the mound.

4. Clay sealing with circular seal impression (diameter o m. 01). Legend *Svāmisa* in Maurya Brāhmī and ornament.

d.—Pottery.

1. Bottom of vessel. Foot broken. Slip. Southern room.
2. Small vessel with pointed bottom. Northern room.
3. Miniature vessel. Northern room.
4. Dented border of large vessel. Slip. Southern room.
5. Fragment of heavy vessel decorated with disks. East of Kachchī Kuṭī.
6. Small fragment. Northern wall, outside.
7. Fragment of dented vessel with slip. Southern room.
8. Spout of vessel with slip.
9. Fragment with handle.
10. Fragment with dented border. Slip. Southern room.
11. Fragment of candle-stick. In small room outside northern wall.
12. Lid of vessel. Same place as No. 11.

e.—Miscellaneous Objects.

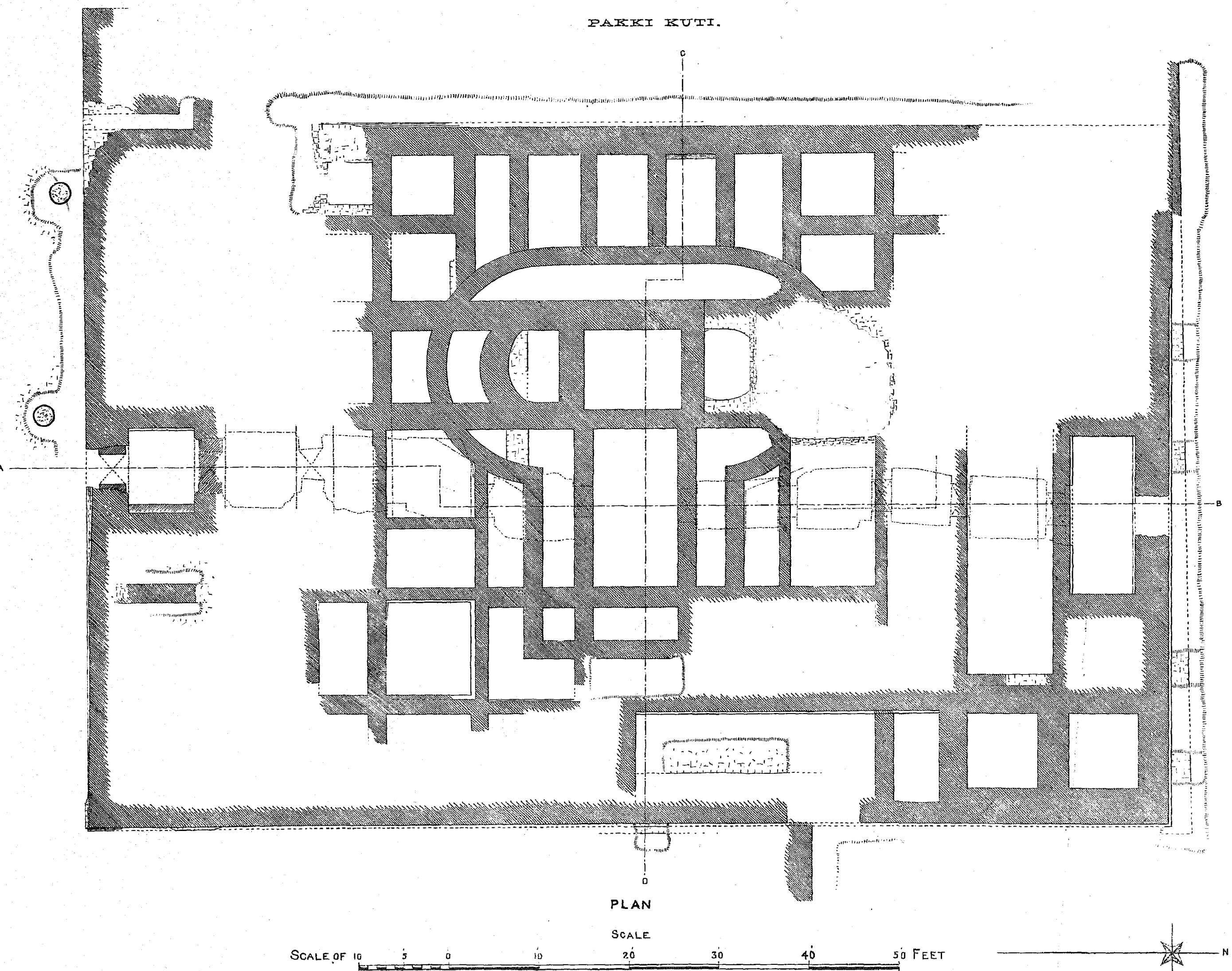
1. Spear blade. North of Kachchī Kuṭī.
2. Spear blade. East of Kachchī Kuṭī.
3. Several fragments of grinders of baked clay. (Other specimens were found at the Nausahrā Gate.)
4. Numerous double-pointed pins of baked clay, about 2″ long. Along east wall.
5. Tortoise of baked clay with female figure on reverse.

D.—Pakkī Kuṭī. (Plates XXVIII—XXIX.)

Next to the Kachchī Kuṭī, the most prominent mound hitherto explored is that known as Pakkī Kuṭī, which is situated at a short distance to the north-west of the former. Its modern name it seems to have received on account of its having been selected

EXCAVATIONS AT SAHETH-MAHETH.

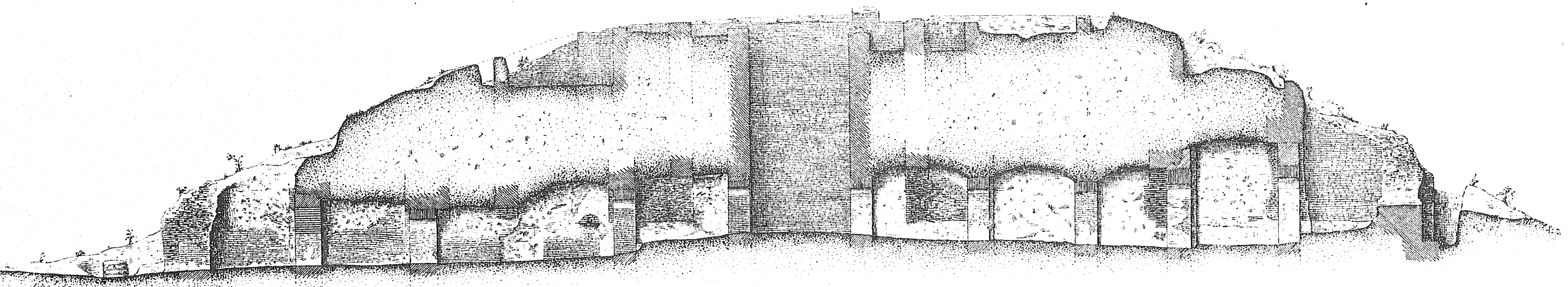
PAKKI KUTI.



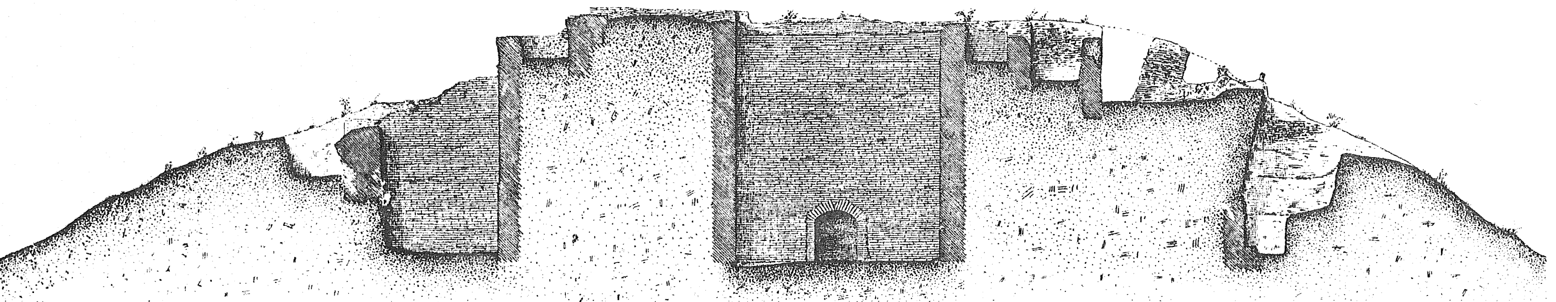
PLAN

EXCAVATIONS AT SAHETH-MAHETH.

PAKKI KUTI.



SECTION A.B



SECTION C.D.

SCALE OF 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET

by a *faqīr* for his residence. General Cunningham proposed to identify this mound with the Aṅgulimāla *Stūpa* of the Chinese pilgrims, but Dr. Hoey, having recognised the latter monument in another locality (the mound he calls *stūpa* A), preferred to regard the Pakkī Kuṭī as "a later building or the repaired remnants of a later building raised on the site of the old Hall of the Law," another monument mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims. General Cunningham, as Mr. Vincent Smith remarks, was in any case right in calling the building a *stūpa;* no further identification is at present possible.[1]

The ruined building, which was partly excavated by Dr. Hoey, is constructed in the shape of a large quadrangle, measuring 120′ from south to north and 77′ 8″ from east to west. As the western portion has not yet been fully explored, it is possible that the edifice extended further in this direction than can be ascertained at present.

The interior consists of a curious medley of irregular brick walls built at right angles—except in the centre—so as to form rows of square and rectangular rooms. The absence of doors and windows is sufficient to prove that these supposed rooms can never have been used as dwelling places. The interior walls are only a framework meant to be filled in with earth, so that the monument to which they belong was undoubtedly a solid structure which can hardly have been anything else but a *stūpa*. I may add at once that no finds have been made to prove its religious character or to mark it as a Buddhist monument. A well-known instance of a *stūpa* built with such a framework, though on a different plan, is the Jaina *stūpa* of the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā near Mathurā.[2]

In the present instance the most noticeable feature is the curved wall which occupies the centre of the mound. Viewed from the west side, it presents the appearance of a tower, the parallel walls of the adjoining rooms having been built on to it. One of these rooms I cleared to a depth of 18′ from the top of the curved wall. The large rectangular chamber in the centre of the mound had been previously excavated by Dr. Hoey to a depth of 20′ from the top. In case the Pakkī Kuṭī is a relic tower and not merely a memorial monument, we may expect to find the deposit of relics in the square room adjoining the chamber excavated by Dr. Hoey, for it will be seen that this square occupies the centre of the curved wall which apparently encloses the inner core of the mound.

That the partition walls start from the original ground-level is also proved by the tunnel which Dr. Hoey ran through the middle of the mound from south to north, in order to drain and preserve it. The arched doorway shown on the sub-joined Plate XXIX (section on C-D) belongs, of course, to Dr. Hoey's tunnel.

The only find[3] worth recording is that of two earthenware pots (one with lid), measuring 3′ 1″ in circumference, which were found under the foot of the outer wall on the east side of the building. As these vessels were entire, it appears that they had been buried there on purpose. They did not, however, contain anything but earth.

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[1] Hoey, *Report,* pp. 53 f., Plates XV and V. A. Smith *J. R. A. S.* for 1900, pp. 16 f.

[2] V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa of Mathurā, pl. III, cf., Foucher, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* pp. 87ff. and Fig. 28.

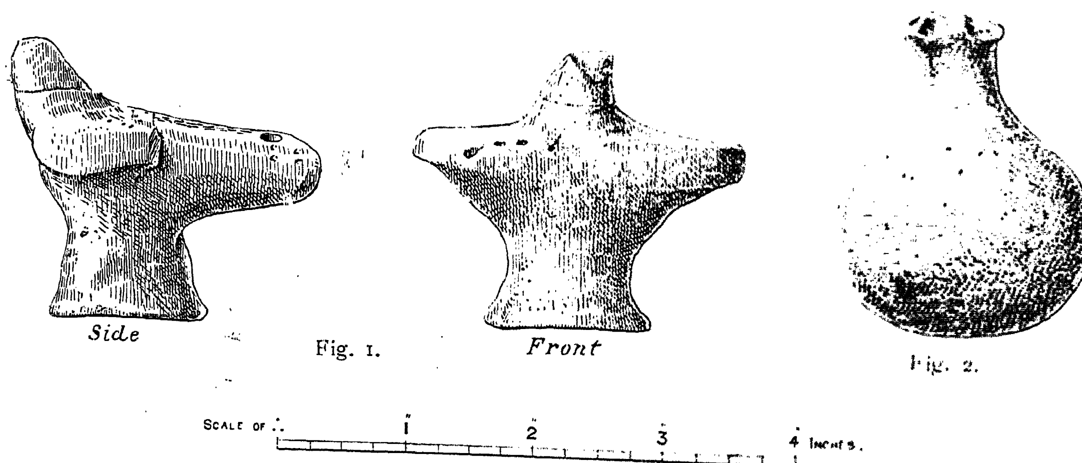
[3] In the course of excavation two iron rings, 3⅓″ in diameter, were found and two iron knife-blades, the latter on the surface of the top of the mound.

In this connection I must mention that immediately to the south of the Pakkī Kuṭī two earthenware drains were found, their top being on a level with the foot of the south wall. They consist of earthenware rings fitting together so as to form a vertical tube. The western drain was excavated to a depth of 10′ 3″. The other was found to end at a depth of 6′ 8″ from the top. At the lower extremity it contained six earthenware pots with pierced bottoms placed mouth downwards and measuring 2′ 4½″ in circumference (Plates XXVII and XXXII).

E.—Stūpa A. (Plate XXX.)

This monument Dr. Hoey[1] proposes to identify with the *Aṅgulimāla Stūpa* mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. It stands east of the Pakkī Kuṭī and east of north from the Kachchī Kuṭī, on the very edge of the ancient city, so as to form one mass with the ramparts. Dr. Hoey's explorations leave no doubt that the building is in reality a *stūpa*. He sank a shaft of 9′ in diameter from the top down to a depth of nearly 30′. The present depth of this well is about 26′; but in the course of the last twenty years it must have become partly filled with débris. The interior is a solid mass of brickwork.

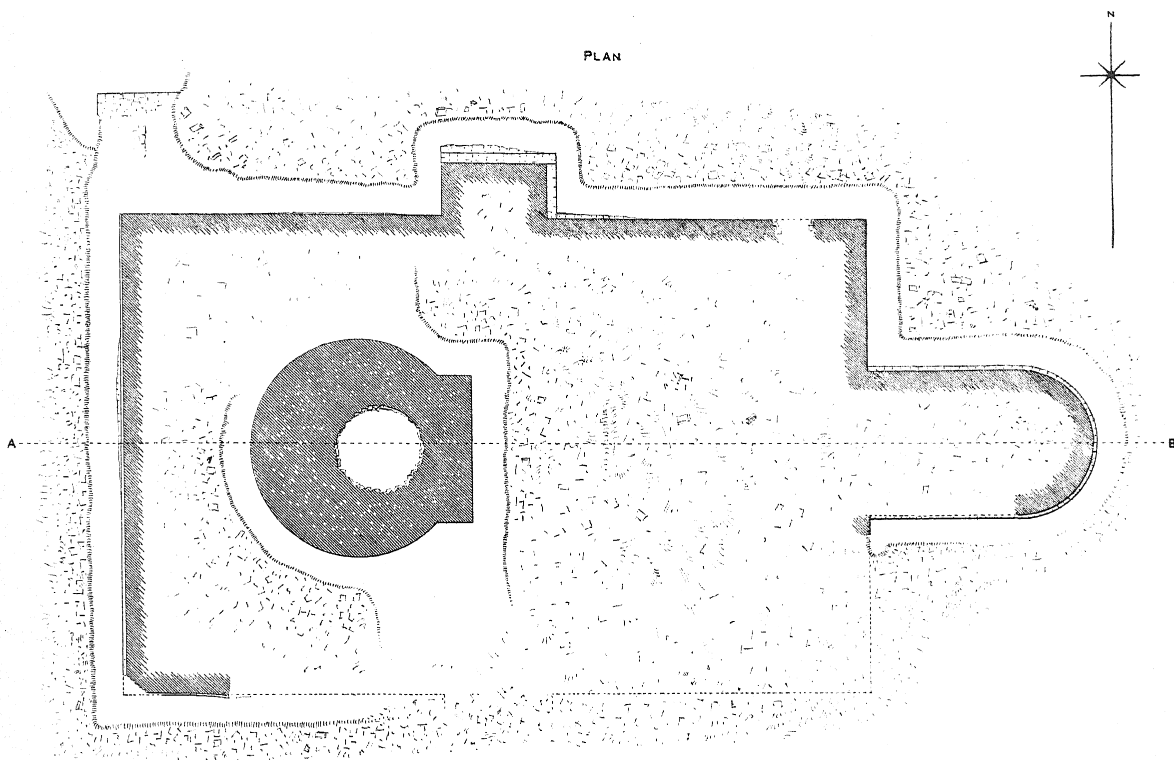
I excavated the top of this structure which consists of a low cylindrical tower of massive masonry, about 20′ in diameter, with a rectangular projection, 14′ wide, on the east side. It is built of bricks of various sizes, the largest measuring 12½″ by 9″ by 2¼″. The outside of this tower was exposed by me to a depth of 8.′ It is evident



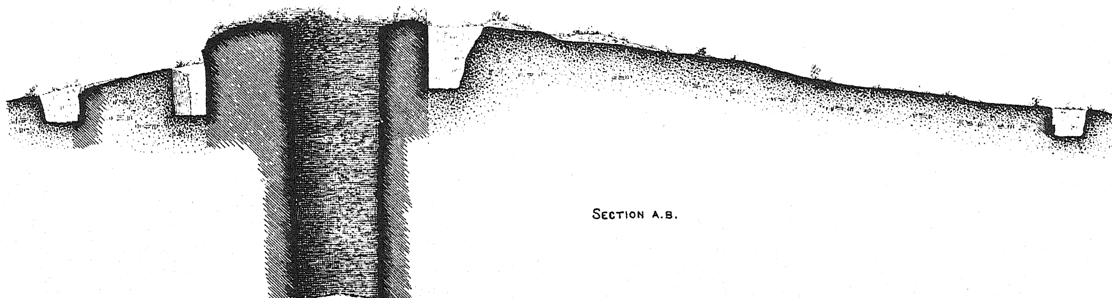
Side Fig. 1. *Front* Fig. 2.

that this building did not originally form part of the ancient *stūpa*, on the top of which it is raised. This may be inferred from the existence of a rectangular platform (72′ by 45′) with projections on the north and south sides and the remains of a flight of steps to the east; it will be seen from the accompanying plan that this flight of steps (22′ by 14′) which once led up to the platform has a curved end, as is the case with those of the Kachchī Kuṭī and Sōbhnāth. The platform is best preserved on the north side where the outer wall has a maximum height of nearly 4′. Among the bricks which are mostly broken I found some measuring 12½″ by 9″ by 2¼″. It is noteworthy that the masonry does not contain any carved bricks.

[1] *Report*, p. 55; *cf.* Smith, *J. R. A. S.* for 1900, p. 18.



STŪPA A.



SCALE OF 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET

PLAN AND SECTION.

In running a trench, $6\frac{1}{2}'$ wide, from the Kachchī Kuṭī Gate in the direction of the *stūpa* we struck what appears to be the remains of a lower platform consisting of only four courses of bricks. In this trench a number of small earthenware pots were found, the largest measuring 14″ in circumference. Numerous terra-cotta toys also turned up, mostly rude figurines and animals. They include an animal (Fig. 1) apparently meant for a bird with pierced tail and short wings, both decorated with dots. The head is lost. A curious fragment, similar to the terra-cottas found in the cutting at the Baitārā Gate, represents a female standing with a parrot perched on her left arm. The head and legs are missing. Another fragment consisting of a hand holding a cup, must have belonged to a figurine of the same type as the one found to the south-east of the Kachchī Kuṭī. I must also mention a hollow, pear-shaped object (circumference 6″) with handle (Fig. 2). As it appears to contain a bead or small pebble, I presume that it is a child's rattle. Several broken handles evidently belonging to such an object were found here and elsewhere in the course of excavation.

F.—Nausahra Gate. (Plates XXIII and XXXI.)

This gate, as noticed above, is named after the strip of cultivated land between Mahēṭh and the Naukhān or Old Rāptī. It is also called Bāṛkī Bāzār kā Darwāza. My excavations have proved that this was one of the main gates of the city. On both sides the city walls curve inwards, so as to form two bastions leaving a space of 60′ in width between. From the curve of the eastern bastion the city wall was excavated for a distance of 48′, and its top could be traced still further east. Its width is about 9′, and it is built on the top of the earthen ramparts so that its foot is above the level of the surrounding country. The preservation of the wall may be partly due to the fact that it has been built slightly sloping, the foot projecting about 3′ from the top. From the curve of the bastion the wall is continued inward for a distance of 32′; here its width is about 10′. The eastern bastion is built of very heavy bricks measuring 18″ by 11″ by 3″ and laid in mud. As only six courses are left, its height is not more than 2′. The straight portion of the wall stands to a greater height (7′). It is of very solid construction and there can, in my opinion, be no doubt as to its great antiquity.

At a distance of 12′ from the curve of the bastion a flanking wall runs out at right angles to the city wall. This flanking wall, about 5′ wide, is evidently a later addition. It is built on to the city wall, but touches it only at the top, whereas lower down there is 6″ thickness of earth between the two. The flanking wall is now 34′ long, but may have been longer originally. Its top slopes down rapidly, and at the point where it ceases, no distinct corners were found. It is built on the slope of the ramparts, so that its foot, at the point where it touches the city wall, is 9′ 9″ higher in level than at its end.

The object of this flanking wall is not obvious. In its present state it would considerably weaken the defences of the gate by affording an easy access to the top of the city wall. But we may assume that it was originally equal in height with that wall. That it was merely meant to serve the purpose of a buttress is not very likely, as the city wall shows no sign of bulging out. Moreover, for a simple buttress a wall of

greater thickness and less length would have been more effective. It seems more probable that the wall served the purpose of a projecting bastion which, in the case of an attack on the gate, would enable the defenders to harass the enemy's flank. It will be noticed that to the west of the gate a similar flanking wall is found. It is also possible that both walls once formed part of an outwork, the greater portion of which has now disappeared.

On the west side also there is a distinct bastion, though only a few layers of bricks are now left on the top of the ramparts. At a distance of 10′ from the curve there is a flanking wall similar to the one just described, to the east of the gate. There is no clear joint. This flanking wall starts in reality 6½″ from the city wall, the intervening space being filled with some irregular masonry. Here also the flanking wall is obviously a later addition. On the spot where the two walls join, a later wall, 2′ 6″ high, is built over both. The flanking wall is 29′ long, but ends in an indistinct mass of apparently later masonry. Beyond the flanking wall, the old city wall on this side of the gate was no longer traceable. But at a distance of 11′ west from the flanking wall there starts a later wall of irregular masonry, 35′ long, 12′ wide and 8′ high, which is strangely contorted and bulging.

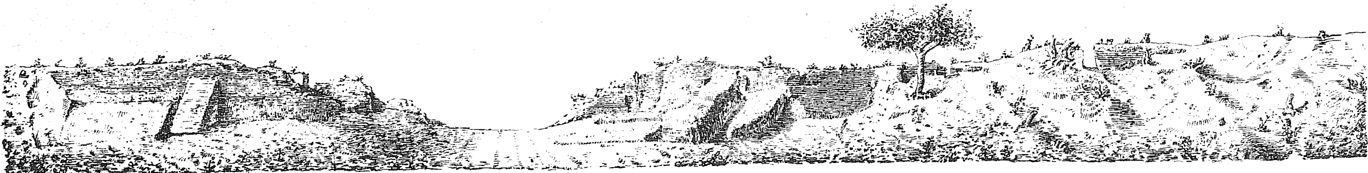
Further west we find only low and irregular walls, apparently of a late date, raised on the top of the earthen ramparts. They are continued for a distance of 47′; but here no deep excavation was made. At a distance of 128′ from the point where these late low walls cease, a cutting, 60′ long and 8′ wide, was made through the ramparts, which here appear to consist of mere earth, though again on the top towards the city some late irregular walling was found.

Let us now return to the gate proper. The old city wall could be traced inwards for a distance of 35′ from the western bastion. It stands on a 1′ thick layer of ashes and charcoal mixed with potsherds, which is plainly visible both on the east and the west side. The wall itself consists only of four layers of very large bricks the size being the same as that on the eastern bastion (18″×11″×3″). On this old wall a later wall is raised, leaving a layer of earth, 1′ 9″ thick, between. It is built of large and small bricks mixed, and ends 25′ from the bastion. The old wall beneath continues 10′ further. Its end thus presents the appearance of a square platform, on which remains of decorative stucco work were found apparently belonging to a cornice.

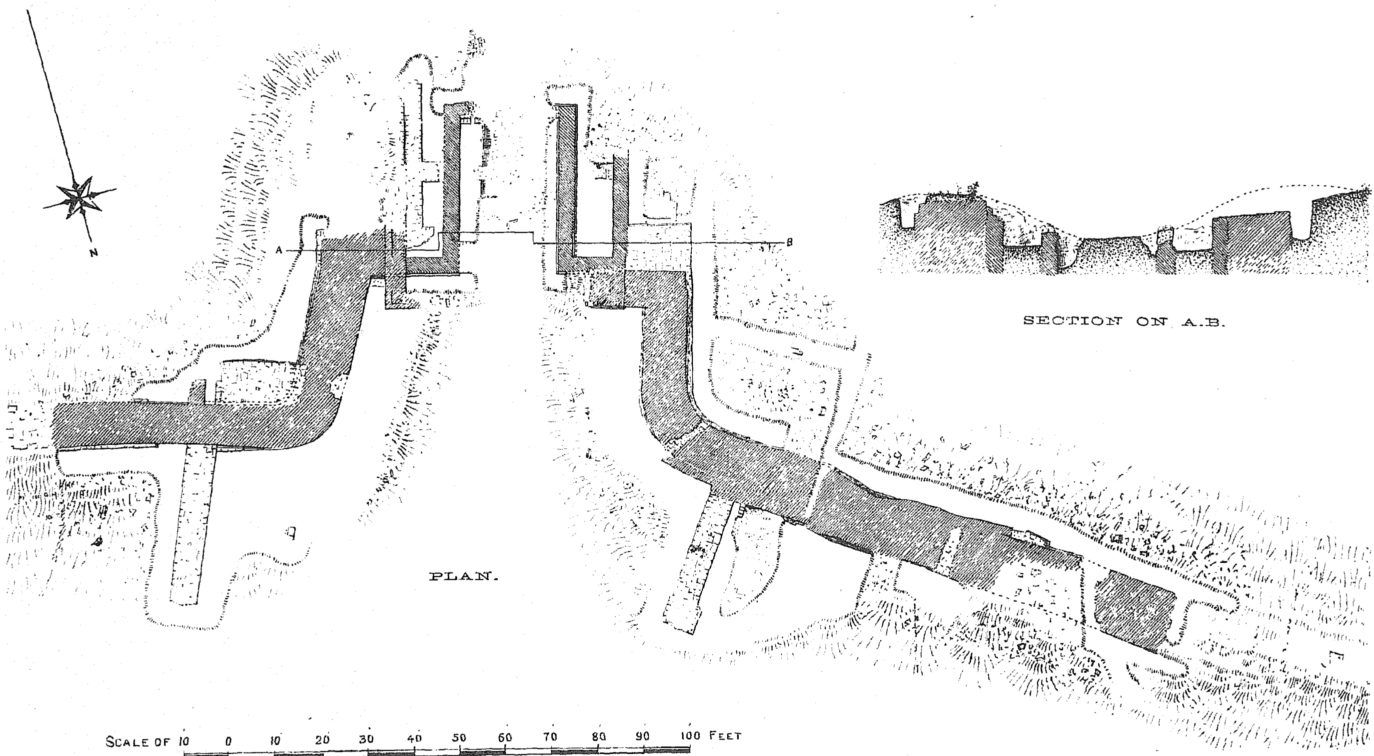
It will be noticed that in the above description no mention has been made of an actual structural gateway. There is, however, adjoining the western bastion, a piece of masonry, 6′ wide, which seems to have belonged to such a building. There is nothing corresponding on the east side and the remains in question are too shapeless to allow us to speak with certainty. At any rate it is surely on this spot that the city gate must once have stood.

Immediately to the south of the supposed gateway we notice the foundation walls of two distinct rectangular rooms enclosed by solid walls and leaving a passage of about 20′ between. The walls of these rooms are built of bricks of various sizes. The width of each room is from 8′ to 9′. The north wall of the eastern chamber was excavated to a depth of 8′, but it appears that about half of it is foundation wall, the original ground-level being marked by a projection 4′ 4″ from the top. From their

EXCAVATIONS AT SAHETH-MAHETH.



FRONT ELEVATION.



NAUSAHRA GATE.

position we may infer that these chambers served to accommodate the guard in charge of the gate, but no objects were found to confirm this conjecture.

Adjoining the west wall of the eastern chamber we found remnants of a pavement, which must have belonged to the passage leading through the gate into the ancient city. The brick tiles of this pavement measure 15″ by 11½″ by 2½″. On it were found an iron clamp, 6½″ long, and two iron nails, 4½″ long, which probably originate from the wooden doors of the gateway.

G.—Temple of Sōbhnāth. (Plates XXXII and XXXIII.)[1]

The ruined Jain temple situated in the western portion of Mahēṭh, not far from the Tamarind Gate, derives its name " Sōbhnāth " from Sambhavanātha, the third Tīrthaṁkara, who is believed to have been born at Śrāvastī.[2] Dr. Hoey did some excavation here both in 1875-6 and in 1884-5, but his description is brief and vague and the published plan does not elucidate it to any extent. As the ruin consists of a confused mass of more or less defined brick structures of various periods, it is not an easy matter to describe it adequately even with the help of accurate drawings.

The eastern portion, the outline of which was traced by Dr. Hoey, consists of a roughly rectangular courtyard, measuring 59′ from east to west by 49′ from south to north. It is enclosed by a wall, 8½′ to 9′ thick, which is mostly built of broken bricks. An entire brick was found to measure 12″ by 9″ by 2″. The masonry contains a large number of small carved bricks which are used at random (see Plate XXXIII, detail G) and must have been taken from some earlier building then in ruins. As bricks of this type belong to a period immediately preceding the Muhammadan conquest, their use is sufficient to establish the lateness of these remains.

The wall enclosing the courtyard is preserved to a height of only 4′ 6″ outside and 2′ to 3′ above the floor level inside. The interior face is provided with a series of niches of various sizes arranged at irregular distances along the north, east and south sides. The numerous fragments of statuary which came to light in the excavation of this courtyard, belong to images which must have occupied those niches.

A similar arrangement may still be seen in modern Jain temples. The number of these niches can still be ascertained, though only the lower part is preserved. Here I wish also to notice two rectangular rooms in the north-west and south-west corners of the enclosure, in which some well-preserved sculptures were found *in situ*. The north-western room, which measures 8′ 8″ by 8′, yielded the numbers 1, 2 and 11 of the subjoined list which were discovered standing side by side against the west wall. In the south-west corner room (11′ by 7′ 6″) No. 13 was found, which appears to be the upper portion of a large image slab. In this connection I may notice some terra-cotta rings which were unearthed inside the courtyard and must have belonged to pinnacles. The courtyard is paved with a concrete floor, which is best preserved in the two corner-rooms just mentioned.

The courtyard is entered from the east side by means of a flight of steps, 23′ 6″ long and 12′ 4″ wide, built in a curve at its lower end. Here also we notice carved bricks taken from some ruined building. Excavation has shown that this staircase

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[1] Hoey, *Report*, pp. 55 f., Plate XVIII; *cf.* also p. 36 and *J. R. A. S.* for 1900, p. 12.

[2] *Cf.* Bühler and Burgess, *The Indian Sect of the Jainas* (London, 1903), p. 67.

rises from an outer courtyard 50′ wide and 5′ below the floor-level of the inner court. From this lower level it should not be hastily inferred that the outer court, which was only partly excavated, belongs to an earlier period. On the contrary, it is evidently a later addition, as its walls have been built on to those of the inner courtyard. The difference in level is probably due to the circumstance that the inner or western yard is raised on earlier remains; but this point has not yet been fully ascertained by excavation.

It is clear that in its turn the inner square is added on to the western portion of the ruins where we shall have to look for the temple proper. A second staircase (27′ by 14′ 8″), also provided with a curve, rises from the inner courtyard and leads up to a plinth 4′4″ in height. From this point the ruins present the appearance of a confused mass of walls in which it is difficult to distinguish any order. It is, however, clear that these walls constitute the main portion of the Sōbhnāth ruin and belong to an earlier period than the double courtyard just described. We may assume that these remains were once concealed beneath a platform in front of the temple proper, but unfortunately Dr. Hoey does not elucidate the state of these remains before excavation.

Let us now turn our attention to the westernmost part of the Sōbhnāth ruins. It is crowned by a domed edifice, apparently a Muslim tomb of the Paṭhān period. This building was still entire in 1885, but since and most probably owing to Dr. Hoey's excavations, it has partly collapsed. This is said to have happened about 1900. Large cracks in the standing portion foretell the impending completion of its fall. Though the tomb has neither name nor history, its heavy walls form a picturesque object in the midst of the all-pervading jungle. But the antiquarian may look forward to its final fall with some satisfaction, as only then a complete survey of the earlier remains will become possible.

The domed tomb displays a massiveness characteristic of the Paṭhān period. It is square in plan and measures 18′ outside and 11′ 3″ inside in both directions. Its walls, which have a thickness of 3′ 5″, are built of bricks laid in mud, and covered with a layer of plaster both in and outside. By means of corner arches the square is converted into an octagon on which the dome rests. The east and part of the south wall together with half the dome have come down. These two walls must have contained arched doorways similar to the one still existing in the north wall. The west wall is provided with a prayer-niche (*miḥrāb*), as is often found in tombs of the Paṭhān period.

The Muhammadan building stood within a rectangular enclosure formed by a plastered brick wall, 2′ 2″ thick, which has now mostly crumbled away. In the south-east corner it is still standing to a height of 4′ 8″; here we notice some small niches probably meant for lamps. The enclosure, which measures 43′ by 29′ outside, leaves an open space in front of the tomb and a passage along the three remaining sides. Both are paved with a concrete floor 6″ thick.

These remains are raised on a platform, 30′ square, built mostly of broken bricks including carved ones. A complete specimen was found measuring 12″ by 8″ by 2″. This platform, no doubt, represents the plinth of the last Jain temple which was destroyed by the Muhammadan conquerors, as recorded in Dr. Hoey's ballad (stanza 18). It will be seen from the plan that the enclosure of the tomb overlaps this square platform. The tomb proper stands on a mass of débris which is probably the



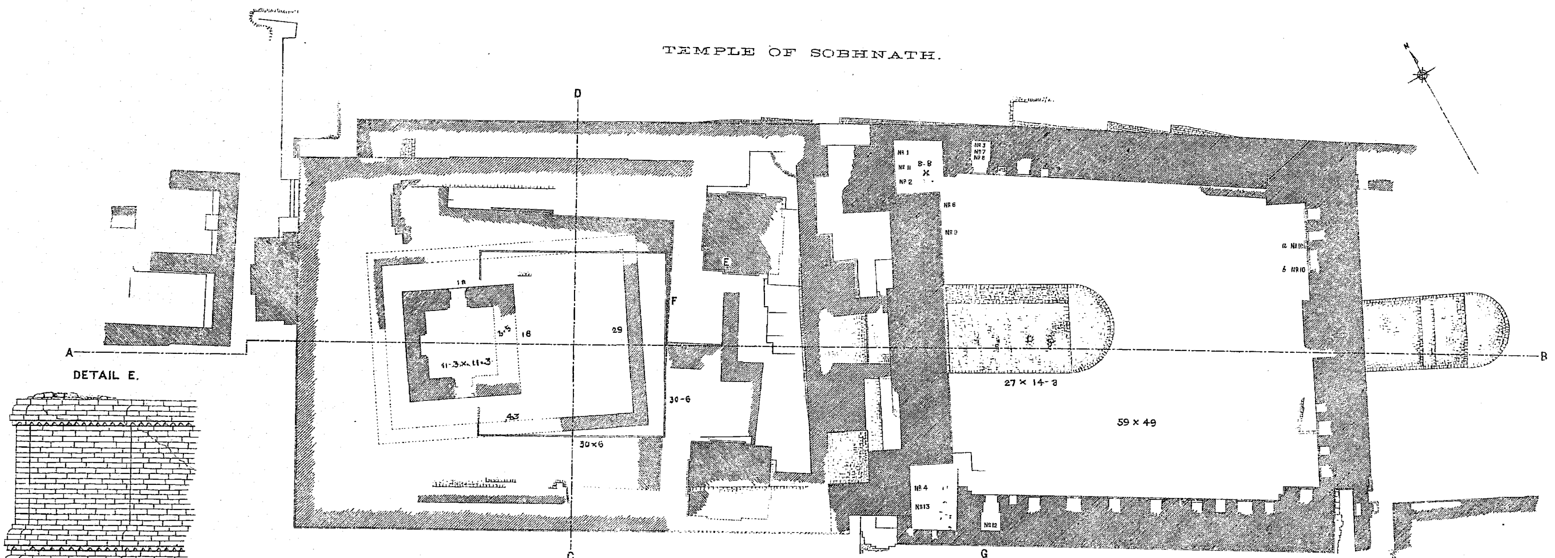
TEMPLE OF SOBHNATH FROM SOUTH-EAST.



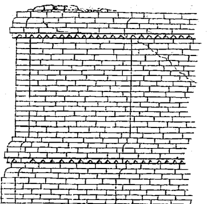
PAKKI KUTI: DRAINS FROM SOUTH-EAST.

EXCAVATIONS AT SAHETH-MAHETH.

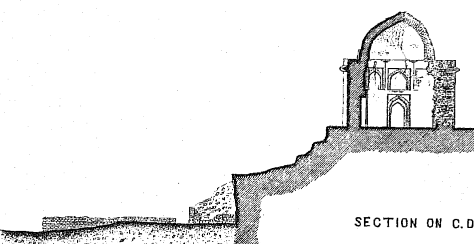
TEMPLE OF SOBHNATH.



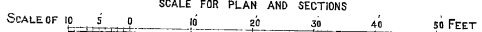
DETAIL E.



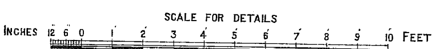
SECTION ON A.B.



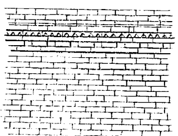
SCALE FOR PLAN AND SECTIONS



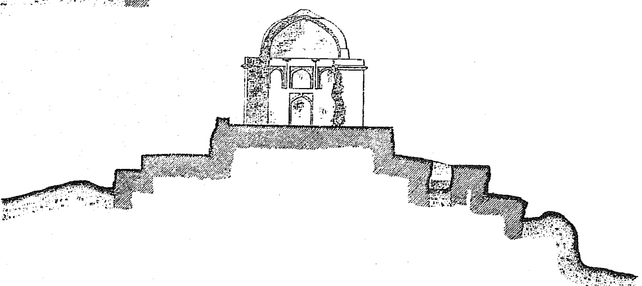
SCALE FOR DETAILS



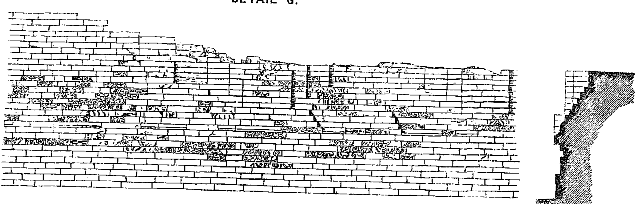
DETAIL F.



SECTION ON C.D.



DETAIL G.



SECTIONS AND DETAILS.

remains of the ruined shrine. Among this débris on the south side two moulded bricks of a peculiar shape were noticed. The wall enclosing the square platform stands to a height of 2′ 6″ on the north side and is surrounded by a concrete floor.

The square platform is built on the top of a larger platform, apparently of an earlier date, the east or front wall of which was completely exposed. On this side it is 44′ long and 7½′ high. At a height of 1′ 8″ from the foot is a moulding formed by a course of rounded bricks. Above this it consists of plain masonry for 4′ 9″, over which is a cornice, as shown in detail F of the accompanying plate. The north-east corner of this lower platform is distinct. From here the north face was traced for a distance of 21′ 10″, at which point a slightly projecting wall is met, apparently an addition. On the south and west sides no corresponding portions of the lower platform were found.

Finally, I must mention two roughly square structures (12′ by 13′), of uncertain meaning, which are placed on the same level to the east of the lower platform opposite its north-east and south-east corners. They are decorated with two cornices of moulded brickwork, as shown in detail E, and are probably contemporaneous with the lower platform, though it should be observed that they are placed at a slightly different distance from it, namely the northern one at 5′ 5″ and the southern one at 6′ 6″. In none of these earlier remains do we find any carved bricks. To the east, the buildings last described are enclosed by a wall of irregular masonry containing a few moulded bricks. On the top of this wall we notice a distinct passage, 7′ 10″ wide, which probably led to one of the later temples. On both sides of this passage the eastern face of the wall presents an entirely different appearance. The *raison d'être* of this curious construction I am unable to explain.

H.—List of Jaina Sculptures.

1. Sculpture (ht. 2′ 6½″ or 0 m. 80) of buff sandstone, well preserved, representing the first Tīrthaṁkara Vṛishabhanātha seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation on a throne supported by two lions couchant, placed on both sides of a wheel. The latter rests on a bull, the cognizance of Vṛishabhanātha. To the proper right of the throne is a female figurine seated to front and holding an indistinct object, perhaps a musical instrument, in her right hand. On the other side is a kneeling female figurine with hands folded in adoration. The central figure is nude; the centre of the breast, the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are marked with symbols. The top of the head is raised, so as to resemble an *ushṇīsha*. The hair is indicated by a row of straight lines. The ears are elongated; beneath each ear a double lock of hair falls down on the shoulders. Over the figure is a triple parasol on which a grotesque figure is lying in the act of beating a hand-drum. On the sides of the Tīrthaṁkara stand two attendants with high headdress, each holding a fly-whisk over his shoulder. The rest of the slab is carved with four rows of miniature Tīrthaṁkara figures seated in meditation, the total number, including the main image, amounting to twenty-four, the traditional number of the Tīrthaṁkaras. In front of the third row are two projecting figures of elephants placed on lotus flowers and each mounted by two men. They are turned towards the head of the central figure. (*J. R. A. S.*, 1908, Plate V.)

2. Sculpture (ht. 2′ 6¼″ or 0 m. 795) of grey sandstone, much worn, representing a Tīrthaṁkara seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation on a throne supported by two lions rampant, placed on both sides of a wheel. The latter rests on the figure of a dwarf. The main figure is nude; its left arm is broken. On each side stands an attendant with a fly-whisk surmounted by a flying garland-carrier. Over the main figure is a parasol on which a grotesque figure can be traced

in the act of beating a hand-drum. On both sides of the slab is a vertical row of miniature Tīrthaṁkara figures, seated in meditation, the total number, including the main image, amounting to twenty-four, the traditional number of Jaina patriarchs.

3. Sculpture (ht. 1′ 3″ or 0 m. 395) of buff sandstone, partly destroyed, representing a Tīrthaṁkara seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation on a throne supported by two lions couchant, placed on both sides of a wheel. The cognizance beneath the latter is defaced. On both sides of the throne is a male figurine. The main figure is nude and bears the usual symbols. To its left is an attendant with a fly-whisk surmounted by a miniature Tīrthaṁkara figure. The corresponding figures to the right are lost.

4. Sculpture (ht. 1′ 2½″ or 0 m. 39) of buff sandstone, partly defaced, representing a Tīrthaṁkara seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation on a throne supported by two lions couchant, placed on both sides of a wheel. The cognizance beneath the latter is defaced. To the proper right of the throne is a crouching female figure and to the left a kneeling female worshipper with her hands joined in adoration. The main figure is surmounted by a parasol over which three figurines of heavenly musicians are visible. The rest of the slab is carved with four rows of miniature Tīrthaṁkara figures, their total number, including the main image, amounting to twenty-four.

5. Sculpture (ht. 1′ 3¼″ or 0 m. 413) of buff sandstone, well preserved, representing a Tīrthaṁkara seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation on a throne supported by two lions couchant, placed on both sides of a wheel. There is no cognizance. The main figure is seated between two attendants with fly-whisk and is surmounted by a parasol on both sides of which are projecting elephants, flying celestials and miniature Tīrthaṁkaras.

6. Sculpture (ht. 1′ 5¾″ or 0 m. 465) of buff sandstone, defaced and broken in several pieces, representing a Tīrthaṁkara seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation on a throne supported by two lions couchant, placed on both sides of a wheel. No cognizance is traceable. On the proper right of the throne is a female figurine seated to front, and to the left a kneeling female worshipper with the hands joined in adoration. The rest of the slab is carved with the usual attendants, projecting elephants and miniature Tīrthaṁkaras.

7. Sculpture (ht. 1′ 11½″ or 0 m. 615) of buff sandstone, well preserved, representing a Tīrthaṁkara standing between two miniature figures of which that to his right is seated. The main figure is placed under a parasol over which the figurine of a musician can be traced. To his right stands a female attendant with a fly-whisk, surmounted by a rampant leogryph. Foliage above.

8. Sculpture (ht. 1′ 6½″ or 0 m. 485) of buff sandstone, defaced, representing a Tīrthaṁkara standing between two miniature figures of which that to his right is seated. On his right side stands a female attendant with a fly-whisk, apparently surmounted by a rampant leogryph.

9. Fragment (ht. 1′ 1½″ or 0 m. 352) of a sculpture of buff sandstone, defaced, representing a Tīrthaṁkara standing under a parasol, over which the figurine of a musician can be traced. On both sides of the head is a miniature Tīrthaṁkara.

10. Two fragments (ht. 1′ 6½″ or 0 m. 485) of a Tīrthaṁkara seated on a throne marked with a wheel and two non-descript animals.

11. Sculpture (ht. 1′ 7¼″ or 0 m. 505) of buff sandstone, completely worn and broken, representing a male and a female figure seated side by side under a palm tree. A miniature Tīrthaṁkara projects from the foliage of the tree; and a figurine is shown climbing up by the stem. The attributes of the main figures are unrecognizable.

12. Sculpture (ht. 10¼″ or 0 m. 268) of buff sandstone, much defaced, representing a male and a female figure seated side by side under a palm tree. Attributes unrecognizable.

13. Sculpture (ht. 1′ 2½″ or 0 m. 38; width 2′ 9½″ or 0 m. 877) of buff sandstone, broken in four pieces, and carved with five figurines of Tīrthaṁkaras (three of which are placed in chapels) seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation. The central figure has a Nāga hood. The sculpture evidently was the top portion of a large image slab.

Minor Finds.

1. Stone figurine (ht. 0 m. 065) of a Jina seated cross-legged in meditation.
2. Fragment (width 0 m. 08) of a stone sculpture with feet of standing figure.
3. Fragment (ht. 0 m. 12) of stone sculpture with feet of standing figure.
4. Stone implement (length 0 m. 08) broken in three pieces.
5. Head of terra-cotta animal.
6. Fragment (length 0 m. 12) of stone sculpture with head of elephant.
7. Fragment (width 0 m. 055) of stone sculpture with feet of standing image.
8. Fragment (ht. 0 m. 035) of stone sculpture containing halo of figure.
9. Silver coin.
10. Small fragments of sculpture.
11. Head of image-pot.
12. Fragment of a pestle.
13. Axe blade.
14. Spindle whorls.
15. Beads.

Sahēṭh.

(BY PANDIT DAYA RAM SAHNI.)

Unlike Mahēṭh described above, Sahēṭh falls entirely within the limits of the Bahraich district, being situated about half a mile to the west of the boundary line of the districts of Gonda and Bahraich, and only a furlong to the south of the Balrāmpur-Ikaunā road. The more conspicuous part of the mound at the present day is 1,600 feet long from the north-east corner to the south-west and varies in width from 450 feet to 700 feet, but that it formerly extended for several hundred feet further in the eastern direction, is proved by the general elevation of the lands lying to the east of Sahēṭh and the fact that a large ruin marked H in General Cunningham's plan,[1] and identified after him by Dr. Hoey with a *stūpa* of Sāriputta, is still connected with the main site by raised ground.[2]

The average elevation of Sahēṭh is 14 feet above the level of surrounding fields. It contains, however, a large number of eminences which rose much higher. Twenty of these were excavated by General Cunningham in 1863 and 1877-8, and revealed temples, *stūpas* and other structures, to each of which he affixed a number from 1 to 18. Dr. Hoey's operations were much more extensive, since not only did he open every detached mound that he noticed, but also led long trenches throughout the length and breadth of the site. We need not, therefore, be surprised if he could not complete any of the buildings that he commenced. It is also obvious that he suffered from insufficiency of funds, for he invariably left the excavated débris either on the buildings themselves or quite close to them. These heaps of rubbish had very much hardened in the course of time, and their removal naturally entailed much waste of time and money, which could have been fruitfully utilized elsewhere.

During the past season, work was restricted to only those of the more important structures which had been left unfinished by the previous explorers. The buildings will be referred to by the numbers given to them by General Cunningham, fresh numbers being affixed to those discovered since his time.

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[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XI, Plate XXIV. [2] *Vide* Plate XXII above.

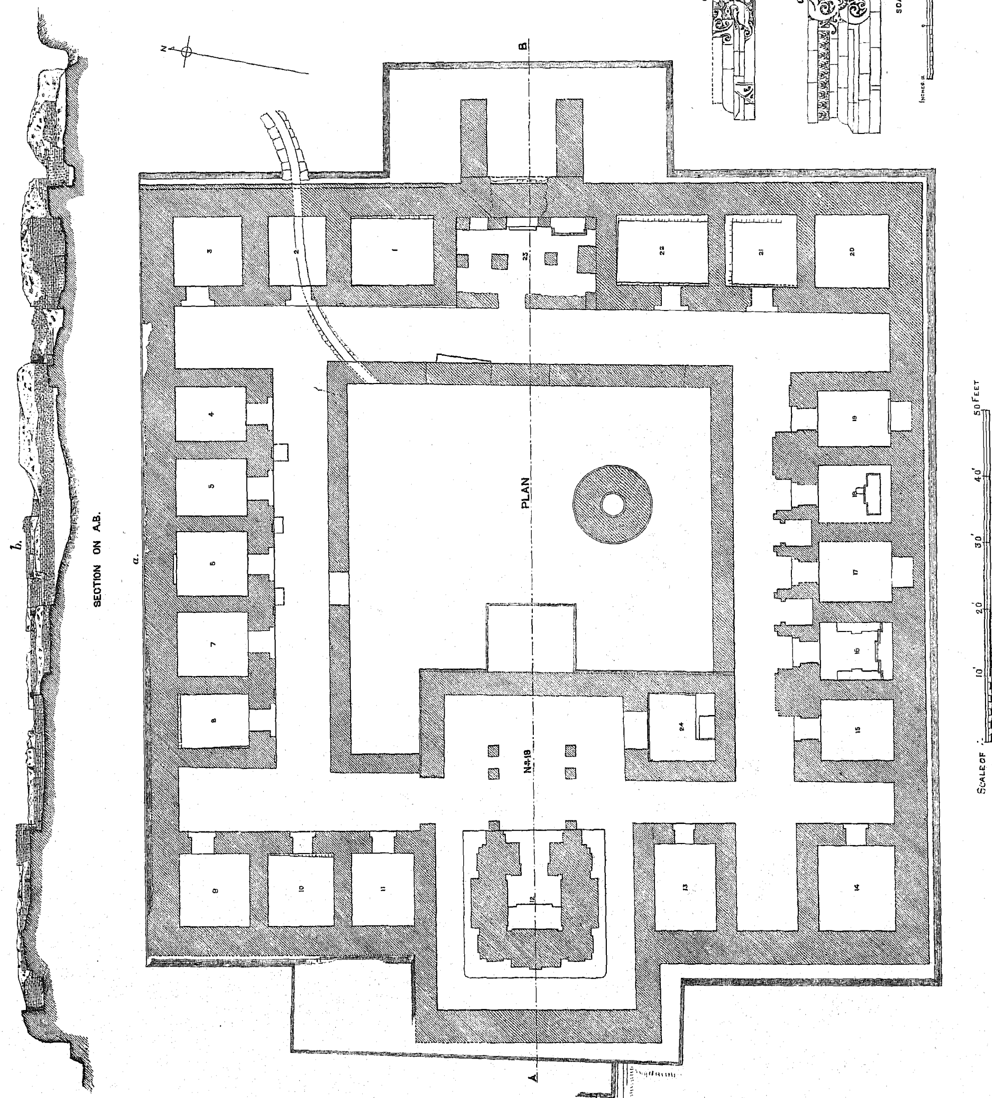
A.—Convent No. 19. (Plate XXXIV.)

Of the year's excavations at Sahēṭh, that of No. 19 must take first rank for the valuable data it furnishes regarding the identification of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh with the ancient Śrāvastī. The building was discovered by Dr. Hoey, and is marked 21 in his plan of Sahēṭh.[1] Dr. Hoey dug all around the building down to a depth of about 13 feet below the surface and came to the conclusion that "the building had been twice rebuilt with extreme care exactly on the old foundations, before it was finally rebuilt at the latest date prior to falling into the decay" in which he found it. This statement is quite correct with this exception that the lowest or earliest building on this site has certainly a somewhat different plan. Of this, only a single corner, standing 5′ high, was unearthed on the west, the rest of the building being all hidden under the upper strata. The foundations of the later structures all stand precisely one over the other, making up a total height of over 11′. The wall of the second period is very compactly built of well chiselled bricks, measuring approximately $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$. The joints between the bricks here, as everywhere else in pre-Muhammadan buildings, are of mud, but so fine that at places they are scarcely visible. The lower part of this wall for a height of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet is characterised by 12 offsets or footings of a double course of bricks each, the remaining surface for 1′ 2″ being quite plain. At the lowest footing there were the remains of a brick floor on the south and east sides. There is no evidence as to the age of this level, but the earliest buildings with footings that I have seen are the Gupta monasteries at Sārnāth. It will be seen on the plan that the east wall had a projection 44 feet wide and about 17 feet deep at the distances of 36 and 38 feet, respectively, from the south-east and north-east corners. A larger projection occurs on the west wall. The outer wall of the next building of the series on the spot is about 2 feet high. At this period the monastery was entered by a porch, the side walls of which will be found figured in Plate XXXIV, plan. At the back of this porch I found two low platforms, situated $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart, and built up of moulded bricks, details of which are illustrated in figures *c* and *d* of Plate XXXIV. The ornamentation on the southern platform consists of a row of leaves cut in relief, with a floral device in the middle. The chief feature of the other platform is a pair of geese standing opposite each other with faces turned backwards. On the authority of the style of this ornamentation I am inclined to assign this level to about the 10th century A.D. The building that was raised on this spot last of all is the one with which we are chiefly concerned in this paper. In plan it is a perfect square, measuring 118 feet along each side externally. The projection in the middle of the west side will be referred to presently. Dr. Hoey's plan[2] shows this projection right at the northern extremity of the western side. The inner arrangement of the building corresponds precisely with that of all other monasteries hitherto brought to light, *e.g.*, an open courtyard in the centre surrounded by rows of cells on all sides preceded by corridors. The courtyard is 56 feet long from east to west and 54′ 8″ in width. The eastern and western corridors extend as far as the outer wall of the building on both sides. The southern corridor only reaches the outer wall at the

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, Extra Number, 1892, Plate V.

[2] *Report*, Plate X.

PLATE XXXIV.



EXCAVATIONS AT SAHETH-MAHETH.
SECTION ON A.B.
PLAN
A
B
No 19
c.
d.
SCALE
SCALE OF
50 FEET

western end. This prolongation of the passages was necessary to provide means of communication to the corner cells.

The corridor is everywhere about 8 feet wide and is separated from the courtyard by a low wall, 3′ thick. It seems probable that the corridor was open on the side of the courtyard, being supported in front not by a solid wall but by a series of columns of brickwork or of wood placed on the outer wall. At the other end, the corridor rested certainly on wooden posts engaged in the wall of the cells. Some of the sockets which held the posts as well as the bases of the brickwork which bore them, came to light in the northern and eastern rows. The floor in the verandah and courtyard is everywhere paved in concrete, which is well preserved. The drain shown in the plan in the north-east angle of the structure was found to be covered with over-lapping bricks. On the outside it was traced in a much ruined condition for more than 20.′

The monastery contains altogether 24 rooms, the last one of which occupies the south-west corner of the courtyard. The size and plan of the rooms will be apparent from the plan. The apartments are small, as they are in all Indian monasteries.[1] Each cell is provided with a doorway with the exception of cells Nos. 1 and 20, where it has decayed away. No vestiges of any kind of door frames were found, but the cavities existing in the reveals of jambs afford ample evidence to show that the cells were originally fitted with doors, presumably of wood, which were taken away at the break-up of the establishment for use elsewhere.

The central chamber of the eastern row is the largest in the monastery, measuring 21′ long and 11′ deep. It is the entrance hall and shows that the monastery, like it's predecessors now lying buried underneath it, faced eastward. Inside it were unearthed the brick bases of two rows of columns, one adjoining the outer wall and the other in the middle of the room. That the columns were of wood was evident from quantities of charcoal lying on the tops of their bases. The wall between the chamber and the verandah had disappeared, but at the threshold I found the charred remnants of a wooden beam, 3′ long, *in situ.* I believe that this wall was originally pierced with three doors, one in front of each of the three intercolumnar spaces. It is clear that this room also was destroyed by fire.

The chamber opposite the entrance, in the centre of the western row, is the smallest room in the whole building, being about 8′ square internally. The walls are thick and recessed, and the cell is raised on a platform 1½′ high. But the room possesses a peculiar interest. It is the chapel of the monastery. We learn from I-Tsing [2] that every monastery in India had its holy image with a temple to enshrine it, and that the image was bathed every day in the forenoon under a canopy stretched over the court of the monastery. Major Kittoe found a similar shrine in a monastery at Sārnāth in 1851-52, and only last year a monastery with chapel was unearthed by Dr. Vogel at Kasiā.[3] The chapel at Sārnāth[4] contained only "an elaborately corniced block" which Major Kittoe considered to be the throne of an image, but that at Kasiā not only an inscribed stone, but also fragments of a large terra-cotta image of Buddha. In the shrine in the monastery which we are describing here was a large pedestal along the west wall. No image was, however, found inside it.

[1] *Cf.* I-Tsing, trans. by Takakusu, p. 111.
[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 147.
[3] *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, p. 48.
[4] *A. S. R. I.*, p. 127.

In front of the chapel is an ante-chamber, while the other three sides are surrounded by a circumambulatory passage. The latter is about 4 feet wide, and it was obviously to provide room for this, that the back wall of the monastery had to be projected in the middle behind the chapel. Both these features are wanting in the earlier examples quoted in the preceding paragraph, but when they first began to be employed in chapels of this class is not known.

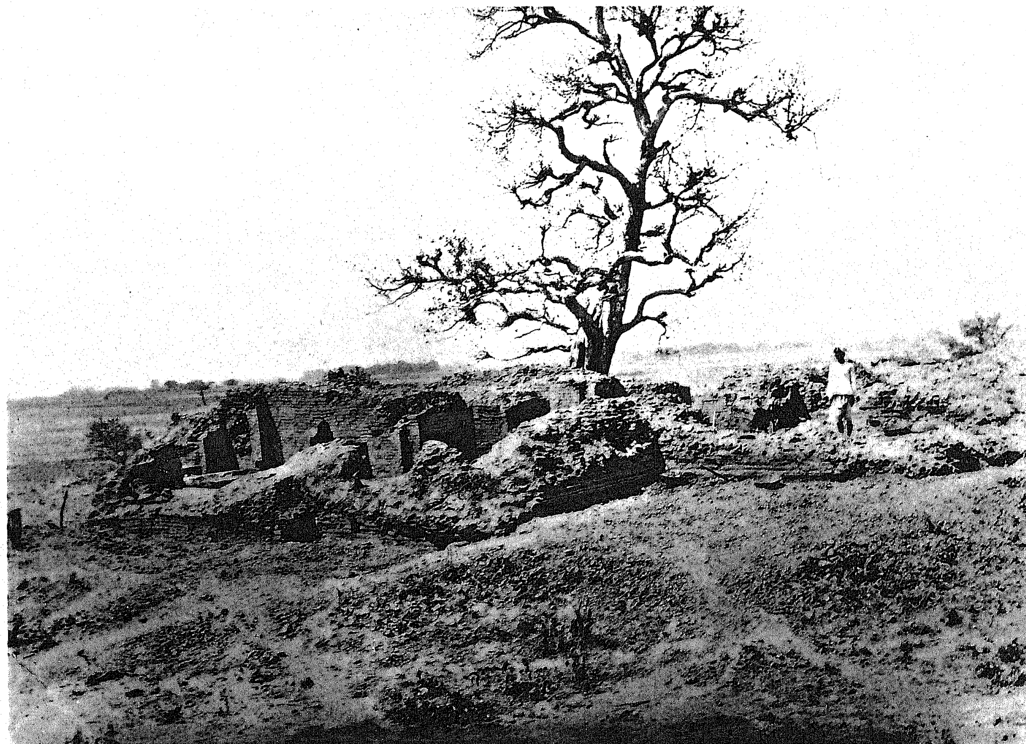
Two other cells probably also served the purpose of shrines. In one of these—No. 16—I found three pedestals or *siṁhāsanas*, but only one small image of a Buddha of the 8th or 9th century (List of Sculptures, No. S44). The other cell (No. 18) contained, besides a pedestal, a terra-cotta tablet containing a figure of the Buddha of the 5th or 6th century A. D. (List of Terra-cottas, No. S36) and an inscribed sculpture, representing Avalōkitēśvara, of the 8th or 9th century (List of Sculptures, S38). These objects were, no doubt, appropriated from earlier buildings and worshipped as relics of the past. All the remaining cells were used for the accommodation of monks, with the exception of No. 23. Of the residential apartments, No. 15 would seem to have been used by the *upādhyāya* or *āchārya* of the convent, for it is the only one which is furnished with a bed in the form of a brickwork bench, 3′ 8″ wide, built along the west wall. The southern end of the bench is made a few inches higher, to serve the purpose of a pillow. A few earthen cooking pots and ashes were lying on the floor. In the 23rd cell, which I identify as the store-room, I found half buried in the floor a big earthen jar over 2 feet high and 7 feet in circumference. This must have been used for the storage of corn. By its side were a cup (S109) of bronze, 4½ inches in diameter at top, and an iron *palli* or ladle (S 111) of the type still used in India for taking out oil.

But this is not all. This cell is connected with a find which is certainly the most notable discovery of the season. I refer to an inscribed copper plate of Gōvindachandra of Kanauj, which was found in the north-west corner of this cell immediately under the floor. The plate was carefully packed in an earthen case, 2 feet square and 3 inches high, which was built against the foundation, well secured on all sides with brickwork. It measures 18″ long by 14″ high and ¼″ thick, and is inscribed on one side only with 27 lines of neatly engraved and admirably preserved writing. In the middle of the upper part there is a hole, ⅝″ in diameter, which must have held a metallic ring surmounted with the king's seal. The charter issued from Vārāṇasī on Monday, the full moon day of Āshāḍha, Saṁ. 1186, which according to Dr. Fleet corresponds to the 23rd June, 1130. The inscription records the grant of six villages to the "community of Buddhist friars of whom Buddhabhaṭṭāraka is the chief and foremost, residing in the great convent of the holy Jētavana," and is of paramount importance, inasmuch as it conclusively settles the identification of Sahēṭh with the Jētavana-mahāvihāra and consequently that of Mahēṭh with the city of Śrāvastī. The names of the villages granted are Vihāra in the district of Vāḍā (?) Chaturaśīti, Paṭṭaṇā, Upalauṇḍā, Vavvahalī, Ghōsāḍī attached to Mēyī and Payāsi attached to Pōṭhivāra. Further evidence in favour of this identification will be found in the fact that some of the places which formed the endowment are still extant and known by their ancient names.[1]

[1] See my note on this plate. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X.



a. SAHETH: TEMPLE NO. 12 FROM NORTH-EAST.



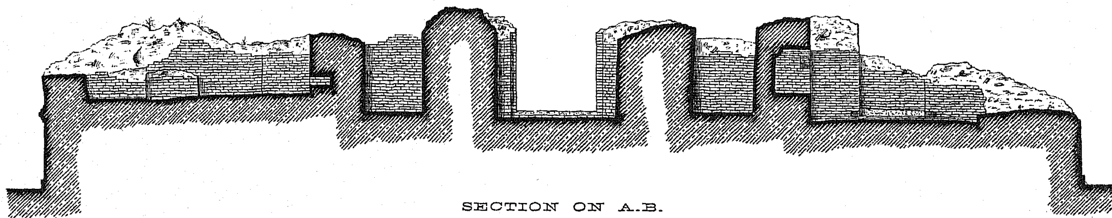
b. SAHETH: TEMPLE NO. 1 FROM NORTH-EAST.

N

A B

No 12

PLAN.



SECTION ON A.B.

SCALE OF 5 0 5 10 15 20 25 FEET

Another useful purpose which the copper-plate serves, is to supply the date not only of the building in which it was found but also of many others scattered over the site which are obviously contemporaneous with No. 19. Such, for instance, are Nos. 11, 12, 6, 7, 2, 3, and 1, all of which stand on the surface and belong to the last building epoch at Sahēṭh. It is also clear that Buddhism was a living faith at least in this part of the country as late as the 12th century A.D.

Besides the minor antiquities noticed above, a large number of other objects came to light in this building. Among sculptures, the image of Kubēra (List of Sculptures, No. S5)[1] of the 8th or 9th century, in red Mathurā sandstone, and several fragmentary sculptures in Gayā stone are interesting. Metallic articles, which were also found in abundance, consist of iron nails, rings and clamps, which must have been used in the woodwork; arrowheads; the blade of an iron sickle; a plough-share; a needle and a few bangles of pewter. A gilded *ṭikulī* (forehead ornament), which was found in the southern corridor, was dropped there perhaps by a female pilgrim.

To the north-east of No. 19 there seems to exist a large group of *stūpas*. Three of these were unearthed by Dr. Hoey[2] who considered them to be columns. A few more were opened up in the past season. The earliest of these is a *stūpa* about 8′ in diameter and standing about 2′ 6″ high, which on grounds of style should be assigned to the 4th or 5th century A.D. The clay sealing numbered S.34 (see list below) which was found at the foot of this structure points in the same direction. The remaining *stūpas* are the work of the 9th or 10th century A. D.

B.—Temple No. 12. (Plates XXXV, *b* and XXXVI.)

This building stands some distance to the east of the monastery described above, with which it is nearly contemporary. It was partly excavated by General Cunningham and has now been completely freed from débris. The structure consists of three rooms arranged in one line, with a narrow vestibule in front and an ambulatory passage around the central chamber, and faces in the northern direction.

The central chamber is about seven feet square internally, with a brick pedestal, 6″ high, built on to the south wall. No portable antiquities were found, with the exception of a human skull and some other bones which were lying on the floor. The back wall behind the central chamber was pierced with a window to admit light into the passage around it.

The side rooms are somewhat larger, being 10′ long and 9′ broad internally. General Cunningham was of opinion that the central chamber originally contained an image of the Buddha, and that the side-rooms were the dwellings of attendant monks. It seems, however, more likely that the latter were meant for images of the Bōdhisattvas Avalōkitēśvara and Maitrēya or possibly of the gods Indra and Brahmā who accompanied the Buddha on his descent from the Trayastriṁśa heaven.

Temple No. 11 the excavation of which was also completed during the past season, is identical in plan with No. 12 and evidently served the same purpose.

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[1] For a photograph of this image see *J. R. A. S.* for October, 1908, Plate V, 2.

[2] *Report*, p. 50.

C.—Stupa No. 5. (Plate XXXVII.)

This mound was also first examined by General Cunningham[1], who came to the conclusion that the building concealed in it was a mediæval *stūpa* built on the remains of another of a much earlier date. It may be noted, however, that the upper structure was originally a chapel or shrine. This is proved not only by the existence of the brick floor with the pedestal of a statue found by General Cunningham himself, 8½′ below the top of its walls, but also by the fact that the east wall still retains clear marks of an entrance, 9½′ wide, which escaped his notice. The clay sealings which General Cunningham found one foot above the floor, must have been deposited when the shrine was converted into a *stūpa*.

The earlier *stūpa* now lies hidden under later accretions, and its shape and dimensions could not be ascertained. But outside it, on the north and west, were exposed, some five feet below the level of the ground, the sides of a brick terrace on which the *stūpa* was at first raised. The west side, which was wholly laid bare, measures 71 feet. Of the north face some 83 feet were excavated. The terrace is about 4 feet high and is composed of bricks of the same size as the *stūpa* itself, *viz.*, 14″ long and 9″ broad. The top of the terrace was marked by some sort of a cornice, which now survives only in a single course of bevelled bricks.

On this terrace was erected at a later date a smaller one, measuring 58′ long and 50′ broad, with a projection in the middle of the east side. This projection is divided into 3 cells, 33′ long and 3′ to 6′ broad internally, and represents presumably the foundations of a stair[2]. I am led to this conclusion by the fact that the cells were filled with earth and their inner walls left quite rough. The bricks used in this terrace measure 11″ × 7½″ × 2″.

Still higher up were found the remains of two other platforms, which would seem to have been the basements of the shrine and *stūpa* which General Cunningham found on the summit of the mound.

D.—Temple No. 3.

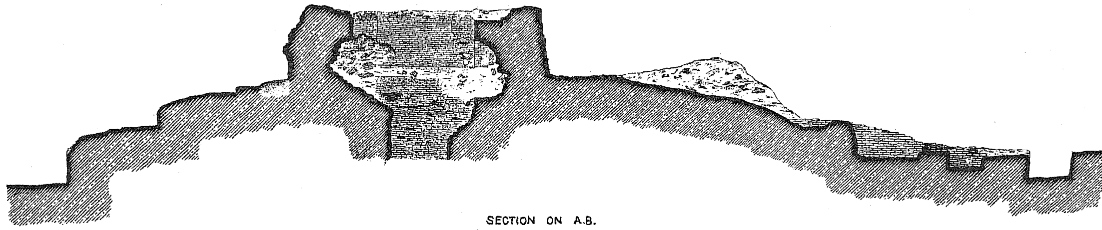
In the neighbourhood of No. 3, which General Cunningham identified as the ancient *Kōsambakuṭī*, a very interesting structure came to light. It is a solid brick terrace, about 10 feet broad and some 4 feet high, which starts 14 feet to the south of the *maṇḍapa* of No. 3, and runs in an eastern direction for a length of 53 feet. The external decoration consists of projections of brickwork such as we generally find on *stūpas* of the Gupta and later periods. The terrace was ascended from the north by a flight of steps built on to the middle of its face, which still survives in part. A similar structure was discovered by General Cunningham[3] to the north of the Mahābōdhi temple at Bōdh Gayā and identified as a Buddha's walk, which, no doubt, is also the nature of the structure now unearthed at Sahēṭh. The promenade at Bōdh Gayā was covered with a roof supported on stone columns, but no trace was found of a superstructure of the Sahēṭh monument.

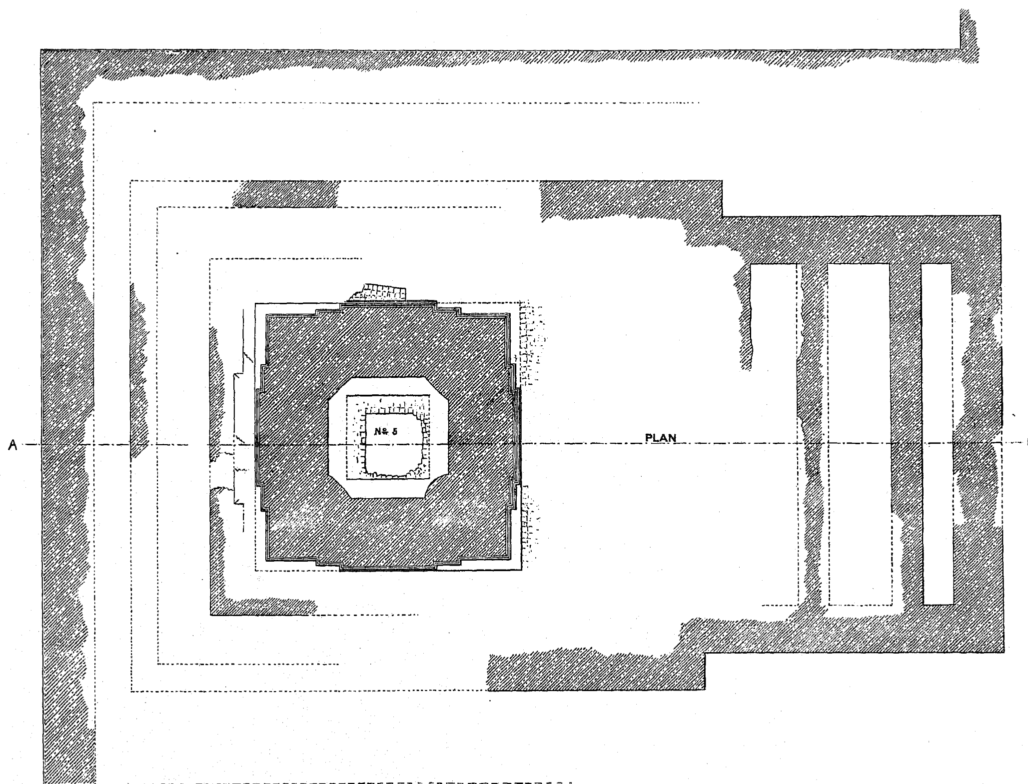
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[1] *A. S. R. Vol., XI*, p. 88.

[2] This terrace was partly excavated by Dr. Hoey, but his plan represents the projection as a separate structure.

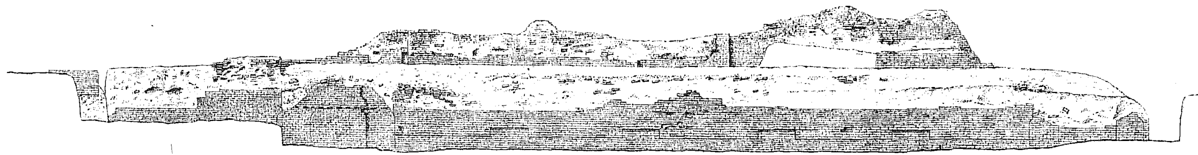
[3] *Mahābōdhi*, p. 8.



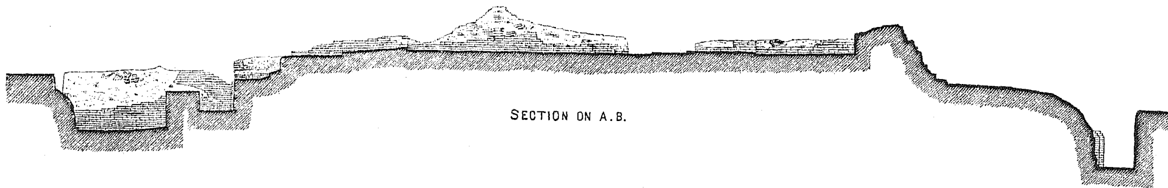


SCALE OF 6 0 6 12 18 24 30 FEET

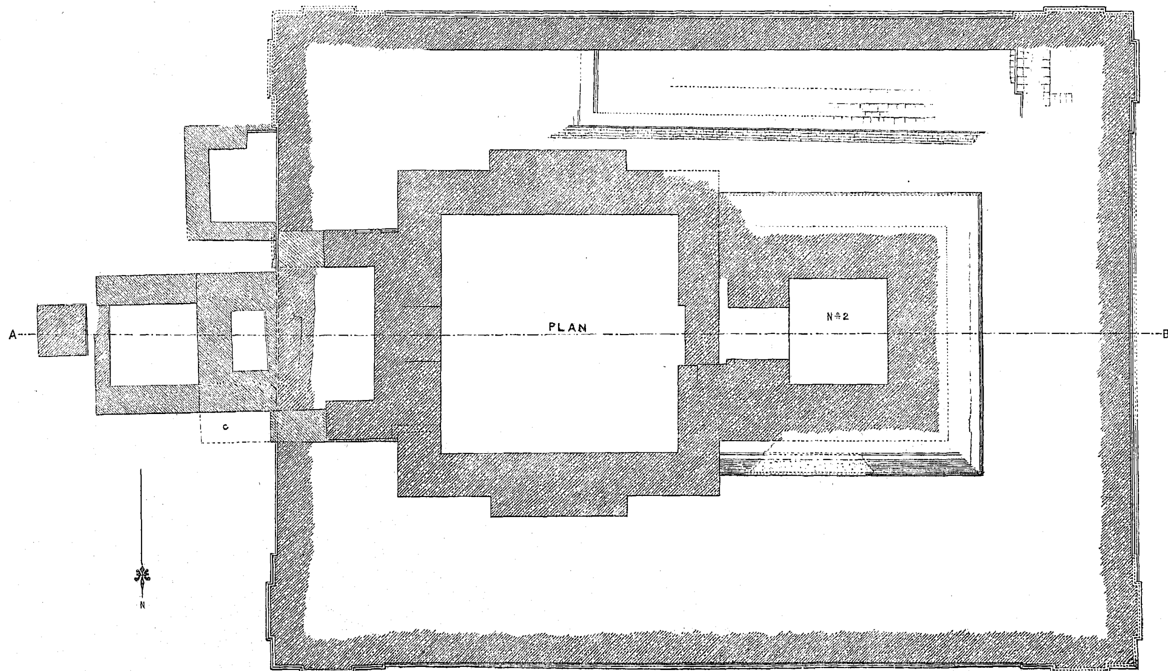
PLAN AND SECTION.



ELEVATION



SECTION ON A.B.



SCALE OF 5 4 3 2 1 0 5' 10' 15' 20' 25' 30 FEET

The structure reminds us of the *chaṅkama* which, according to the Kushaṇa inscription[1] carved on the Bōdhisattva statue discovered by General Cunningham in No. 3, belonged to the Kōsambakuṭī, but it must not be inferred that it is the actual promenade of the inscription. This structure, as well as No. 3, stands on the surface of the mound and is among the latest buildings unearthed at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh. What may, however, be safely assumed, especially from their close juxtaposition, is that they very probably stand on the site of the *chaṅkama* and the *kōsambakuṭī* mentioned in the epigraph. These buildings must have been looked upon as two of the most sacred monuments of Śrāvastī, and it is highly improbable that, when they fell to ruin, any other spots would be chosen for their re-erection than those which were supposed to be hallowed by the presence of the Great Teacher.

E.—Temple No. 2. (Plate XXXVIII.)

The excavation of this temple was started by General Cunningham[2], who laid bare the shrine and the *maṇḍapa* and identified the building as being the *gandhakuṭī*. Dr. Hoey exposed the entrance chamber and cleared the concrete floor all around the temple as far as the surrounding wall, which is about 8′ thick, 115′ long from east to west and 89′ broad. The east side of this wall, which was exposed in the past season, contains an entrance which was found bricked up. Dr. Hoey also cut open the concrete floor on the south and west sides of the temple, and found under it an earlier structure which appears to be a plinth. The enclosing wall of this plinth was completely laid bare in the past season. The structure measures 75′ long and 57′ broad. There is a projection on the east side, about 15′ 6″ deep and 12′ broad, divided into 2 cells, which do not communicate with each other and may be assumed to have supported a stair. The present height of the plinth does not anywhere exceed 7 feet. On the outside the walls are decorated at both ends with projections similar to those on the plinth of the Kachchī Kuṭī, the intervening spaces being decorated with shallow panels separated by low piers of brickwork. The bricks are carefully chiselled and well fitted together.

The interior of the structure was not all composed of brick. It was divided up into compartments of varying sizes, which were filled with earth and débris. A few of them were opened up by Dr. Hoey on the south side. The cross-walls are of rough construction. This mode of building plinths and foundations of buildings appears to have been common in early days. The foundations of a large *stūpa* to the west of the *main shrine* at Sārnāth are made in the same way, and so, presumably, is the early plinth in building No. 5 described above.

We expected to find here some remnant of the famous *Gandhakuṭī* which General Cunningham locates on this spot. The basement unearthed under the temple of General Cunningham is, as has been noticed above, carefully constructed, but, unfortunately, no trace remains of the actual monument which stood on it. What makes the situation still more difficult is the fact that, though *gandhakuṭīs* must have been common in past days at all places in any way associated with the life of the Buddha, not a single example has come down to us on any of the numerous Buddhist sites

[1] *Ep. Ind., VIII*, pp. 180-1.

[2] *A. S. R., XI*, p. 84.

hitherto explored. Nor do the hoards of sculpture found year after year in these places throw any light on the character of the *gandhakuṭī*. The shrine labelled *gandhakuṭī* on the Bharhut relief[1] is shown only in front elevation, from which it is impossible to draw any conclusions regarding the plan and design of the building. The only evidence, therefore, left to us is that afforded by stray references to the monument scattered about in the Pali literature. These have luckily been collected by Professor H. C. Norman of Queen's College, Benares, and published[2] in a learned paper with the express object of aiding the archæologist in the determination of the form of this most interesting Buddhist monument. In summing up the evidence he remarks "that the *gandhakuṭī* was :—(1) The private dwelling place of the Buddha. (2) A structure standing in the middle of the monastery, with a stair leading up to it. Great care was taken to make both building and stair as splendid as could be. (3) The repository of floral offerings which gave it its sweet perfume and its name." Items 1 and 3 do not concern us here. As to the features referred to in item 2, it may be remarked that the plinth of the building I am describing—for this is all that remains of it—is certainly the most ornamental of all structures hitherto exhumed at Sahēṭh and was also furnished with a stair. But whether the structure also stands in the middle of a monastery further explorations only can show.[3] In point of age the structure cannot be much earlier than the late Gupta period.

F.—Temple No. 1. (Plates XXXV, *a*, and XXXIX.)

In connection with this building General Cunningham speaks of three terraces, the lowest of which he makes 350 feet square, and 8 feet high; but it may be observed that no such terrace exists now, and the building No. 8, which according to the General[4] occupies it, stands quite apart on a much lower level. The monastery discovered and partly excavated by him on the supposed middle platform has filled up since his time. Enough remains still visible, however, to show that it is 150 feet long from east to west and 142½ feet broad, and not 131 feet square as he states in the text (*op. cit.*, p. 83) or 195′ × 165,′ as his plan on Plate XXIV of the same volume represents. In Dr. Hoey's plan[5] the width is only 6 feet in excess. It is a pity that time could not be found for clearing up this monastery, the only advance made on the old work being the discovery of an entrance chamber 18½′ × 16′ projecting in front of the east wall.

Turning to the temple exposed by General Cunningham on the top of the mound, we find that Dr. Hoey correctly points out the difference in age between the *maṇḍapa* and the *garbhagṛiha*, though his plan fails to bring it out. Another drawback in General Cunningham's and Dr. Hoey's plans is the total omission of the footings or diminishing courses of which the walls of the cella are composed. These footings embrace the whole of the extant height which now nowhere exceeds five or six feet,

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[1] See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, Fig. 23.

[2] *J. A. S. B.* for December 1907.

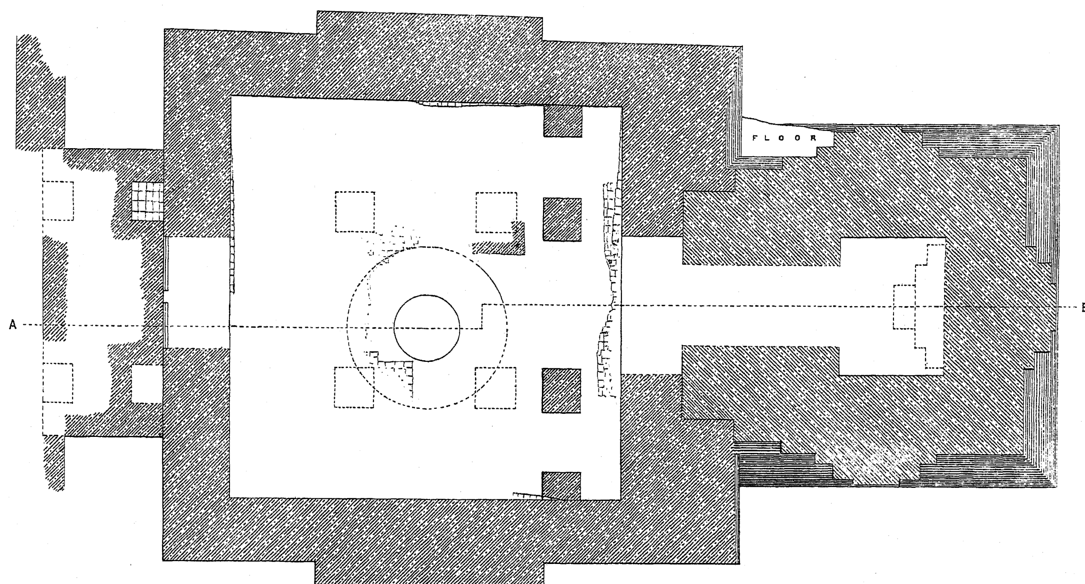
[3] No monasteries with chapels in the centre have yet come to light anywhere in India. Building No. 1 may possibly have been a monument of this description.

[4] *A. S. R.*, XI, Plate XXIV.

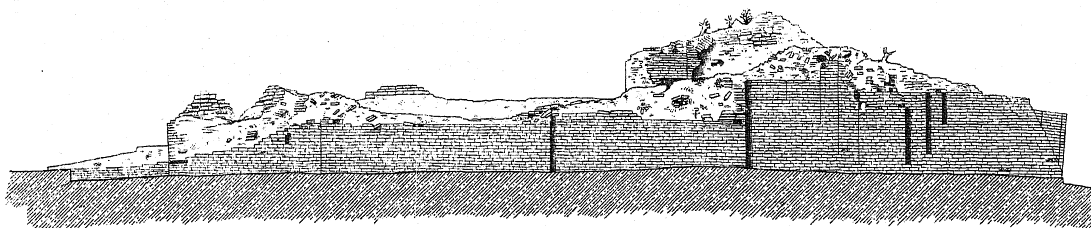
[5] *Report*, Plate VI.

EXCAVATIONS AT SAHETH-MAHETH.

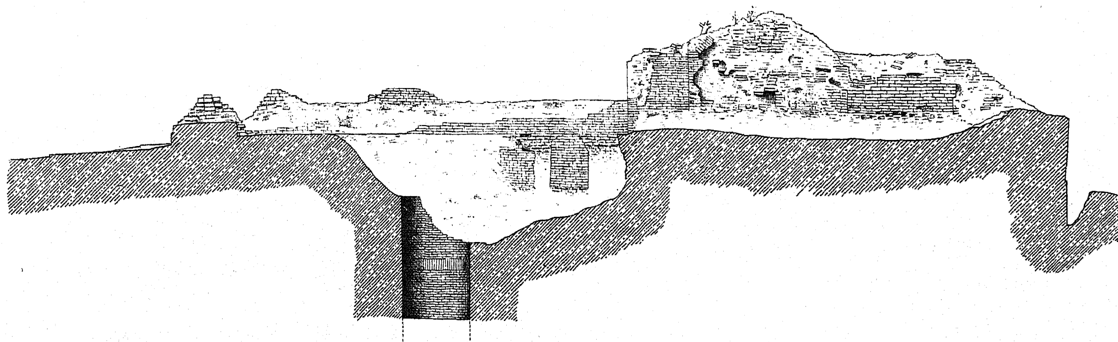
TEMPLE NO. 1.



PLAN



ELEVATION



SECTION A. B.

Scale of 5 0 5 10 15 20 25 Feet

and are relieved in the middle by projections beginning at varying intervals from each other and increasing in width as they recede inwards. Three such projections now remain on each of the faces except the east one, which contains the door, but it is possible that the upper portions of the walls had a few more, since General Cunningham's plan shows four on each face. No idea can be given of the superstructure, and the pedestal, which General Cunningham found against the back wall, has disappeared.

It would not be necessary to refer to the *maṇḍapa*, were it not for a few points which cannot be passed over. From the existence of four low brick pedestals, forming a square inside the chamber, which he mistook for altars, Dr. Hoey was led to suspect that the *maṇḍapa* might be a later Hindu addition. Such structures are, however, found at Sahēṭh itself in the ante-rooms of several temples, including the chapel in monastery No. 19, which is decidedly Buddhist, and General Cunningham's suggestion that they are bases of masonry pillars, which aided the walls in supporting the roof, is therefore more plausible. The fact of their being plastered over constitutes no serious objection ; for it can be conceived that, once these pillars decayed or fell, their assistance was not considered necessary and they came to be treated like the floor around them. Dr. Hoey himself unearthed a row of four such pillars (*vide* Plate LXIX) in the earlier building found by him immediately below the floor of the *maṇḍapa*. The well discovered by him a few feet to the east of these pillars presumably belongs to the monastery referred to above. The *maṇḍapa* had no doors in the north and south walls, and it was probably the projections on their outer faces which made General Cunningham show them in his plan.

During the past season two important features of the building were brought out. One of them is a porch with a sloping floor, 17′ 6″ long and 7′ 6″ broad, in front of the *maṇḍapa*. The porch was probably supported on four piers of brick bases, two of which now remain. The other feature is a wall all round the temple and intended obviously to enclose a path for circumambulation. The wall is 7 feet distant from the temple on the west side, 8′ 5″ on the north and only 5′ 10″ on the east. At a later date the path would seem to have been filled up and covered with a concrete floor, a small bit of which can still be seen on the south side of the cella.

The building is composed of bricks of varying sizes, of which the commonest are $13'' \times 7'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$, $10'' \times 10'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ and $9'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}.''$ That some of the material was taken from earlier buildings is evidenced by bricks carved with various patterns occurring in the building here and there. The temple belongs to the latest building epoch of Sahēṭh-Manēṭh.

The area to the south-east of No. 1 seems to be occupied by a monastery of an early date (No. 4). Dr. Hoey exposed its outer-wall as well as a few cells on the north side. In the past season, time could not be found to clear up the whole of its interior, but a narrow cutting driven inside it from the north-east corner to the south-west brought to light a number of small antiquities which will be found described in the lists below. One of these is a small copper image of Bāla-Kṛishṇa, about $2\frac{1}{4}''$ high, playing on his flute (*vaṁśī*). The right hand and left forearm and feet are wanting. Another figure of copper was that of a tortoise with a white gem set in the back.

G.—List of Sculptures.

Buddha Images.

S[1]. 1. Statuette in grey stone (ht. 6½") of Buddha seated cross-legged in the teaching attitude on a conventional lotus. The head, breast and fore-arms as well as the sides of the sculpture are broken. The garment is only indicated by its borders above the feet. On the base of the sculpture appears the usual wheel between couchant deer. On the back is carved an inscription in two lines consisting of the Buddhist creed, partly lost, followed by the syllables *dēva* . . . . . , in characters of the 9th or 10th century. Found near Sahēṭh on the south of the Balrāmpur-Ikauna road.

S.48. Statuette in some soft stone 2½" high representing Buddha seated on a conventional lotus in the *bhūmisparśa* attitude with an attendant on each side. The base is recessed at each corner and carved in the centre with a thunderbolt (*Vajra*). On both sides of the head are carved two miniature attendants probably Avalōkitēśvara and Maitrēya and two *stūpas*. On the back of the sculpture is scribbled an unintelligible inscription in one line in early *Nāgarī* script. Found outside the 19th cell of No. 19.

S. 44. Granite sculpture, 6" high, representing Buddha seated in meditation on a conventional lotus under a parasol. He holds between his hands in his lap a bowl which is presented to him by a monkey carved on the base. This refers to the presentation of *madhu* by a monkey to the Buddha at Vaiśālī. The middle portion of the back of the sculpture is dressed and incised with an incorrect version of the Buddhist creed in three lines in characters of about the 8th century. Found in the 16th cell of No. 19.

S. 45. Fragment of a Gayā stone sculpture, 6" high, containing, in a *chaitya*, an image of the Buddha seated in the *abhayadāna* attitude. On his left is a figure of Tārā seated on a full-blown *utpala*, and approached from the left by a child. Found in the 22nd cell of No 19.

Bōdhisattvas and other deities.

S. 2. Lower portion, 4¾" high, of a blue schist image of Avalōkitēśvara seated in the sportive attitude (*līlāsana*) on a lotus seat. The right foot of the deity rests on a smaller lotus which springs from the same stem as that on which he sits. On the right and left of Avalōkitēśvara are two lotus flowers which must have carried divine attendants, of which only the feet remain. The two kneeling figures on the base probably represent human devotees. We notice, moreover, a figure of a *prēta* (Sūchimukha) or tantalized spirit who is usually shown under the right hand of this god. On the base is a mutilated inscription in the *nāgarī* script of the 11th or 12th century, of which only the syllables *dēva* at the beginning and *yakha* (?) *-ka* at the end are legible. Found on the surface of the site.

S. 6. Fragmentary Gayā stone sculpture representing lower portion of an image of Siṁhanāda-Lōkēśvara, seated like a Mahārāja on a lion and supporting himself on his left hand which holds the stem of a lotus. In his right hand appears a trident turned downwards and touching the forehead of the lion. The epigraph on the base of the sculpture reads *Dānapati śrēshṭhi Paupidhāmaṇa* (?). About 11th or 12th century.

S. 31. Head of a statuette of Avalōkitēśvara. Found near the surface in No. 4.

S. 38. Image, 8¼" high, of Avalōkitēśvara seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* attitude on a conventional lotus. On both sides of the deity stand female figures of which the one on the left has four arms and holds a twig. The head and left arm of the main figure are missing. Below the right hand of the deity which is in the *varada* attitude is shown the *préta* Sūchimukha with inflated belly and joined hand stretched out, as it were, to receive the drops of nectar trickling

[1] The letter S. in this and the following numbers was adopted to distinguish the Sahēṭh antiquities from those discovered in Mahēṭh.

down from the fingers of the Great Compassionate. The base of the sculpture bears the inscription—

Line 1. *[Dē*]vadha[r*]mmō yaṁ Sauvāsēkasya vadhu.*
Line 2. ... ... *kāyā* (:) ...

meaning "the pious gift of—kā, daughter-in-law of Sauvāsēka". About 8th or 9th century A. D. Found in the 18th cell of No. 19.

S. 5. Image of Kuvēra or Jambhala, 22″ high, in the spotted red sandstone of Mathurā, seated in the European fashion (*ardhaparyaṅkka*). The lemon which the god held in his right hand is broken. In the left hand appears a purse.[1] The right foot of the god is placed on an overturned jar, perhaps a treasure vase. On each side of the halo is a partly defaced Nāgarī inscription of the 8th or 9th century containing the Buddhist creed. The sculpture was discovered outside the ante-chamber of chapel in No. 19. (*Cf. J. R. A. S.* for 1908, Plate V.)

S. 10. Fragment of border of a sculpture, 4½″ high, in grey sandstone containing a *makara* head on the proper left side and a headless figure apparently Nṛisiṁha disembowelling Hiraṇyakaśipu. Found outside the 14th cell of No. 19.

S. 4. Two fragments of a sculpture, measuring together 17″ high. The lower fragment contains the lower half of the main figure, whose right hand is in the *gift-bestowing* attitude, and a figurine of Tārā holding an *utpala* in the left hand. The other fragment belongs to the proper right border of the sculpture and bears two other small figures of the same goddess, each of which is accompanied by a figurine of a child. On this fragment is also depicted a blue lotus which no doubt belonged to the main figure. For this reason I suppose it to represent Tārā. Found in ante-chamber of chapel of No. 19.

Fragmentary and doubtful.

S. 3. Fragment consisting of the base of a sculpture with the crossed legs of a seated Buddha or Tīrthaṅkara. There is an uncertain design carved on the base. Found in old well in the low mound known as Bihārī Dās-kī-kuṭī.

S. 8. Fragment of base of a Gayā stone sculpture, 5½″ high, bearing a four-armed female figure seated on a full-blown lotus. The lower left hand holds a child (?). The emblems in the remaining hands cannot be recognized.

S. 9. Fragment of a rudely executed sandstone sculpture, 6″ high, representing a seated male figure. The left hand of the figure holds an indistinct object. Found to east of No. 19.

S. 12. Hand of sandstone female figure, 2½″ long. Found near No. 2.

S. 13. Left hand in sandstone 4¼″ holding a mace (?). Found near No. 2.

S. 14. Right hand in sandstone, 2½″ long, holding some uncertain object. Found near No. 2.

S. 22. Sandstone face of a Buddha or Tīrthaṅkara, 4″ high. Found among *stūpas* to north-east of No. 19.

S. 23. Base of a sculpture, 1½″ high, representing the right foot of a standing figure and a reclining figurine.

S. 16. Fragment of a Mathurā sandstone sculpture representing a foot with an anklet. Found on floor of No. 11.

S. 18. Right hand with bracelet and symbol, in *gift-bestowing* attitude, in Gayā stone. Length 2″. Found in 8th cell of No. 19.

S. 20. Fragment of a fore-arm in Gayā stone, 1½″ long. Found to the east of No. 19.

S. 36. Fragment of an arm of a statuette, 3¾″ long, in basalt, wearing a bracelet. Found in 1st cell of No. 19.

[1] This attribute will be found discussed at length in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 288-9.

S. 37. Fragment from proper left border of a sculpture in grey sandstone, $5''$ long containing a head facing to the right and wearing large ear-rings.

S. 39. Bust of a female statuette, $8''$ high, wearing an elaborate torque, a large necklace ear-rings and a diadem. Drapery slightly indicated. Found outside 14th cell of No. 19.

S. 43. Much damaged fore-arm of a statuette, $2''$ long, holding a flower stalk. Found in company with above.

Terra-cottas.

S. 1. A terra-cotta head, $4''$ high, with diad., long drawn eyes and thick lips. The ears are concealed under two dots of curly hair. Found in No. 4, $1'$ below surface.

S. 4. Terra-cotta head, $4''$ high, with large ears resembling those of an elephant. The nose and scalp damaged. Found in No. 4, near surface.

S. 5. Headless standing female figure, $2\frac{1}{2}''$ high. Left hand rests on thigh; the right hangs loose on the side. Found in No. 4, $2\frac{1}{2}'$ below surface.

S. 7. Three roughly modelled figures, $1\frac{1}{2}''$ to $2''$ high, similar to those found north of steps of Kachchī Kuṭī (Mahēṭh). No. 4, about $4'$ below surface.

S. 9. Head of a nondescript figure of black clay. Found in No. 4.

S. 2. Well-shaped seated bull, $1\frac{1}{2}''$ high. Found in No. 4, $1\frac{1}{2}'$ below surface.

S. 3. Bird with outstretched wings about $1\frac{1}{2}''$ high. Probably part of a vessel. *Cf. A. S. R.*, 1902-03, plate facing page 182, fig. 24, No. 28.

S. 6. Broken figure of a quadruped $1\frac{3}{4}''$ high. Found in No. 4.

S. 11. Hollow head of a horse, $1\frac{1}{2}''$ long. Found in No. 4, $6'$ below surface.

S. 20. Two fragments of top of a miniature *stūpa*. Found on north wall of lowest terrace in No. 5.

S. 21. Similar *stūpa* $5\frac{1}{4}''$ high with a hole $2\frac{1}{2}''$ deep in the base. Found on top of lowest terrace in No. 5.

S. 24. A potter's dabber or *ṭhapuā* for shaping pots with; $2\frac{3}{4}''$ high. The bottom is somewhat convex and the top is pierced with a hole to be worked with a wooden handle when used in the inside of pots with a narrow mouth. Found in courtyard of No. 19.

S. 25. Two handles of rattles similar to that represented in fig. 2 above. Found on lowest terrace in No. 5.

S. 26. A miniature ornamental horn, $1\frac{1}{4}''$ long. Found at the foot of north wall of earlier structure below No. 2.

S. 16. Terra-cotta ear ornament, $\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter, of the form still in use among poorer classes in the United Provinces. Found in courtyard of No. 19.

S. 8 & 15. Two goldsmith's moulds. Found in No. 4.

S. 18. Six cones with spiral ornament $1''$ to $2''$ in diam., at base. Found in vestibule of No. 12.

Clay tablets and sealings.

S. 36. Clay tablet $3\frac{1}{2}''$ square representing Buddha seated in the *dharmachakramudrā* on a conventional lotus with a Bōdhisattva standing on each side. Below the seat of the Buddha appears the Buddhist creed in 3 lines in characters of the 5th or 6th century A. D. There is a kneeling figure to the proper right of the inscription and a woman and a child to the proper left. The border on the remaining 3 sides consists of 11 miniature *stūpas* in relief with garlands hanging from their tops. Found in cell No. 18 of No. 19.

S. 34. Clay tablet $1''$ in diam. bearing figure of a couchant bull facing left and the legend Budha [dēvasa] in characters of 5th or 6th century in exergue. Found at base of earliest *stūpa* in group to north-east of No. 19.

S. 28. An elliptic clay sealing $1\frac{1}{4}''$ along major axis, inscribed with the name Buddhadē-[va] in late Gupta script. Found in No. 4 near surface.

S. 31. Fragment of a circular inscribed clay tablet 3″ in diam.; found near surface in No. 2. The extant writing consists of portions of 12 lines in the āgarī characters of the 8th or 9th century A. D. The letters are very small and it is impossible to offer a complete reading of the inscription. The 3rd and 4th lines read—*Tathāgatāya namō Bhagavatē Śākya* .... *namaḥ Tathāgatāy-Ārhatē samyak-saṁbuddhāya.*

S. 32. Clay tablet 2″ in diam. Contains the Buddhist creed in a deep incuse in characters of 8th or 9th century A. D. Found north of No. 5, on surface.

S. 33. Collection of clay tablets impressed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the 9th or 10th century. Found among the *stūpas* to north-east of No. 19.

S. 35. Four clay tablets with Buddhist creed of about the same date. Found to east of No. 19.

S. 29. Circular sealing ¾″ in diam. Impressed with figure of a couchant bull facing right The reverse bears a clear string mark. Found in No. 4, some 4′ below surface.

Coins.

S. 55. Punch-marked rectangular copper coin.

Obv. Sun, taurine and other symbols.

Rev. Blank. Found to north of No. 7.

S. 64. Copper coin of Ahichchhattra.

Obv. In incuse, the three usual symbols of the Pañchāla coinage. In exergue illegible name of King in early Brāhmī.

Rev. Figure of Agni (?) on railing between posts. Found in spoil earth.

S. 51. Ahichchhattra copper coin of Agnimitra.

Obv. Incuse square. Above, the three Pañchāla symbols. Below, in earl Brāhmī *Agimitrasa*.

Rev. Defaced. Found east of No. 3, near surface.

S. 54. Similar. Excellently preserved. North of Chaṅkama, near surface.

S. 62. Indo-Sassanian silver coin of unassigned coinage.

Obv. Caricature of Sassanian head with winged head-dress facing left. To right of head syllable *ga* of the 8th or 9th century.

Rev. A number of marks which cannot be identified. Found in spoil earth to north-east of No. 19.

Besides these, three copper coins of Akbar, two copper coins of the 18th century and a few others which were too much corroded to be identified, were found.

Miscellaneous metal objects.

S. 96. Copper image, 2¼″ high, of Bālakṛishṇa playing on his flute (*vaṁśī*). The right hand and left fore-arm and feet are missing. Found in No. 4.

S. 95. Miniature figure of a tortoise in copper with a crystal set in the back. Found in No. 4, abcut 3′ below surface.

S. 78. Iron cup with round base, 4½″ in diam. at aperture. Found a few feet west of No. 19.

S. 109. Bronze cup 4½″ in diam. at top. Found on floor of cell No. 23 of No. 19.

S. 111. Iron *palli* for taking out oil. Found in juxtaposition with above.

S. 80. Iron ploughshare, 8½″ long. Found in courtyard of No. 19.

S. 105. Iron chisel, 3¾″ long. Found in cell No. 17 of No. 19.

S. 82,106. Two iron sickles. Found in southern corridor of No. 19.

S. 103. Blade of knife 10″ long with pointed tenon 3″ long. Found in cell No. 14 of No. 19.

S. 81, 88 and 98. Spear-heads. Found in courtyard of No. 19 and middle terrace of No. 5.

S. 86-7. Two small balls of lead. Found among *stūpas* to north-east of No. 19.

S. 79 and 91. Arrow-heads. Courtyard of No. 19 and No. 2.

S. 94. Bronze rod about 5″ long, thick at ends and thin in the middle. I am unable to determine its purpose. Found 3′ below surface in No. 4.

S. 66, 79, 89, etc. Iron nails, cramps, etc., of different sizes.

S. 99. Two bangles of bronze and 3 of pewter. Found on floor of 3rd cell of No. 19.

S. 104. Copper disc, ½″ in diam., gilded on one side. Probably a *ṭikulī* or forehead ornament. 16th cell of No. 19.

S. 86. Finger-ring of pewter and an ear-ring of iron. Found in group of *stūpas* to north-east of No. 19.

Conclusions.

The chief result of the excavations at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh is this that they have settled the disputed question of the identity of the site with the ancient city of Śrāvastī and the neighbouring Jētavana.[1] As stated at the beginning of this paper, Mr. V. A. Smith, relying on the evidence of the Chinese pilgrims, arrived at the conclusion that the identification first proposed by Cunningham could not be maintained, and that the true position of Śrāvastī was marked by an extensive ancient site north of Bālāpur in Nepāl territory.

Mr. Smith fixed on this site by following the route of the Chinese pilgrims from Kanauj to Kapilavastu, the situation of both these places being established. With regard to Kapilavastu it must, however, be admitted that the exact position of the ancient city is still uncertain. The two months' explorations of Babu P. C. Mukerji have helped little to elucidate the local topography. There can, of course, be no doubt as regards the site of the Lumbinī garden, but as the Niglīva pillar is no longer *in situ* it may be questioned whether it really marks the supposed birth-place of Kanakamuni Buddha.

The stages by which the Chinese pilgrims travelled from Kānyakubja to Śrāvastī are uncertain. Mr. Smith[2] has himself to admit reluctantly a " glaring error " in the distance and bearing of Śrāvastī from Shā-che as recorded by Fa-hien, and remarks about Shā-che itself that the site of almost any ancient town would suit his description. In the case of Hiuen Tsiang we are hardly more fortunate, as he reached Śrāvastī from Kauśāmbī; and the position of this place is still a disputed point, while the intervening stages Kia-shi-po-lo and Pi-so-kia have not yet been identified.

Mr. Smith lays great stress on the agreement between the two pilgrims as regards the bearing and distance from Śrāvastī and Kapilavastu, and protests strongly against the assumption that both should have wilfully lied. There are, however, many transitions between wilful lying and mathematical accuracy. We may rightly hesitate to expect great exactness in men who were disposed to accept even the most extravagant statements. It should also be taken into account, how far the Chinese pilgrims could be accurate in the circumstances in which they had to travel. Making due allowance for this, we may still hold the view that, judged by the standard of Oriental writings, their accuracy is most remarkable. Their guidance

[1] *Cf.* my preliminary note. *The Site of Śrāvastī J. R. A. S.* for 1908, pp. 971 ff.

[2] *J. R. A. S.* for 1898, pp. 522 f.

is undoubtedly of great importance in questions of ancient topography, but it should not be implicitly relied on. To decide such questions we require conclusive evidence derived from the monuments themselves and particularly from epigraphical records.

The only document of this kind hitherto available was the colossal Bōdhisattva image which, as stated in the inscription, was erected at Śrāvastī. Mr. Smith rightly points out that it was not found in its original position. But this by no means implies that it came from elsewhere. The much greater probability is that it originally belonged to the site and was re-erected in a new temple not far from the spot where it first stood. The Jētavana must have seen many changes in the millennium intervening between the Kushaṇas and the Gahaṛvārs. It would indeed have been marvellous, had a statue, which was set up about the reign of Kanishka, remained undisturbed till the time when the Moslems ended the existence of the famous Buddhist sanctuary. There is little reason for wonder that the Bōdhisattva was not found *in situ*.

The inscribed umbrella post[1] in the Lucknow Museum strengthens the probability that the Bōdhisattva originally belonged to the site on which it was found. The stone parasol was erected at the same time with the image, as is clearly stated in the inscriptions on both. But if we are to believe with Mr. Smith that the colossal image was taken to Sahēṭh after the destruction of the Jētavana, we must assume that the parasol was removed at the same time. This necessitates the assumption that this object had escaped the general ruin, for otherwise what purpose would there have been in its removal? Considering that the stone umbrella, found with the Bōdhisattva statue of Sārnāth, measures 10′ in diameter and the Śrāvastī one was presumably of a similar size, both suppositions must appear highly improbable. But I do not wish to press this argument, as unfortunately we possess no sure record of the discovery of the inscribed fragment, which owing to this circumstance, loses much of its value as a piece of evidence.

We possess now another document of much greater importance in the copper-plate discussed above. It was presented to the Buddhist community of the Jētavana in A. D. 1130 and proves that this sanctuary still existed in the century preceding the Muhammadan conquest.

It came to light in the ruins of a building which undoubtedly was a Buddhist convent, and the circumstances of the find show that this was the very convent to which the plate was presented. Dr. Bühler points out that in the ruins of Valabhi, the modern Valā, copper-plates have been found immured in walls or even in the foundations of the houses of the owners[2]. Indeed, no other than the owner would have had any reason for preserving such a record thus carefully.

In view of the accumulative evidence of the three authentic records now at our disposal, there can be no reasonable doubt that the site of Sahēṭh represents the Jētavana and consequently that of Mahēṭh the city of Śrāvastī.

J. PH. VOGEL.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 290 f.

[2] *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 93 (transl. Fleet, p. 99).

EXCAVATIONS AT TAKHT-I-BĀHĪ.

THE famous ruins of Takht-i-Bāhī are situated on the crest and northern slope of a detached spur rising abruptly from the plain some nine miles north of Hōtī Mardān in the North-West Frontier Province, that is to say in the heart of the Yūsufzai country, itself, roughly speaking, the centre of the ancient territory of Gandhāra. Their romantic situation, high on the precipitous hill, with its magnificent views of the fertile plains below and the encircling mountains, together with their comparative accessibility, have made the ruins a familiar and favourite spot with the Europeans of the neighbourhood, while the extraordinary extent and relatively good preservation of the ruins themselves are sufficient to explain the interest that has long been taken in them by archæologists, an interest which has been widened by the fact that many of the best pieces of Gandhāra sculpture now to be found in the museums of Europe were originally recovered at this site.

But, although the attention of European scholars has been centred on these monuments ever since 1871, when Sergeant Wilcher made his excavations here, no satisfactory identification of them has ever been found. That the observant Chinese pilgrims, to whose careful journals Indian Archæology is so much indebted, should have failed to mention a site of such unusual interest seems almost incredible, and attempts have been made, naturally, to find such reference in their writings, while even the possibility of Takht-i-Bāhī being identical with the Aornos of Alexander's historians has been mooted and discussed. But no theory yet propounded has carried conviction with it, and there seems no escape from M. Foucher's conclusion that, however much we may regret it, the fact remains that the Chinese pilgrims do not mention it, whatever the reason may be. And unless and until further excavations yield positive evidence, the problem of its identity will remain unsolved. For up to the present the only epigraphic material recovered is the well-known inscription of Gondophares dated in the year 104 (probably 46 A. D.) and now preserved in the Lahore Museum.

The most important portion of the ruins as a whole, which extend altogether for something like a mile east and west along the summit, is the monastic complex situated on a ridge to the north, somewhat lower than the crest of the hill itself, and toward the eastern end of the whole site. From the precipitous sides of this smaller ridge massive walls still rise to a height of nearly 50 feet in places, enclosing the



a. GENERAL VIEW, COURTYARD B. IN FOREGROUND (LOOKING S.W.)



b. COURTYARD B. AFTER EXCAVATIONS (LOOKING N.E.)

summit of the same, which appears to have been artificially levelled within this enclosure and laid out in its present series of quadrangles terraced one above another. But the excavations carried out in 1871 were too superficial for a final determination of the original levels in all cases, nor have the operations to be discussed in this paper advanced sufficiently as yet for me to speak with certainty as to how far this terracing was carried out.

The main entrance to the monastic enclosure appears to have been on the south. This entrance has not as yet been cleared, but it seems probable that from it a passage led north to the western end of the rectangular courtyard B which appears to have been on the same level. The portion of the whole enclosure lying to the west of this has not yet been excavated, so that it is impossible to say whether this level continued right up to the main wall rising from the *khud* on the west, or whether it was lower and approached by a stairway from court B. The fact however, that the so-called underground chambers shown in the plan at this point are definitely structural, and not excavations in the rock, makes it obvious that the natural level of the rocky hill top lies on the west much below the level of the courtyard B, and the fact that no original entrance to these subterranean chambers has ever been found points to the *possibility* that their being underground is accidental. This is a point, however, which it is idle to discuss until further excavations can be carried out. But it can be definitely affirmed that, if the level in this part of the site lay above these chambers, they were deliberately buried by their builders.

Having advanced, then, from the entrance gate to the western end of the courtyard B, the visitor would have turned to the right and east to enter the court itself, which, as can be seen by the plan, is a mass of little stūpas surrounded on three sides by lofty chapels, and bisected from north to south by a paved passage running between little stūpas and miniature shrines [Plate XLI, Fig. (a)] and connecting courts C and A, both of which lie at higher levels than court B itself, the former, the monastic quadrangle proper, being approached by a short flight of five steps, the latter by a loftier one of 15. Ascending these 15 steps to the south, one enters the court of the main stūpa (marked A on the plan) and finds oneself in front of a square platform originally approached by a few steps now quite ruined. This is obviously the basement of the stūpa itself, but long continued and irresponsible treasure seeking has resulted in its complete destruction. Round this courtyard on three sides rise a number of chapels, originally five on a side. It is obvious from the structure of these buildings, as M. Foucher points out, that as first planned they were separated one from another by a considerable space, which, at a later date, when the court became crowded with images, were built up into miniature shrines completely closing the court on the three sides in question. By great good fortune it is precisely here that the only superstructures extant in the whole site are to be found (with the exception of the vaulted passages underground to the west of courtyard B) ; but even here only two of the chapels retain their original roofing, while a third has the lower of its two domes and the collar partly preserved.

On taking up the work at Takht-i-Bāhī in January 1907, in accordance with recommendations made by the Director General of Archæology in India previous to my arrival in this country, our first concern was to take steps for the preservation of

these domed superstructures, for, so far as I know, they are the only existing examples of this construction, in this part of India at least. In considering how the end in view, namely the preservation of the ruins in their present condition, might best be attained, I was fortunate in having the advice on the spot of the Assistant Commanding Royal Engineer, Nowshera, and after considerable deliberation the following measures were decided on. Before anything could be done to strengthen the domes themselves, it was necessary to fill in the cavities which had formed in the side walls of the chapels. It was evident that these walls originally supported a wooden lintel on which the surmounting dome had rested. But the avidity of the local peasant in these treeless regions for firewood is so great that it was out of the question to restore this lintel in wood, for this would inevitably have led to the peasants prying the beam out and thereby imperilling the structure we were trying to save. Nor could the original lintel be replaced in stone, owing to the difficulty of securing a sufficiently large piece of the slate schist of which the building is built. We were therefore forced reluctantly to insert iron girders across this space, it being understood that they were to be concealed by masonry harmonious with the rest of the building. Nor could the opening above this lintel be retained without endangering the superstructure, so that it became necessary to fill this in with masonry of the ancient type, care being taken that it should not be made flush with the front of the building, and should be faced with a solid slab of slate to mark it permanently as a repair, without disfiguring the monument. And the top of the collar in the more badly damaged chapel to the left of the central one on the western side was rendered water-tight by relaying its upper courses in invisible cement. Similar measures on the eastern side of the courtyard together with the excavation of the court around the stūpa completed our operations in this quadrangle, but such serious damage had been done to the backs of the chapels, especially on the west, by percolation from the inside of the court, that considerable cavities in this part had to be filled in, the ancient construction being everywhere copied, and with great credit to the *mistri* in charge.

Another urgent work of conservation undertaken in 1907 was the clearance of the large quadrangle on the north side of the site, which M. Foucher has shown to have been originally the Hall of Conference. The outer walls on the north and west of this enclosure rise from the hillside and are of great height even to-day, but the accumulated débris within the court had gradually forced the walls out. In order to relieve them of this pressure, therefore, the court was excavated down to what appeared to be the original inside level. But it is to be feared that the collapse of one or both of these walls is after all only a question of time. The nature of the site is such that in the opinion of the engineers buttressing is impracticable, and all that can be done at present is to remove such causes of danger as are remediable.

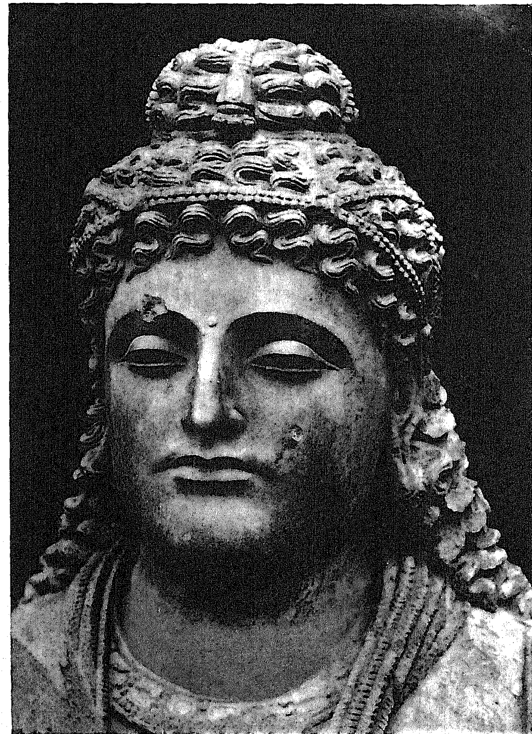
The only other piece of conservation undertaken in the course of this year was an attempt to save the eastern wall of a building to the south of the main monastic complex but only a few feet distant from it. The building is one of the few at Takht-i-Bāhī which enclose a winding staircase leading under corbelled arches set at right angles one to another; and although the wall was so greatly out of the perpendicular that there is little hope of saving it permanently, still it was propped up with heavy timbers and thereby greatly strengthened.



a. STEPS AT SOUTH END OF PASSAGE IN COURTYARD B.



b. MINATURE STONE STUPA.



c. BODHISATTVA HEAD.

In the following season the work was recommenced in January, 1908, by clearing the monastic quadrangle marked C on the plan. This was so choked with débris that the fact of there being cells around it at all was hardly apparent, and the improvement in the appearance of the court effected by its excavation can therefore be imagined. As was anticipated, the excavation in this part of the site presented no difficulties and led to the recovery of very few sculptures, as the monastic quadrangle is naturally not the portion of a convent in which sculptural finds are to be expected.

The possibilities of the adjoining court marked B were however almost unknown. In the report published by Sergeant Wilcher this courtyard is stated to have been excavated, though how thoroughly, it is hard to judge from the report itself. For this reason, therefore, as I was myself occupied with trial excavations at Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī near Peshawar city, when the work of clearing this court was begun by the sub-overseer of the Public Works Department who had been in charge of the previous work at Takht-i-Bāhī, careful instructions were given him to telegraph me at once if it appeared that the court had not been properly excavated before. But the unfortunate absence of the Garrison Engineer in charge, on the Zakka-khel expedition, resulted in no notice being sent me, and it was not until I visited the site to inspect the work that I learned how almost untouched the quadrangle had been previously. Fortunately, only the eastern end had been cleared up to the time of my visit, and I was thus able, by dropping my other work, to superintend the excavation of the greater part of it in person. But I am glad to say that the subordinate referred to above appears to have conducted the earlier part of the work with as much care as could have been expected.

How altogether superficial Sergeant Wilcher's excavations in this part of the site were can be seen from a comparison of the plan published in his report with the one accompanying this article. Indeed, he appears to have dug merely enough to enable him to draw up the plan in question, for even in certain places which one would infer had been cleared thoroughly, sculptures were found in large numbers lying obviously as they had fallen. This is especially true of the passage connecting the courts A and C, and even of the flight of steps leading up to the former. Anything like a final plan of this quadrangle is now for the first time possible, and, as has been mentioned above, the levels to the west of its open end are not even yet determined with certainty. It is hoped, however, that the work can be so advanced in the season of 1908-09, that a really complete plan of the entire monastic complex within the enclosing walls will be possible.

The most important result of the work in the year under review was the recovery of the sculptures mentioned above. Apart from shapeless fragments and those too badly damaged to justify being placed in the Museum under present conditions[1], the stone fragments alone number 472 specimens, occupying 15 cases in the Museum galleries, besides some dozen larger sculptures in the entrance hall. These have been arranged in accordance with the principles followed in classifying the Sahribahlol

[1] The very limited space at present available in the Victoria Memorial Hall for museum purposes makes a selection of the sculptures for exhibition unavoidable, much as this is to be regretted from the scientific point of view. Pains are taken that all pieces important for illustrating the range of artistic execution shall be shown. Such fragments as are necessarily excluded (duplicates of architectural ornaments, fragments of drapery and the like) are stored in the Archæological godown in Peshawar, where they will be accessible to those who wish to study the total yield of the site.

sculptures as mentioned in the annual report of the Archæological Department for the year 1906-07. The first section contains such fragmente as illustrate principally archaic elements in the art of Gandhāra, that is to say, artistic elements known to Indian art previous to the appearance of the Gandhāra school, whether indigenous or of foreign origin. Section 2 includes stones illustrating chiefly foreign elements introduced into Indian art, so far as is known, for the first time by this school. Section 3 consists of legendary scenes from the life of the Buddha. Section 4, of such fragments as appear to have been related more directly to the cult of Buddhism, and which for this reason I have designated devotional sculptures. Following upon these are two sections containing Bodhisattva and Buddha figures respectively, with a last section including such fragments as do not fall into any of the previous divisions. The stones have been numbered consecutively, after being classified as above, so that any given stone can be found at once. The Takht-i-Bāhī collection of 1907-08 thus comprises the Peshawar Museum Nos. 679 to 1151 inclusive, apart from stucco fragments which, because of their fragility, are placed in horizontal rather than in upright cases in the centre of the gallery and consequently numbered separately.

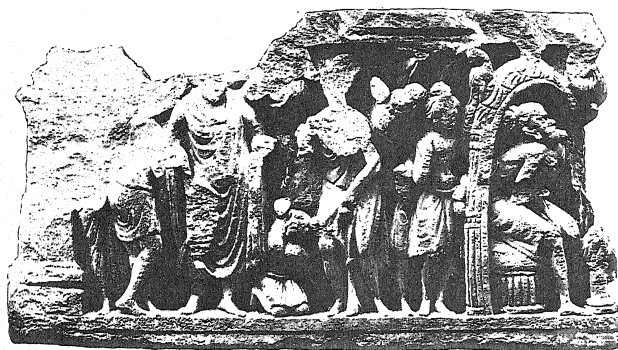


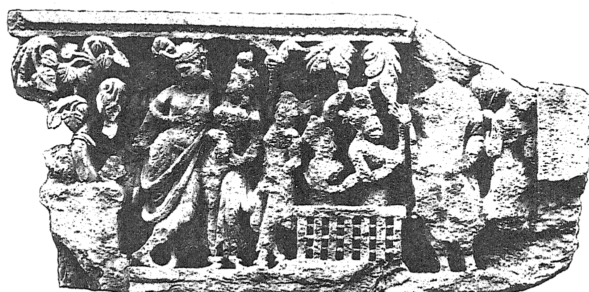
Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

The majority of these stucco fragments are heads, of which a number are shown in figures 1 and 2. But, in addition to these, there are a few legendary scenes originally


(a)


(b)


(c)


(d)


(e)

forming part of the stucco ornamentation on some of the little stūpas in courtyard B, but none are reproduced here, as they offer no features of special interest, although I believe this is almost the first time that such scenes have been found in stucco in this Province. Figure 3 represents a fragment from the torso of some stucco figure which seems to have formed part of some large representation of the Buddha's temptation. At least the presence of this grotesque face on the body of the figure reminds one of the well known sculpture of this scene reproduced by Professor Grünwedel on page 95 of his Buddhistische Kunst (page 96 in the English edition).



Fig. 3.

The first section, "archaic elements in the art of Gandhāra", is the smallest section of all, including only 33 stones (Nos. 679 to 712 inclusive), nor do all of these call for separate mention. Some half dozen are lions' heads of varying degrees of excellence, being for the most part fragments from the corners of pedestals. That type of cornice which shows a series of single figures under ogee arches separated by encased pilasters is represented by three stones, the Assyrian honeysuckle ornament by two, and the Atlas motif by three, No. 694 being of especial interest (see illustration, fig. 4). Nos. 685 and 686 show very graceful floral patterns, the latter being a scroll of considerable beauty, while Nos. 694 and 696 represent elephants of the clumsiness usual in this school. But the most interesting stone in this section is No. 712. This represents a miniature stūpa, decorated, as can be seen in the illustration [Fig. (b) of Plate XLI] with great delicacy and success. This, with No. 758, a badly damaged pendant to the former, are the only sculptures in the round recovered at this site, and give one an admirable idea of how a stūpa used to look. There is a cavity at the top for the missing tee, but the tee itself was unfortunately not recovered. Fragment No. 758 for considerations of space has been placed in Section 2.

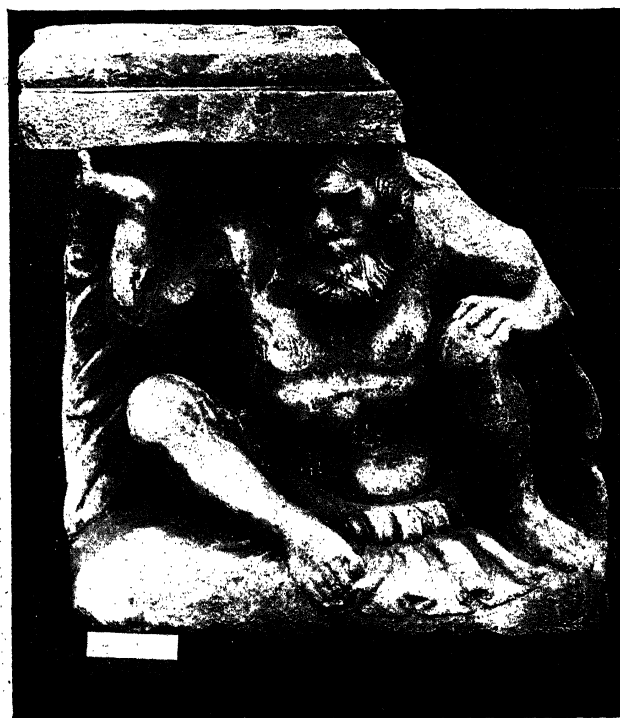


Fig. 4.

This section, comprising Nos. 713 to 758, consists in large part of fragments of modillion cornices, showing the newly introduced brackets with Corinthian capitals.

The triangular stone No. 721, which is in excellent preservation, shows an interesting marine monster with the body and head of a man, the forelegs and feet of a bull, wings and a long serpentine tail with well defined spots (Fig. 5). Another familiar motif represented is the line of little Erotes bearing a long garland over their shoulders, the most interesting stone showing this design being No. 736, which is either a fragment from the top of some miniature stūpa or the upper dome of a chapel, in which case it probably formed part of that large composition of which No. 735 is a remnant and which shows a Buddha figure seated within a chapel. The occurrence here of the same motif on what seems to be the lower dome of the chapel makes it appear probable that the fragment No. 736 formed the upper portion of the same.



Fig. 5.

The third section, that containing fragments representing legendary scenes, Nos. 759 to 816 inclusive, is naturally the most difficult to discuss as well as the most interesting portion of the collection. Unfortunately, many of the stones are of a very fragmentary nature, which renders their recognition and identification extremely difficult if not impossible. But others are practically entire.

Among familiar scenes, the First Sermon at Benares, the so-called Turning the Wheel of the Law, is represented by two complete stones (772 and 786) and many fragments which appear to fall into two groups, in other words to represent two other wholes, which, however, we have not succeeded in piecing together. The only feature of interest in regard to these scenes is that no one of them, whether complete or fragmentary, shows the Buddha's hands in the posture which in later art is invariably associated with this scene, namely the *dharmachakra-mudrā*, but, instead, the posture indicative of benediction or reassurance, the *abhaya-mudra*, wherein the right hand is upraised.[1] And the stone No. 786 is remarkable in omitting the two deer which usually recline to right and left of the Wheel of the Law depicted on the front of the Buddha's throne in the centre of the composition.

Another one of the so-called four chief scenes in the Buddha's life (of which the above-mentioned stone is the third) is fragment No. 775, depicting the Buddha's death, or the *mahāparinirvāṇa.* The specimen is one of the abbreviated type, if I may call it so, where but few figures are represented, and is remarkable chiefly for the extreme stiffness of the reclining Buddha.

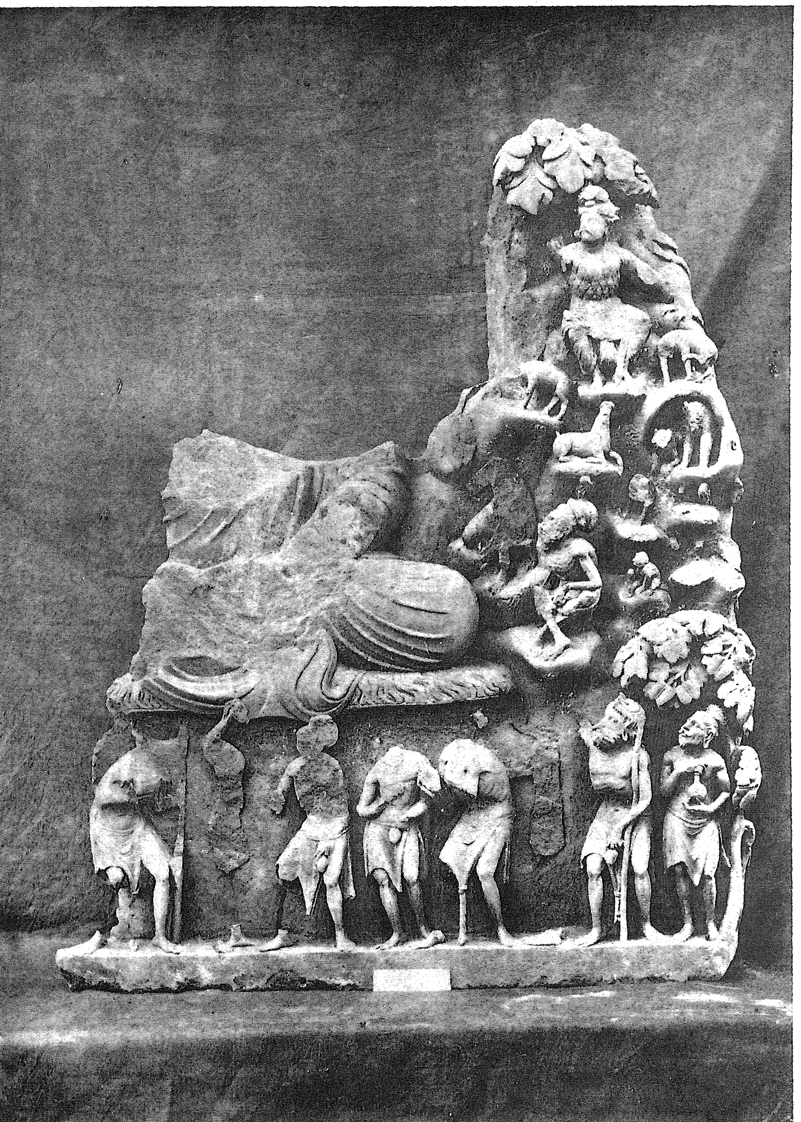
The Enlightenment, the second of the four scenes, appears to be represented by

[1] This is also the case in Mathurā sculpture in which the *dharmachakra-mudrā* appears to be quite unknown.—J. Ph. V.

EXCAVATIONS AT TAKHT-I-BAHI.



(a)



(b)

No. 841, which seems to be a fragment of the scene depicting the presentation of the four bowls to the Buddha, but the piece is too small for one to speak with certainty. The birth under the Sāl-tree, curiously enough, is not represented, save in certain of the stucco fragments mentioned above.

The Dīpankara Jātaka, on the other hand, occurs on the large stone No. 816, which originally formed one of the trilobate false niches on the dome of some stūpa. This stone, it is worth mentioning, is complete, although badly worn and in three pieces, and was found, strange to say, buried face downward in one of the underground passages of the monastery, in what one would certainly have thought was a most unlikely place for the recovery of sculptures. Various other fragments of this scene occur, but the best representation of all is that shown in Fig. (d) of Plate XLII. This, I regret to say, disappeared mysteriously from the site after being photographed, but I am not without hopes of recovering it.

The Great Renunciation is represented by No. 784, which shows a portion of the scene depicting prince Siddhārtha's departure from his palace in Kapilavastu, while another well-known scene occurs on No. 794, namely the legend of the white dog which barked at the Buddha [shown above the Buddha's left shoulder in Fig. (a) of Plate XLIII] (*cf.* Foucher's L'art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra, page 525). The left hand side of this stone, which is unusually long and narrow, shows seven standing figures with haloes, apparently seven of the eight Buddhas including Maitreya (*Cf.* Grünwedel's Buddhistische Kunst in Indien, Fig. 63 and page 164). A similar row of six standing Buddha figures to the right of fragment No. 772, which is likewise long and narrow (the left hand side shows the First Sermon, complete) leads to the conclusion that these two fragments originally formed part of a single frieze, with legendary scenes, apparently not in any chronological order, intervening between repeated groups of the eight Buddhas. But the fractured ends of the two, unfortunately, do not fit properly together.

An especially interesting stone is fragment No. 769. This appears to be the right hand portion of a large pedestal originally supporting a standing figure of the Buddha, which, judging from certain tiny feet at the extreme right, seems to have been accompanied by miniature figures, presumably represented as worshipping. Such Buddha pedestals are usually adorned, as Dr. Vogel has pointed out, with a Bodhisattva with worshipping figures to right and left. The present stone, however, [Fig. (d), Plate XLV] departs completely from this convention, and shows instead what I take to be two scenes illustrating the incident of the Fire-Temple in the legend of the conversion of Kāśyapa (*cf.* Beal's Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha, page 293, *et seq.* and Foucher, *op. cit.*, page 447 ff). So far as I am aware, however, this story of the miracle of the Fire-Temple is not found elsewhere depicted in more than one scene, of which the one to the right in the present sculpture shows the usual type, with the Buddha seated in the temple and indicated as actively carrying on his fiery contest with the serpent, which resulted in the submission of the latter and incidentally led the Brāhman ascetics of the monastery to suppose the place was on fire and accordingly to endeavour to put out the conflagration in the manner depicted on the stone. But there is little or no doubt that the sculpture to the left represents an earlier scene in this drama. The sculpture is, unfortunately, broken, so that we miss the left hand side

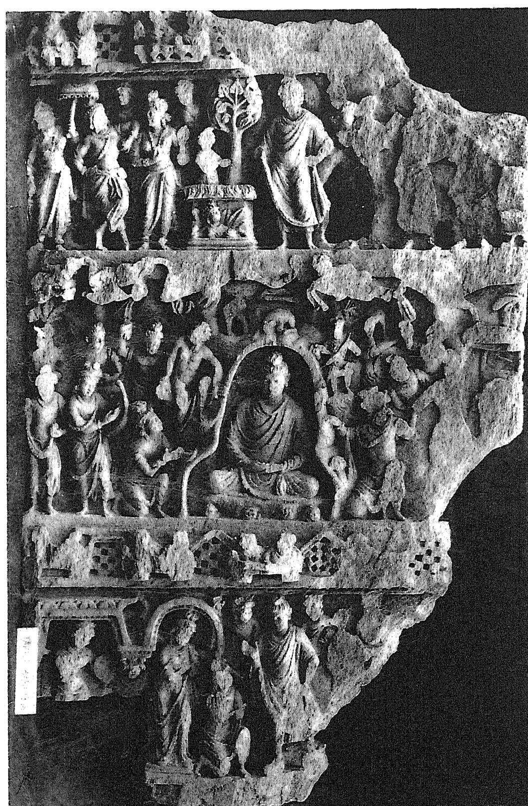
of this scene, but it seems almost certain that it must originally have shown the figure of the Buddha advancing to the temple, his way thither being indicated by the Brāhmanical figures which appear in our fragment. How large this left hand panel originally was, we have no means of ascertaining, but from the position of the Buddha's foot on the fragment it is plain that the pedestal must have been a very wide one and that our present fragment is only the extreme right side of it. It seems probable, therefore, that the two scenes it shows are only two of a number which adorned the face of the whole, though whether these were all scenes from the legend of Kāśyapa it is of course impossible to say.

Another legendary scene of special interest occurs on the pedestal to the remarkable figure of the ascetic Gautama shown in Fig. (a) of Plate XLIII, and again on a larger scale in Fig. (a) of Plate XLV. The story it portrays is, I believe, that of the two merchants Tripusha and Bhallika, whose caravan of wagons was miraculously stopped on approaching the grove wherein the recently enlightened Buddha was meditating (*cf.* Beal, *op. cit.*, page 239). Foucher in speaking of this legend says of it "nous ne possédons pas de représentations tout-à-fait certaines," from which it seems safe to infer that the present stone is quite unique. For there can hardly be doubt as to the identification of the scene. To begin with, the propriety of the subject on the pedestal of a sculpture representing the six years' austerities is striking, for the moment indicated is the termination of Gautama's second long fast of 49 days subsequent to the *abhisambodhana*, nor do the details of the legendary scene leave room for doubt. At the left, we see the erstwhile leading oxen, reclining as indicative of the stopping of the caravan, which is further suggested most picturesquely by the frantic attempts which are being made on the right to start the wagon, whose wheels the legend tells us suddenly and miraculously became fixed. The two merchants are shown at a later moment of the episode, approaching the Buddha under the guidance of the Deva of the grove in bodily form, in order to make on his suggestion their offering of honey and wheat to the famished Gautama; and, finally, should be mentioned the fact that Vajrapāṇi is the sole attendant on the Master, as is customary in scenes connected with the Enlightenment. But that even here, in a scene subsequent to the Enlightenment, the figure of the monk does not appear, would seem very definitely to support Dr. Vogel's ingenious theory that the usual trio, Buddha, Vajrapāṇi and the monk, represent the Three Jewels, *viz.*, the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha respectively. In accordance with this theory, therefore, the present scene marks Vajrapāṇi's first really legitimate appearance, his figure in other scenes anterior to the *abhisambodhana* being as it were prophetic, "the coming event casting its shadow before."

In fragment No. 792 [Fig. (b) of Plate XLII] we have what would seem to be an interesting combination of the two scenes reproduced by M. Foucher on pages 385 and 393 of his great work, although, if this hypothesis be correct, it would seem necessary to differ with this scholar in his identification of the figures in the latter. I think it will not be doubted that at the extreme left of our present stone we have the Bodhi tree with the throne before it, although the front of the seat itself is unfortunately defaced and has lost the figure of the Earth-Goddess, which in all probability it once bore. Granting this, the unmistakable Nāgas adoring the Buddha as he enters on the



a.



b.



c.



d.

right must be identified with the Nāga-Rāja Kālika and his spouse the Nāgī Suvarṇaprabhāsā. The scene, therefore, appears certainly to represent Gautama's approach to the seat of wisdom, the only difficulty being the amorous couple of seemingly divine or royal rank, who stand on the left, in contemplation of the yet empty seat. In sculpture No. 384 of the Lahore collection, reproduced by Foucher on page 393 and identified by him as the Preparation of the Seat, a precisely similar couple occurs which he discusses at length, concluding with the words (page 396), "Or nous ne voyons que deux hypothèses possibles à leur sujet : ou bien ils représentent un couple divin non mentionné dans les textes à présent accessibles parmi les personnages amis présents au Bodhimaṇḍa ; ou bien ce sont bonnement le Nāga Kālika et sa femme Suvarṇaprabhāsā que nous retrouvons dans une autre version de la légend-figurée." And he adds that the latter hypothesis seems "beaucoup la plus vraisemblable." But does it, in view of the present sculpture ? The Nāga and his wife would hardly have been represented twice in the same scene by an artist who knew the legend, for in no form of the legend do they appear more than once. The absence of the serpent hood behind the head M. Foucher thought was no insuperable obstacle to the identification proposed by him, but it gains in significance in the present sculpture, and I feel persuaded that we have here the "couple divin" mentioned by him. Nor does it seem impossible to identify them. In the legend according to Beal (*op. cit.*, page 196) the Bodhisattva is constantly counselled and guided in his progress to the Enlightenment by the *devas* of the Śuddhavāsa heaven, and even in the *gāthās* put into the mouth of Kālika their visible presence is proclaimed :—

> "See them thus advance and greet the Bodhisattva,
> Ah ! surely he must soon become a perfect Buddha, Lord of the World !
> And now the Devas of the Suddhavasa Heavens,
> Of pure and lovely form and person
> Bending before the virtuous one as he advances !
> Pay him reverence ! soon will he become a perfect Buddha, etc."

This would appear to me sufficient reason for interpreting these obviously divine (or royal) figures as two of the *devas* in question, which does away with what otherwise would be the meaningless repetition of the Nāga figures, and furthermore leads to a satisfactory identification of the similar figures in the Lahore sculpture No. 384.

Another scene representing the approach to the Bodhi-seat occurs in the upper section of fragment No. 787 [Fig. (b) of Plate XLIV], which in all probability originally formed the central portion of a false niche. Here, however, the hymn of Kālika is not shown, but merely the Buddha's advance to the seat in the presence of the devas above mentioned. At least, so I would interpret the two figures to the (proper) right of the Bodhi tree in the absence of any tradition telling of royal witnesses to the scene, although it must be acknowledged that the presence of the umbrella is unexpected. In this scene there can be no doubt as to the identity of the tree and of the throne before it. To begin with, the foliage is as clearly that of a pipal tree as it is in the former sculpture, while the presence of the deva of the tree and of the Earth-Goddess removes all possible doubt.

The scene below this on the same fragment represents the visit paid by Indra to the Buddha, the especial *lakṣaṇa* of which, as M. Foucher has pointed out, is the

figure of the Gandharva Panchaśikha with his harp, in the left of the composition. Another representation of the scene will be found in the illustration given by M. Foucher on page 493, reproducing a sculpture from Loriyān-tangai preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

The third and last scene depicted on this stone may possibly represent the descent of the Buddha from the Trayastriṁśa heaven, discussed by M. Foucher on page 537. But the fragmentary nature of the stone makes it impossible to speak with certainty, and it must be acknowledged that the suggested identification is based chiefly upon the fact that the Buddha does not appear to be standing in the usual fashion upon the ground but rather to be descending to it, and that he is surrounded by what appear to be divine figures.

Fragment No. 789 [Fig. (e) of Plate XLII] I cannot explain. The presence of the monk ought to imply that the scene is one subsequent to the Enlightenment, but I can find no story which explains it in this portion of the Buddha legend. It may be worthy of notice, however, that Vajrapāṇi, who here bears the *vajra* in the right hand, wears a broad sword on his left hip. How significant this detail may be I am not in a position to say, but it is worth noticing that in the well-known Dīpaṅkara Jātaka the Vajrapāṇi very often carries this weapon, which otherwise occurs in his connection in only one or two sculptures (*cf.* Grünwedel Buddh. Kunst, page 85). The simplest explanation would seem to be that in this way an attempt was occasionally made to differentiate the Buddha Dīpaṅkara from the Buddha Śākyamuni. If this is so, it is not impossible that the fragment in question, No. 789, represents another Jātaka scene, and that the Buddha which here appears is not the Buddha of history but a previous one.

Another scene so far unidentified is the one occurring on fragment No. 790, Fig. (a) of Plate XLII. The figure standing over the kneeling child on the (proper) left of the Buddha and toward whom he is slightly turned appears from the form of the costume [*cf.* Fig. (b) of Plate XLIII] to be a Brāhman ascetic, while the object at the extreme right of the stone before the bent (and aged?) hermit is plainly a fire altar. But I have found no legend as yet which appears to describe the scene.

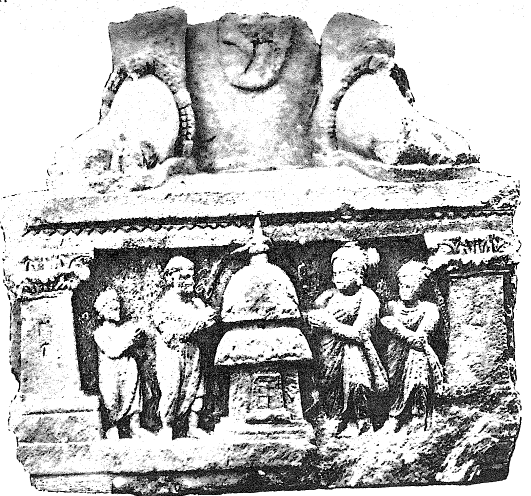
Of legendary scenes included in this section of the collection there remains the very beautifully carved fragment No. 795 to mention [Fig. (c) of Plate XLII]. We see here four women evidently in gala dress advancing, as it seems, towards some figure on the left now lost. One is accompanied by two children, and she, as well as her neighbour to the right, bear what are palpable offerings, the former a bunch of flowers, the latter a large covered dish. The loss of what must have been the central figure to the left is most regrettable, but I am much mistaken if fragment No. 807 does not give us the extreme left side of the composition. The two pieces however do not fit together, and the central figure remains unknown. The fragment shows three figures, whether men or women it is difficult to say, but seemingly the latter. The one on the right is in an attitude of worship with folded hands, the next catches up her garment from out of which she is scattering flowers, while the third and last holds aloft a bunch of flowers. These, unfortunately, do not aid much in an interpretation of the scene. But is it not at least possible that the stone represents Yaśodharā coming to the palace with her attendant women for her nuptials with Prince Siddhārtha? (*cf.* Beal. *op. cit.*, page 92.) The occasion represented seems undeniably a festive one, and that portion of the

PLATE XLV.

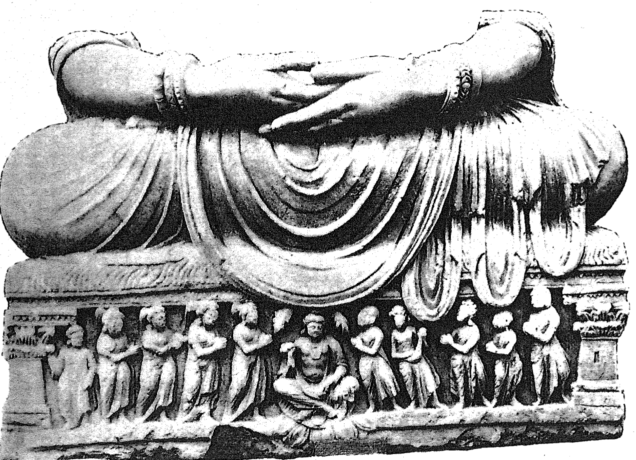
EXCAVATIONS AT TAKHT-I-BAHI.



a.



b.



c.



d.

composition which is preserved to us would seem an appropriate way of depicting the entourage of the bride.

Before leaving the legendary scenes reference should be made to the remarkable fragment illustrated in Fig. (b) of Plate XLIII. The corresponding (proper) right hand corner of the sculpture was also recovered (as well as a small piece which seems originally to have been above the figure of the hunter in the upper left hand corner of the fragment reproduced), but the individual figures on this piece are almost entirely lost. The excellence and delicacy of the sculpture need no emphasizing, nor does the delightful naturalism of both animals and plants. The tree above the two ascetics in the lower (proper) left hand corner seems, as Dr. Vogel has pointed out, to be certainly a bauhinia, the peculiarities of whose foliage are most faithfully reproduced, but I am unable to identify the tree above the hunter's head. Whether this stone represents a legendary scene or not, must remain a question from the fragmentary nature of the stone, but assuming that it does, the reference may be to the story of the Buddha's sojourn in mount Pāṇḍava as told by Beal, page 177. The composition would seem certainly to represent the Buddha meditating on a mountain crowded with all sorts of men and animals, but the exact occasion is difficult to determine.

The stones which have been included in the next section as being connected more with the cult of Buddhism than with the story of the Master's life, are for the most part of a sadly fragmentary nature. A number of the pieces seem to have formed part of one composition [for instance No. 858, shown in Fig. (a) of Plate XLIV, of which there are other examples], but so far it has proved impossible to fit them together. The fragment just mentioned is thus typical of a fairly large number of stones in this section. This idea of inserting a number of miniature Buddhas at an angle on either side of the central figure seems essentially a later development. Indeed, it reminds one vividly of certain of the congested compositions one sees in present day temples of the faith in Japan. The crescent moon on the canopy over the central Buddha's head both in this fragment and in the sculpture No. 835 [Fig. (c) of Plate XLIV] is a point of interest. Its significance is doubtful, but it seems improbable either that it is itself without meaning or that its occurrence in both cases with the same composition is fortuitous. Is it not possible that it was a definite *lakṣaṇa* serving as a mark of differentiation for the deity it is associated with ? If so, even our limited material may perhaps prove sufficient for a clue. The only instance of a composition similar to this in the Sahribahlol collection is a medallion from the headdress of some large Bodhisattva figure. The only Bodhisattva figures whose headdresses could have supported such a medallion appear, furthermore, as I have shown elsewhere, to represent Avalokitēśvara. The *mudrā* of the Buddha in this Sahribahlol medallion, like that in both of the Takht-i-Bāhī fragments under discussion is that of meditation, the *dhyāna-mudrā*, wherein the hands are folded in the lap. All this would seem to point to the conclusion that in all of these identical compositions the central figure represents one and the same Buddha, and from such indications as there are this would seem to be Amitābha. And this hypothesis perhaps explains the crescent moon. For Amitābha, being but the reflex of Avalokiteśvara, might not unreasonably be characterized or differentiated by a *lakṣaṇa* connected with Avalokiteśvara himself, and that the

crescent moon is so associated in later Buddhism with all the various forms of Avalokiteśvara is seen from the *Sādhanas* quoted by M. Foucher in his "Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde" (1905), page 23 *et seq.* Indeed, in one *Sādhana* he is distinctly described as *Śaśāṅkārdhadharam mūrdhni.*" that is, as bearing a crescent moon upon his brow.[1]

How old is the doctrine of the dhyāni buddhas, is a question which has never been determined. The expansion of the idea is certainly very late indeed, but it has long seemed certain that of all the dhyāni buddhas Amitābha is the oldest[2], and, if any one of them could be expected to occur in Gandhāra, it would naturally be this one. But in view of the doubt which prevails as to how far even the Bodhisattvas were differentiated in this school, it seems hazardous to affirm much in regard to the obviously later doctrine. All that can be said is that figures do occur in Gandhāra art so strongly resembling the dhyāni-buddha Amitābha of later times, that it seems impossible to escape the conviction that they are at least the prototype of this later deity. But how far such figures were felt as dhyāni-buddhas in the modern sense of the word we cannot say.[3]

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[1] Dr. Vogel reminds me that in this connection it is interesting to recall the close relationship between Avalokiteśvara and Siva who also wears the crescent in his headdress.

[2] Koeppen, Die Religion des Buddha, Volume II, page 27.

[3] Since the above was written M. Foucher has published his monograph on "Le 'Grand Miracle' du Buddha á Śrāvasti" in which he expresses the opinion that sculpture No. 835 in the Takht-i-Bāhi collection represents this subject (*cf.* p. 29, footnote). This may indeed be so, but I must regretfully differ from him in holding that the same miracle is represented by such sculptures as Fig. (*d*) of Plate XLIV. Sculptures 158 and 171 in the Sahribahlol collection of 1907, and sculpture 280 in the Pipon collection prove definitely that the two attendant figures are *not* Indra and Brahma, as M. Foucher asserts, because these divinities are therein represented unmistakably by the two minor figures leaning out of the background; and their repetition in this scene would be as difficult to explain as is their undue prominence on M. Foucher's assumption. The attendant figures, therefore, remain Bodhisattvas even in Gandhāra, and this being the case, I cannot see that such a sculpture as Fig. (*d*) of Plate XLIV preserves even a trace of the Śrāvasti miracle. The figure of the Buddha is not repeated; the elevated lotus is conspicuously absent; and the attendant deities are also missing, as well as all the other figures specifically mentioned in this connection. The only features of the Śrāvasti miracle shewn is the lotus under each Bodhisattva, but surely the lotus as a support is too common a device for it alone to serve as a *Lakshaṇa* for the Śrāvasti episode! It may be that such elaborate compositions as those shown by M. Foucher in his plates 15 and 16 represent this subject, or even that the Takht-i-Bāhī sculpture No. 835 does; but at the same time I cannot help feeling that the singular prominence in distant Gandhāra of one of the four confessedly minor scenes requires explanation. Nor can I believe that the invariable concomitance of the *dhyāna-mudrā* with the peculiar composition of No. 835 is mere accident. Furthermore, M. Foucher's assumption that the crescent moon merely marks the "caractère aérostatique du Miracle" does not seem to me in keeping with the methods of this school as we know them, for aërial movement is commonly indicated with considerable success by radically different devices, which leave little to the imagination of the spectator. Nor in any case does this assumption explain the appearance of this same composition in the headdress of Avalokita, when later the Dhyāni-Buddha Amitābha regularly occurs. That Indrá and Brahma were the original figures out of which the sculptural representations of Avalokita and Maitreya were respectively evolved by steps which we cannot trace at present, is doubtless true, and confirms my theory as to the differentiation of these figures. But that this evolution was an accomplished fact prior to any form of the Gandhāra school with which we are as yet familiar is, in my opinion, demonstrable, as the forms of both are stereotyped. That the evolution of Amitabha was similarly advanced in the Gandhāra school I do not contend, but I would certainly see in the Buddhas under discussion which show the *dhyāna-mudrā*, the prototype of this later Dhyāni-Buddha. Whether these figures first arose in connection with the miracle of Śravasti I cannot say. But even granting this, it seems almost certain that their significance had altered by the time large sculptures of Avalokitēśvara were made with Dhyāni-Buddhas in the headdress; and for this reason I leave the above text as it stands, as indicative of the direction in which I believe our knowledge will advance. For I am convinced, not only that Gandhāra did know and worship the Bodhisattvas as such, but also that their cult was firmly established in the oldest period of this art which we know; and the accumulating evidence, as I read it, points to the hope that before long we shall be able to trace something like a development of the cult even within Gandhāra. That the closely following, or possibly contemporaneous, art of Mathurā does not show a corresponding development, is possibly due to the fact that it was peculiarly Peshawar which cradled these theories. It is sufficiently clear from the tradition



(*a*)



(*b*)



(*c*)



(*d*)



(*e*)



(*f*)



a.



b.



c.



d.

Another sculpture of special interest included in this section is that shown in Fig. (d) of Plate XLIV, representing the Buddha seated with a Bodhisattva standing on either side. Here I think there can be no doubt as to the identity of the Bodhisattvas intended. The one on the (proper) left of the Buddha wearing a high headdress and holding in his left hand a folded wreath[1] (?) and in his upraised right a lotus flower, must be Avalokiteśvara, while the other with a coiffure merely and holding an alabastron in the left hand is as certainly Maitreya. This, it seems to me, finally settles the question of the fixation of these two Bodhisattvas in the Gandhāra School. In my paper on the Sahribahlol sculptures in the Archæological Annual for 1906-07 an attempt was made to identify these two Bodhisattvas in sculptures Nos. 158 and 171 of that collection, and it is satisfactory to find that this new sculpture from Takẖt-i-Bāhī confirms the theory there advanced. Nor is it, perhaps, without significance that in this new sculpture the Bodhisattvas are seen to have changed sides. That the Sahribahlol sculptures belong to a much older period than the stone under discussion, is unquestionable. There we find Maitreya in the place of honour on the left, here in the later stone this position is given to Avalokiteśvara. Does this not seem to harmonize with the development of Buddhist doctrine as we know it? Koeppen states that of all the Bodhisattvas Maitreya is the oldest (Religion des Buddha, Volume II, page 7). His position on the left in older compositions is therefore natural. But as the cult of Avalokiteśvara grew (and we know it has grown until in certain parts of the Buddhist world to-day his figure quite overshadows both Maitreya and the Buddha himself) it was but natural that Maitreya should yield the post of honour to him. For any such development of doctrine as this, of course, a very considerable lapse of time is necessary, but is not the difference in artistic feeling and execution between the Sahribahlol sculptures and this present stone great enough to have allowed for such a lapse of time? For, in truth, no stone in the whole Takẖt-i-Bāhī collection shows a greater falling off from the original artistic standards of the Gandhāra School.

The Bodhisattva section itself shows a range and variety hardly second to that of the devotional sculptures. Six of the full length figures are shown in Plate XLVI, where it is interesting to observe not only the permanence of the looped coiffure in those images which seem to represent Maitreya, but also the constant association of the alabastron with this figure, whenever the hands are preserved. Whether figures (a) and (f) represent Maitreya is at least doubtful, and in view of the definite fixation of his coiffure in so many sculptures both from Takẖt-i-Bāhī and other places it

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regarding Kanishka's Council that the church in the extreme north-west had struck out new paths for itself, and it may very well be that the exuberant growth of the Bodhisattva cult was one of the main points of cleavage. Between the churches of the Hīnayāna and those of the Mahāyāna as we see them to-day the Bodhisattvas, with all that they imply, constitute one of the most important differences. And when we can observe that the same holds true of the ancient art of Peshawar and of India proper, why should we not assume that there was a similar divergence of dogma even in the days of the Kushans?

[1] In this connection I should like to offer a possible explanation of this curious doubled wreath which the Bodhisattva I take to be Avalokitēśvara regularly holds in his left hand. Can it not be merely the result of a misunderstanding of the double fold of the garment which certain images clutch with the left hand? One hand in the Takẖt-i- Bāhī collection shows this double fold in its original and correct form, and makes it plain how easily such a development might have taken place. And it is noteworthy that where this doubled wreath occurs the hand is always held well down toward the knee in the same position as those hands which do clutch the garment.

would seem improbable ; although I believe figures have been found with this coiffure and carrying the alabastron.

Of the Bodhisattva heads shown in Plate LXIX, the most remarkable is figure 13. The disc in the centre of the headdress, although broken, shows ample traces of the upright shaft or column which formerly supported some medallion. This medallion undoubtedly bore whatever was the *lakṣaṇa* of this Bodhisattva, but unfortunately it has not been recovered. The strong facial resemblance of this figure, however, to other Bodhisattvas, which appear to be Avalokiteśvara, is noteworthy. The most interesting feature of all, hough, is the extraordinary decoration of the headdress by means of double tailed Tr' ons. This definitely Greek element and the general excellence and beauty of the sc ture would seem to indicate a very early date for it. Nor is it to be doubted that it is much older than many of the others.

A very similar head, which also bore a medallion, and which may also very well represent Avalokiteśvara, is the one reproduced in Fig. 8. But the Tritons have disappeared and the headdress approaches more nearly what appears to be the fixed form with this type of face. The same general type in a more decadent form is seen in Fig. 10 of the same Plate.

Another figure of especial interest and which may represent a new and hitherto unidentified Bodhisattva, is that shown in Fig. 14. The headdress, the general expression of the face and the peculiar pose of the head would of themselves seem to indicate a definite differentiation of type and, consequently, of identity ; but when it is added that all three of these features are very closely reproduced in a head found a Sahribahlol, this hypothesis is very greatly strengthened. I regret, though, that up to the present I am unable to make any suggestion as to which Bodhisattva is intended.

Another interesting Bodhisattva is that shown in Fig. 6 in the text, which apparently represents Maitreya. The resemblance of this figure to some of the Bharhut sculptures is remarkable, but of course this can only be accidental.



Fig. 6.

The most beautiful of all the Bodhisattvas recovered, however, is that one the head of which is shown in Fig. (c) of Plate LXI. The image is split lengthwise from the right shoulder, and thus only the head and the left half of the body are preserved, but the illustration will show how singularly fine an example of the sculptor's art this statue is. It measures 5 feet 1 inch in height in its damaged condition, with neither feet nor pedestal.

Among the Buddha figures recovered the one shown in Fig. 7 is interesting not only for the assymetrical grouping of the figures on the pedestal, but more especially for



a.



b.



c.



d.

EXCAVATIONS AT TAKHT-I-BAHI.



HEADS 1-15

the curious fact that even the back of the sculpture shows a number of miniature Buddhas roughly and crudely incised. These can hardly have been intended to meet the eye, as the back is scored in the usual way, which would seem to indicate that like all the other images this one also was placed against some structural background. Nor is the execution of these little figures of any artistic merit. Indeed they seem almost like freaks of some apprentice's idle moments. But for all this they are distinctly interesting, and, so far as I know, unique in Gandhāra.

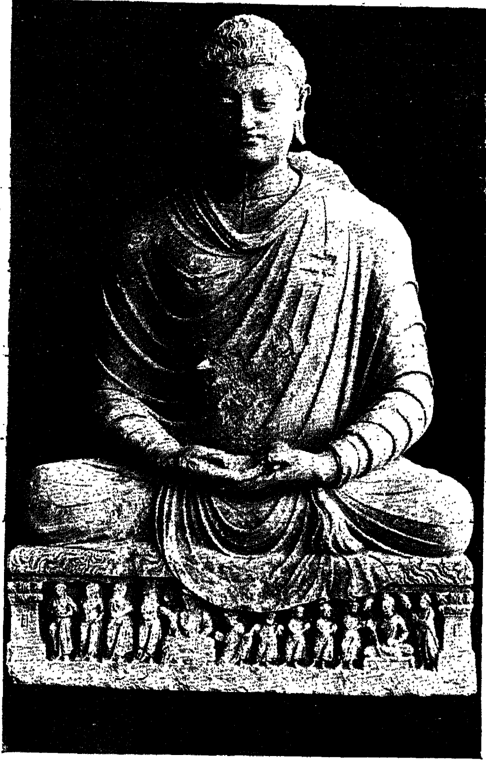


Fig. 7.

The head reproduced in figure (6) of Plate XLIX is the only one in the collection in terra-cotta, the curious treatment of the hair evidently being in large measure explained by this difference in material.

But the head next to this in the plate, namely No. 5, is perhaps more interesting, as being a very close duplicate of one previously found at Takht-i-Bāhī and now preserved in the Royal Museum of Ethnology in Berlin.[1]

Plates XLVII, XLVIII, and XLIX give one a good idea of both the extent and the variety of the images in this section. It would be interesting if we could classify and arrange them chronologically, as it were, in such a way as to illustrate the general development of the Buddha type. But the time is not ripe yet for anything like a final classification of this kind. Nevertheless, an attempt will perhaps not be altogether idle, the more particularly in view of the contention recently put forward by Mr. Havell that Indian sculpture has, in its representation of the Divine, gained in spirituality, nay even in sincerity, in proportion as it has freed itself more and more from the vicious traditions of the Gandhāra School. Of all the sculptures illustrated in these three plates I imagine most scholars will agree with me that figures (a) of Plate XLVII and (a), (c) and (d) of Plate XLVIII, with Nos. (1) and (4) of Plate XLIX, are the nearest to the Hellenistic prototype, and accordingly, so far as our present knowledge goes, worthy to rank as the oldest of the number. These would therefore form our first group. The second perhaps would include figures (b) of Plate XLVII and Nos. (2), (3), (7) and (9) of Plate XLIX. The third and latest group then would include the remainder, namely figures (c) and (d) of Plate XLVII, figure (b) of Plate XLVIII and Nos. (5), (6) and (11) of Plate XLIX, although it is possible that were No. (11) in better preservation, its inclusion in the second group would be more natural. Without pretending that this classification is beyond criticism in regard to individual pieces, I believe it very fairly represents what is held to be the general development in Gandhāra, at the present state of our knowledge.

[1] Compare the illustration in Grünwedel's Buddhistische Kunst, page 144, English edition, page 166.

It is at least sufficiently accurate to afford us a basis for judgment as to the assertion mentioned above. That figures (a) of Plate XLVII and (c) of Plate XLVIII date closely from the best period of Gandhāra art will not, I believe, be questioned, nor the further view that figures (c) and (d) of Plate XLVII, (b) of Plate XLVIII and Nos. (5) and (6) of Plate XLIX are equally close to the period of this school's extinction. If this be true, though, how can any one contend that there is a gain here in spirituality? Are such purely mechanical and meaningless images as figure (c) of Plate XLVII or such grotesquely dumpy and senile abnormities as figure (b) of Plate XLVIII to pose before us as higher expressions of Indian piety than such sculptures as figure (c) of Plate XLVIII? Are we to look upon them as more sincerely embodying the Indian ideal of the Divine, as more nearly echoing the cry of India's soul, as Mr. Havell would have us think?

The sculptures themselves, I believe, give a sufficiently clear answer to this question. If such palpably degenerate sculptures with their vaunted "generalization of the anatomy" more nearly embody the spiritual ideals of India, then those ideals are unworthy of the respect, nay, hardly deserving of the interest of Europe.

D. B. SPOONER.

PLAN
OF THE
MAIN MONASTERY, TAKHT-I-BAHI,
SHOWING
EXCAVATIONS 1908

Hall of Conference

Blind Passageway

Monastic Quadrangle (Courtyard C.)

Unexcavated

Courtyard B.

Passage

Drain

Under-Ground

Courtyard A.

Main Stupa

Section on C. D.

Section on A. B.

PLAN

REFERENCES

Under-Ground Work
Unexcavated
Stucco Work
Chapels with Domes Preserved

Scale of Feet

D. Brainerd Spooner
Superintendent,
Archæological Survey,
Frontier Circle
Dec. 15, 1908.

Archæological Survey
Frontier Circle

A BUDDHIST MONASTERY ON THE ŚAṄKARAM HILLS, VIZAGAPATAM DISTRICT.

THE taluk town of Anakapalle[1] is a Railway Station on the north-east line of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, and stands near the centre of a hill-girt and fertile plain. About a mile to the east of the town is the small village of Śaṅkaram,[2] and a short distance to the north of it are two isolated hills, surrounded by rice fields and set contiguously east and west. These hills are known as the Bojaṅṅakoṇḍa,—a name which applies more particularly to the eastern hill, but includes the western one also ; though the latter is designated by other names which refer especially to the numerous monolithic remains grouped upon it. The hills cover an area of over 23 acres, and the monolithic and structural remains extend all over them. The monuments are among the earliest of their class in the south of India, and constitute one of the most remarkable groups of Buddhist remains in the Presidency. Indeed the only other known site in the South, where monolithic remains exist in any considerable number, is that of the Seven Pagodas, and though the Śaṅkaram site is not to be compared with it in point of extent, it takes precedence as regards the age of its monuments.

Eastern Hill.

The Eastern Hill is the higher of the two, and on its western slopes are a series of rock-cut caves, numerous groups of monolithic *dāgobas* standing on rock platforms or terraces in tiers above each other, and, crowning all, a rock-cut *stūpa*,

[1] The Serada river, which now flows to the west of Anakapalle, formerly passed through the east portion of the town and skirted the base of the Śaṅkaram hills on the east of it, but changed its course after a flood and is now some miles distant to the west. The Monastery at Śaṅkaram must therefore have originally stood on the banks of the river. The proofs of this are various. An old temple of Veṅkatarāmana in the east of Anakapalle was previously on the east bank of the river, which is now some miles away. Cuttings in this part of the town for house foundations reach river sand at a depth of from six to eight feet. Old documents describing the position of lands there, mention the river as one of the boundaries, and these descriptions are continued to the present day. An irrigation channel now passes along what is said to have been the ancient bed of the river.

[2] Mentioned in Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities* (Vol. I, p. 16). A notice of the monoliths also appears in Francis' *Gazetteer of the Vizagapatam District* (pp. 223-225).

with extensive structural remains which have been recently excavated. Viewed from the west, the numerous monoliths covering the western slope of the eastern hill present a most picturesque appearance. Group upon group of *dāgobas* converge upwards, with caves right and left about midway up the ascent, while the summit is crowned by the central and principal structure, the great *stūpa* rising amid a cluster of smaller *dāgobas*. (Fig. 1.)

At various places on and around the hills, are large monolithic *stūpas* and numerous smaller ones carved out of the outcropping rock. Wherever these have been hewn from detached boulders, they are surrounded by a small platform; but if cut from the face of a steep rock, they are separated from it by a passage with a vertical wall

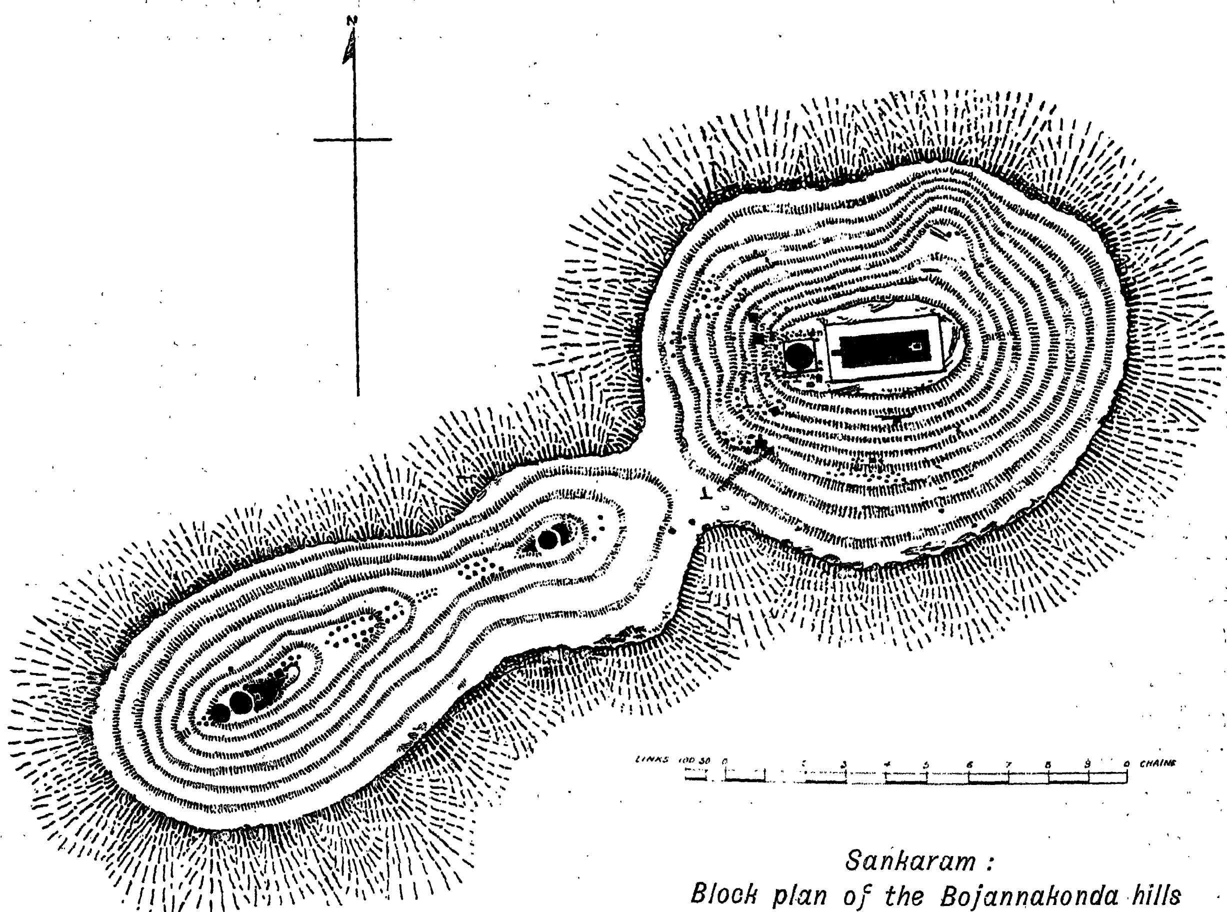


Fig. 1.

running concentrically with the *dāgoba*. The hills are composed of a dark porous rock, fractured in all directions and much weather-worn, wherever it appears on the surface. The rock strata are inclined upwards to the north-east at an angle of 54°, and the rock crops out in large masses on the summits and in smaller masses on the sides of the hills. Whenever this outcropping rock has been sufficiently large, it has been cut into a *dāgoba*, and the monoliths thus formed are dotted about irregularly on the hills. Before excavation, the greater number of them were wholly or partially buried in soil, and the buried parts were found to retain the chisel marks remarkably well defined, and in many cases, also, remains of the stucco, with which they were originally covered.



a. DAGOBAS ON WEST RIDGE OF EASTERN HILL.



b. DAGOBAS TO WEST OF ROCK-CUT STUPA ON EASTERN HILL.

On the west face of the eastern hill is a stair-way (Fig. 2) partly rock-cut and partly structural—with at present about 65 steps—, which leads up to a large double-storeyed cave (Pls. LXI and LXII) situated a short distance below the west end of the ridge. At this place, there is an extensive protuberance of rock which has been deeply cut so as to form a platform, 21 9″ broad, in front of a vertical wall facing west. The rock is rough, fractured and weather-worn in all directions. In the wall are cut two caves, one standing over the other. On the right ingoing face of the rock façade, is a rough cavity, measuring about 5′ 7″ by 5′ by 5′ 3″ high, partly cut so as to form a small cell, but never completed. The entrance to the main lower cave is in the centre of the façade. It is flanked on the left by a square-cut mass of rock, 13′ 6″ broad and 15′ 5″ high, evidently intended to form a



Fig. 2.

shrine tower surmounted by a square and round cupola. In the front wall of this tower is a roughly-cut panel measuring 4′ by 3′, obviously meant as a niche for an image. On each side of it are the outlines of a crudely formed animal and a seated image with its hands clasped in adoration.

The cave is entered by a doorway measuring 6′ 6″ by 4′, and is flanked on each side by a huge roughly-cut *dvārapāla*, 12′ 6″ high. That on the right can be but barely distinguished, owing to the frayed rock and the cracks made by the roots of some large banyan plants growing in the interstices. Over the door the weather-worn traces of an architrave can be traced. These include two semicircular pediments with a cornice over, the whole being surmounted by a semicircular recess in which

is a huge seated image of Buddha. On the left ingoing jamb of the door are a few letters of an inscription which have been partly obliterated by a channel made for a door frame. The inscription is evidently a scrawl made by worshippers, and is such as is often seen in temples, and in the present case is evidently of much later date than the cave itself, being referable to the 6th or 7th century A. D.

The cave (Pl. LXII) is a rectangular chamber measuring 31′ 6″ by 34′ 2″ and 8′ 4″ in height. It is divided into twenty compartments by four cross rows of sixteen massive piers, 1′ 9″ square and 8′ 4″ high. In the south row the two central piers have gone, and in the front or west row the central portion of the two middle piers has flaked off. This has also occurred in the south-east central pier. The piers have a square base, short octagon in the centre and a crudely moulded capital surmounted by a square block or bracket against the flat stone roof. Responding pilasters appear against each line of piers on the cave wall. The two central piers



Fig. 3.

(Fig. 3) of the central square have a standing image, apparently a *chauri* bearer cut on the front of the base. One also has an inscribed scrawl in letters similar to those at the doorway. On the flat ceilings of the front, middle and back compartments are the roughly cut outlines of lotus *paterae*.

In the centre of the cave is a rock-cut *dāgoba* standing on a square platform with a simply moulded base. The *dāgoba* itself is a flat cylinder, 4′ 3″ in diameter, with a circular moulded base and cornice, and a dome surmounted by the remains of a *ti*. The square platform on which it stands fills up the space between the four central piers.

Leaving this cave, we will now proceed to describe the one which stands directly over it (Pls. LXI and LXII, No. 2). The façade of the upper cave is placed about 8′ back from that of the one below it, and its outer entrance is slightly to the left of the lower one. The door is a rectangular one, 4′ 9″ broad by 5′ 5″ high, with a weather-worn pilaster on each jamb and flanked by a recess or niche. The right niche, which is 4′ 4″ broad and 5′ 9″ high, has a seated figure of Buddha with a



a. ROCK-CUT STUPA WITH BRICK STEPS ON EAST SIDE.



b. EAST HILL: ROCK-CUT STUPA WITH DAGOBAS ON NORTH SIDE.

standing worshipper on each side and a flying celestial figure in each of the upper corners. The two figures on the right are so weather-worn as to be indistinguishable, and it can only be assumed that they are images from their position, which corresponds to those on the opposite side of the Buddha. The images in the niche on the left side of the door are so worn as to be unrecognisable.

The open platform in front of this cave is only about 8′ broad, and at its left end stands the square *śikhara* and cupola of the tower mentioned in the description of the cave below it.

Over the entrance door is a semicircular recess, 6′ 9″ in height, in which is a large seated image of Buddha, and, on each side of him, a standing image with flying figures in the upper corners. A recess with a Buddha and similar attendant images appears on the façade to the left of the centre and directly behind the tower *śikhara* in front. These sculptures retain traces of the plaster with which they were originally coated.

The inside of the cave consists of an inner, roughly rectangular chamber, measuring 6′ by 9′ 8″ and 6′ 8″ high, with a vestibule measuring 14′ 9″ by 5′ 1″ in front. Although weather-worn and defaced in every part, it is yet in a much more finished state than the cave below it. On the left end wall of the vestibule is a Buddha seated on a lotus (Pl. LXI). On each side of him is a standing image, and below in each corner is a kneeling *chauri* bearer. Opposite this group, on the right end wall of the vestibule, is a large seated Buddha with attendants (Pl. LXI) as in the other panel, with a *dāgoba* on the upper right.

The inner wall of the vestibule has a plain rectangular door to the shrine at its right end. At the opposite extremity is a panel with a seated Buddha and kneeling worshipper below. The centre of the wall, opposite the outer door, is occupied by a large panel (Pl. LXI). The subject figures are the same as those already described, but in addition there is a *dāgoba* with a strikingly bulbous dome in each upper corner.

Entering the inner chamber or shrine, we find the back wall entirely occupied by a square recess, 3′ 6″ deep by 6′ 6″ in height and breadth, in which is a seated Buddha with a standing *chauri* bearer on each side (Pls. LXI and LXII). On each side is a standing *dvārapāla*. The two side walls of the shrine are divided by two plain pilasters into three compartments. Both groups are similar in arrangement and detail. In the central panel is a standing image, presumably Buddha, with right hand depressed and the left raised, and wearing a crown. The two side panels are divided into two vertical compartments. In the lower is a kneeling worshipper, and in the upper one a seated figure with his right hand on his legs and his left raised. The ceilings of the cave are plain.

Leaving the cave, we come to a platform situated at a slightly lower level on the left. On it are two rows of six small *dāgobas* of from 2′ to 4′ in diameter. Below the platform, the rock drops abruptly, and the detached boulders close below it are cut into ten *dāgobas* of various sizes from 4′ to 9′ in diameter. They are in all stages of fractured and lichen-grown decay, and some can scarcely be distinguished from ordinary rocks.

On the top of the rock over the cave is a rock-hewn platform on which are three rock *dāgobas* irregularly placed, while others appear singly among the outcropping

rocks in adjoining places. At the back of this platform are the remains of a brick wall (Pl. LIII, *a*).

At the back of the right end of the platform the rock is cut vertically, and in it is a small rock-cut cave (No. 3, Pls. LXI and LXII), in front of which is a small square recess with a door measuring 3′ 7″ by 1′ 8″ in the centre. The cave is a rough rectangular chamber, measuring 7′ 2″ by 5′ 1″ and 4′ 9″ high. On the back wall is cut a pedestal (Pl. LXI) with a seated image of Buddha. This cave was completely enveloped in débris and has only recently been uncovered. In front is a rock platform with five monolithic *dāgobas* and one of plastered brick. Against the perpendicular rock at the back of the platform is a retaining brick-wall which continues along the face of the hill for some distance. Its south end returns against the rock near the cave, and leaves a clear passage around the large *dāgoba*, which stands directly in front of the chamber.

The north end of the platform rock dips abruptly, and there is another rock platform 9′ 6″ below it. On this stand five large *dāgobas*. The face of the rock behind and above these *dāgobas*, which at this point faces north, is cut into a large semi-circular panel (Fig. 4), 13′ broad and 6′ high, with two seated Buddhas in adjacent panels, attended by two figures. The heads of these figures only are clearly distinguishable, the bodies being merely represented by rough weather-worn blocks of stone. The hill side above this is supported by a retaining wall of large bricks. There are a few other *dāgobas* in the vicinity cut out of huge blocks of detached rocks.

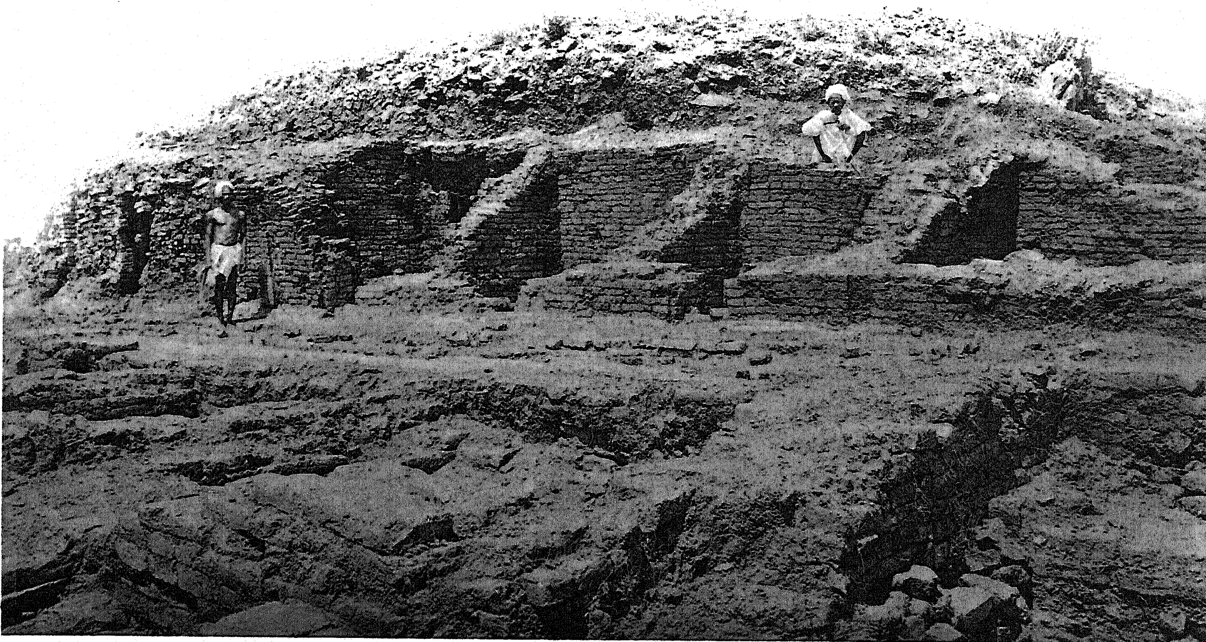


Fig. 4.

Over this, again, and on the summit of the west ridge of the hill is a more extensive rock-cut terrace which extends right along the whole western summit of the hill. It is 22′ 9″ broad and 115′ in length from north to south. On this terrace are a large number of monolithic *dāgobas* of various forms and sizes, arranged in picturesquely irregular groups (Pl. LI, figs. *a* and *b*). Before excavation they were so covered with débris that only traces of a few of the largest domes were visible on the surface. Numerous forms of domes are represented, some being bulbous, while others present numerous varieties of flat or elongated semispheres. The bases also are of very varied form, from the wide low cylinder to the narrow type so elongated as to appear like a column. The position of each of the larger *dāgobas* has doubtless been determined by the natural rocks which stood at the place, and out of which they are cut.



a. GROUP OF DAGOBAS ON WEST SIDE OF EAST HILL.



b. ROW OF CELLS ON EAST SIDE OF CHAITYA ON EAST HILL.

Some of the very smallest, a foot or two only in diameter, have been cut from detached stones and set on the terrace. No systematic arrangement or measured plan is apparent. The smaller *dāgobas*, about 2′ more or less in diameter and height, number some 54 in all. One of them at the north-west corner is of brick. The largest of the *dāgobas* stands about the centre of the terrace and has a cylindrical base, 10′ 4″ in diameter and 4′ 5″ in height, surmounted by a bulbous dome and square *ti*. Some fractures in the rock, out of which it has been cut, are filled in with bricks which were concealed, of course, under the original plaster covering. Flanking it on the right is an elongated *dāgoba* of an entirely different form, so much so, that it might easily be described as a column. It is 4′ 2″ in diameter and has a total height of 11′ 8″. Its summit is unusual in that it has a small *dāgoba* over the *ti*. In front of the terrace is a rock-cut pillar, 3′ 9″ square and at present 12′ 2″ in height. Its top is irregularly fractured, and it is said that within the memory of the present generation it was much higher, but that a large portion fell off at a sloping natural fracture in the stone (Pl. LIII, fig. *a*). It has evidently been an inscribed pillar, but the rough friable rock being unsuited to the permanence of such records, all the letters have disappeared except indistinct traces of one, which are insufficient even to fix the age or character of the writing. At the north-west edge of the terrace the top of the rock is cut into a square of the same dimensions as the large pillar, and it appears as if another column must have stood here. But it is now only about a foot in height above the terrace, as the upper part has flaked off and fallen. Near the left or north end of the terrace is a brick building 7′ square. Excavation of the interior resulted in the discovery of four stone *dāgobas*, placed at each of the corners.

The terrace is flanked on the east side by a vertical wall of cut rock, 11′ 9″ high and 75′ 6″ from north to south, faced with a brick wall which forms the west face of the square basement of the crowning *stūpa* noticed above, but which will be described in greater detail later on. Beyond the north extremity of the terrace and at a lower level is a stone *dāgoba*, 6′ 2″ in diameter, standing on a recessed platform cut in the rock. On the square *ti*, a portion of the broken umbrella post remained fixed in position, and some of the original plaster still adhered to the dome. The circular passage between the dome and the rock is 1′ 10″ broad, and on the rock wall is a panel with a *dāgoba* outlined in relief, and to the right of it another panel 2′ 7″ high by 2′ 2″ broad. On it is cut a *stūpa* in low relief.[1] On the summit of the dome represented on the panel the rail surmounting the *ti* is distinctly visible. In the rock to the right is a small lamp niche. Still further to the right is a small rock-cut detached *dāgoba* on a terrace which extends southwards along the west face of the east hill.

A picturesque group of rocks and interspersed *dāgobas* faces the north, and to the right or south of it are groups of rock *dāgobas* which stand in front of and on the sloping rock below the great square pillar, while to the left are a succession of terraces cut in the rock, or built of brick or rubble. As has before been mentioned, the crowning object on the west ridge of the hill is a rock-cut *stūpa*. It is formed of a square rock-cut basement 11′ 9″ high by 70′ 6″ from north to south and 76′ 6″ from east to west. On it rests a low rock-cut cylinder, which formed the lower part of a dome,

[1] It is similar in outline to the small *dāgobas* or *stūpas* impressed on the *terra cotta* estampages, which have been found in considerable number at the site, and which will be afterwards referred to.

whose upper part was completed in brick. The square rock basement and the cylindrical drum still retain their brick facing walls in fair preservation. The rock of the *stūpa* as is usual here, is extensively fractured, and large blanks in the rock-cut circle of the *stūpa* and square of the basement occur at various places. These are filled in and encased with brick-work and packed rubble stones. The upper circular portion of the rock of the *stūpa* is 7′ 6″ in height from the square lower basement, and about a dozen courses of the brick-work, which originally encased it, still remain around. Above this circular portion, which forms the cylindrical drum, there is an inset, 2′ broad, over which is the convex part of the rock-cut dome, 60′ in diameter.[1] The remaining portion is 4′ 7″ high, and, as the taper is 9″ from the vertical, the complete dome must have been a low curve of less than a semi-circle. The present top surface of the rock is partly floored with plaster. On the east side of the circular drum is a projection, rock on one side and brick on the other, where the rock has failed. Some steps are cut on the rock projection, and these lead from the top of the square basement up to the top of the cylindrical drum. Curiously enough, the cut slope of the rock stands 10′ inside the circuit of the dome.

When complete the *stūpa* must have consisted of a rock basement, faced with brick, about 80′ square, with a low cylindrical rock-cut and brick-faced drum, 64′ 8″ in diameter over it, and a dome, 60′ 8″ in diameter, surmounting all. The rock only extends a little above the base of the dome, and the dome must therefore have been almost wholly of brick. The upper surface of the rock is irregular, and the plaster flooring above referred to may have been made to provide a level foundation for the upper brick-work of the dome.

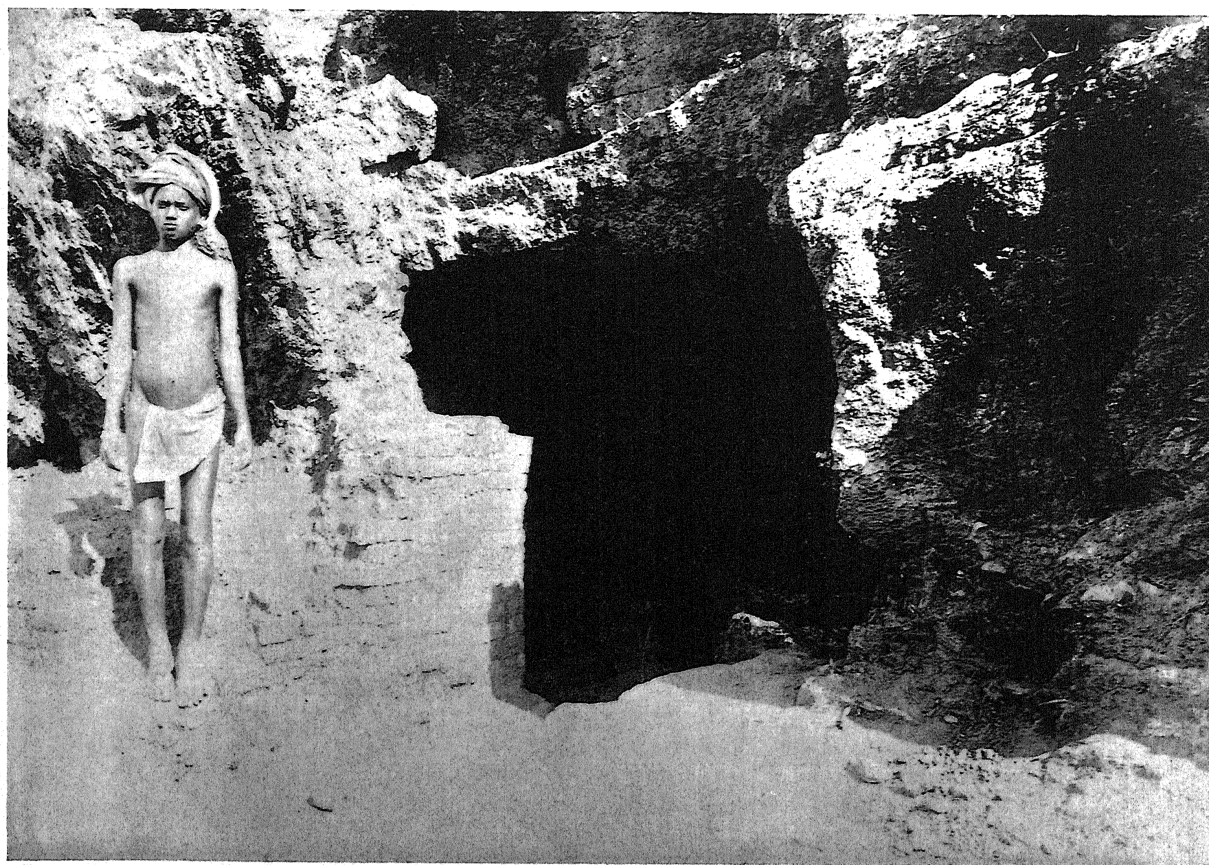
At the south-east corner of the east face of the square platform is a brick stairway, 11′ 4″ broad, with a projection of 8′ 8″ (Pl. LII) which leads from the foot of the base up to its top. At the north-east corner of the same front is a cavity cut in the rock of the basement. It is nearly a quadrant of a circle in plan and has a concave roof. It measures 13′ 2″ in breadth by 12′ 3″ in height, and is 5′ 8″ from front to back. Through the top of the recess is a square cutting, opening on to the top of the square rock basement of the *stūpa*. The brick casing of the platform must at one time have closed it in, and the entrance to it would be from the top opening. Its use is doubtful, but probably it was a store room, a cellar, or a penitential cell. Below the north-east corner of the *stūpa* platform is a rectangular structural temple with a antechamber and shrine. It faces south into the passage on the east side of the *stūpa*. A stone *sōma-sūtra* stands in the east wall of the shrine. The ground under the shrine was examined, but it was evident that it had previously been dug into, for it was composed of loose earth, broken bricks and a few large stones. Between this building and the *stūpa* platform is a small monolithic *dāgoba*, which almost blocks up the passage between them.

I have described the group of rock *dāgobas* standing on the platform on the west side of the *stūpa*. On the south side of the *stūpa* there is no outlying rock which could be so cut, but the summit of the hill has been levelled, and in a line below the side of the platform base of the *stūpa* is a row of nine brick *dāgobas*. They have a

[1] As the square basement, the circular drum and dome were originally cased in brick walls of 2′ 4″ in thickness, the dimensions of the complete building would be increased to that extent.



a. EASTERN HILL: GROUP OF DAGOBAS IN FRONT OF CAVE. ON NORTH-WEST.



b. WEST HILL: NEWLY EXPLORED CAVE WITH BRICK WALLS IN FRONT.

diameter of 6′ 6″ at the base, and the highest of them at present measures 3′ 8″. Their domes have disappeared, but the moulded bases and drums remain. The interior of these buildings was examined, and they were found to consist of rings of radiated brick-work filled in with earth. In two of them were two stone caskets crudely cut into the form of a *dāgoba* (Pl. LIX, fig. 5). At the south-east corner of the east face there is another of these brick *dāgobas*, while, adjoining it and fronting the south, is a miniature *chaitya* with inner measurement of 7′ 4″ by 5′ 3″. Immediately to the south of it is a slightly larger *chaitya* 6′ 7″ in breadth by 9′ 4″ in length inside, with its apse to the east. The shrine floors of these two buildings were examined and found to contain only loose earth and bricks. West of the larger *chaitya*, and adjoining the row of brick *dāgobas*, are the foundations of a long rectangular building. In several of these buildings just noted, traces of the covering plaster still remain.[1] On the terrace on the north side of the *stūpa* there are 6 brick and 25 stone *dāgobas*, varying in size from a foot to five feet in diameter (Pl. LII *b*). The smallest are of cut stone placed in position.

At the east end of this terrace, one of the *dāgobas* stands inside a small brick *chaitya* (Fig. 5). This building faces outward to the north. It is 7′ in length and



Fig. 5.

5′ 10″ broad inside. It corresponds in position to the small one on the opposite or south-east corner of the *stūpa*. Adjoining the *chaitya* is the base of a brick *dāgoba*, 4′ 10″ in diameter. The arrangement of the *dāgobas* on this side of the *stūpa* is different from that on the others, for there are four small stone *dāgobas* encircled by brick walls which must originally have been covering *dāgobas* themselves. There are also three square brick structures, each of which encloses a small stone *dāgoba*, of about 2′ in diameter. Doubtless the small stone *dāgobas*, now enclosed in brick, at one time stood in the open, but were afterwards enclosed in an outer *dāgoba* of brick as an act of devotion. *Stūpas* within *stūpas* have been found in other well known sites, and this is the same procedure here repeated on a lesser scale. The north terrace of the *stūpa* is bounded by retaining rubble walls.

[1] The size of bricks used in the various buildings is 1′ 8″ by 9½″ by 3″. They are laid in a thin layer of mud. No mortar is used in the joints.

The brick wall, built against the north basement wall of the *stūpa*, which forms the inner wall of the north terrace, remains at its highest point in the centre for a height of over 8′. It has a moulded base and pillasters on the upper part. All has been plastered, but only traces of this remain on the lower parts. The upper part of the wall leans forwards at a considerable angle. It has evidently been displaced by the brick débris from the upper circular brick casing of the *stūpa* dome, which in its turn has kept the lower part of the wall from falling. The upper part of this brick wall of the square basement has similarly disappeared on the other three sides, and the portion of it that does remain leans over at a similar angle (Pl. LII, *b*).

Down the slopes of the hill below the north-west of the *stūpa* are two rock-cut caves (Pl. LXII). One of these is a small cell which faces the north-west. Its front is plain fractured rock. At the left side of the entrance is a rough bench hewn in the rock, and above it is a figure of a bearded *sanyāsī* and another image. The cave is entered by a narrow door, 5′ high by 1′ 10″ broad. The portion of the cave directly inside the door is 8′ 6″ square and 7′ high. Above the outside of the door is a horizontal groove and two holes in the rock, all doubtless intended for a structural *pandal* in front. On the back inner wall is a large panel (Pl. LXI) with a seated Buddha and attendants. These latter are scarcely distinguishable owing to the weathering of the rock, but their arrangement appears to be similar to those at the other caves already described. At the left side of the shrine, and continuous with it, is a chamber at a level of 9″ higher, measuring 11′ 9″ by 8′ 6″. On the back wall is a central panel (Pl. LXI) with a seated Buddha and a panel on each side with a *dvārapāla*. On the side wall is a small bas relief of a figure seated on a fish with a *nāga*-headed standing attendant on the left and a small lion below. The pose of these figures is more graceful than in any of the other cave sculpture here, and I think it is a work of different date.[1]

This chamber has had four piers (Pls. LXI and LXII). One of these has now gone. These are 11″ square at the base, octagonal in the centre, with a roll moulded capital and square abacus. They are more slender than those in the main cave, though the details are similar. There is a lotus patera at the top of each square, and a pediment at the top of the octagon. The piers are 6′ 3″ high.

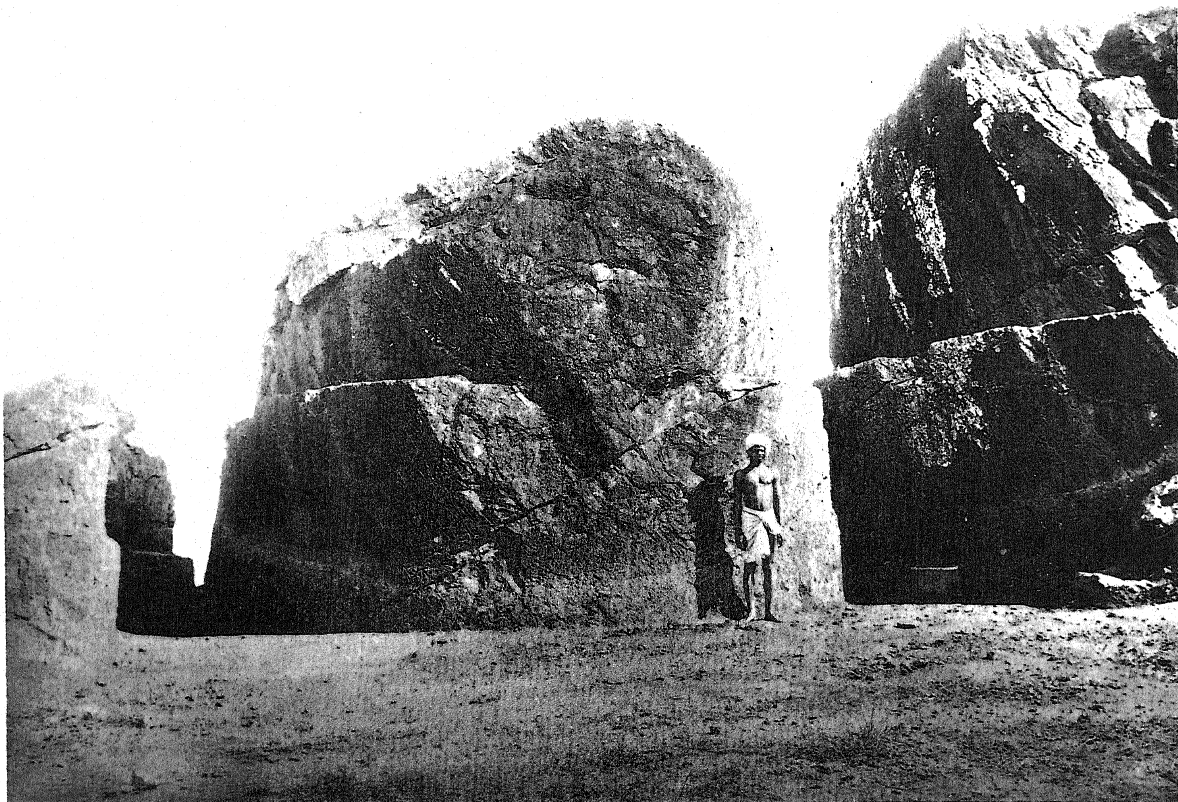
Traces of plaster remain on the cave walls and ceiling. Down in the rock below

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[1] The sculptures in all the caves, and on their façades generally, are crude and primitive in design, and have none of the finished technique so strikingly observable at places like Amarāvati, where the highest phase of the sculptor's art is so lavishly represented. This crudeness may point in either of two ways. It may either represent a very early period of undeveloped workmanship or a late decadence. The Buddhists did not survive sufficiently long after the Amarāvati epoch for any such decadence to have so strikingly manifested itself. The inference therefore is, that the period represented by these sculptures is earlier than Amarāvati or probably prior to the first century. The earliest of the remains here, or the monoliths, may probably belong to the period of Aśōka himself. Though the sites founded by him are historically or traditionally described as numerous in Southern India no traces of any of them have hitherto been found. Every indication points to this being one of them. One exception there is to the primitive character of the cave sculptures, and to this I have here alluded. It is the small panel on a side wall of the sculptured cave on the north-west slope of the east hill. The principal sculpture of the shrine, and the one which would be first cut, is the large figure of Buddha on the back wall. The small panel is a subsidiary one, and is only a piece of apparently later wall decoration. It is unlikely that it was cut before the main image, and it may then be contemporary with or subsequent to it. If it were of the same date it would exhibit the same crudeness as the other sculptures, but this is far from being the case, and it brings to recollection figures seen on the sculptured groups of the Amarāvati marbles. This individuality might thus point to its being contemporary with them, and thus of a date later than the other sculptures of the caves.



a. DAGOBAS ON WEST RIDGE OF EASTERN HILL.



b. DAGOBAS TO WEST OF ROCK-CUT STUPA ON EASTERN HILL.

this, and situated to the left front of the cave, is a circular vault, 8′ in diameter, with a domed roof 8′ 7″ high. The top of the roof is on a level with the platform in front of the cave. It is entered by a roughly hewn cavity at the left end of the platform. There are only a few steps here, however, and the descent requires to be made by a ladder. This vault was filled with débris, and before it was cleared out, the prevailing belief was that it was a well which reached to the bottom of the hill, or that it contained treasure. A local *sanyāsī* proposed to dig this out, but another dissuaded him, stating that it would be sacrilege to do so. This cell, like that on the east side of the *stūpa* basement, has probably been used for penitential purposes (Pl. LXII).

To the left of this cave is a huge out-crop of rock, in which is another cave (Pl. LXII). It is a plain rectangular cell, 8′ 2″ by 7′ 7″ by 6′ high, entered through a door 4′ 5″ by 2′ 8″. This cave is entirely devoid of sculpture. Dotted down the slope of the hill below the caves numerous *dāgobas* appear singly and in groups on rock platforms.

We will now proceed to describe the structures which formed the main residential portion of the monastery. East of the *stūpa* already described is an extensive group of structural buildings occupying the whole eastern summit of the hill, and clustering around and particularly in front of a *chaitya* which is situated on the most elevated position near their eastern end (Pl. LXIII). The top of the hill has been levelled into terraces for these buildings, the uppermost portion of which measures 154′ from east to west and 73′ from north to south. This ground is composed of the natural ground of the hill, partly rock, loose stone and earth, all left intact except for external cutting. On all the four sides, the rock has been cut into a perpendicular wall 11′ 9″ high. It corresponds in elevation with the square basement of the *stūpa*, which is situated directly to the west of and separated from it by a passage 23′ in breadth. Rows of brick cells are built against its north, east and south sides, and the entrance to it is from the west. It is surrounded on all sides by another terrace at a lower level, which also continues and forms the platform or terrace around the *stūpa* on its west.[1]

On the eastern end of the summit of the highest terrace is a *chaitya*, the principal building of all structures which surround it. This temple has its apse on the east and the entrance on the west. The shrine is 9′ 9″ long internally and 8′ 6″ in breadth, with walls 3′ 8″ thick. On the exterior the base is moulded. The bricks in the walls are laid in alternate courses as follows :—One course longitudinally, and then another with longitudinal and transverse bonding bricks. The floor of the shrine or apsidal portion is raised 9″ above that of the antechamber in front. The flooring is of brick irregularly laid, and so also is the antechamber of the *chaitya*. A flight of brick steps is in front of the door of the antechamber. Excavation below the floor of the apse showed that there was solid brickwork for a depth of ten courses of brick. The upper three courses were separated by thin layers of plaster, and the lower ones

[1] Before excavation, these buildings were in no way indicated, except by a few loose broken bricks scattered over the surface and some irregularities in the formation of the ground. Situated as these buildings are, on an exposed hill top, it is difficult to account for the large amount of natural soil which covered them. One would have expected that the action of the weather would have tended towards denudation rather than to the deposit of earth. Yet the covering mass was but partly composed of fallen bricks. It can only be accounted for by the dust and particles of soil carried by the winds through many centuries of exposure.

by fine earth. The upper layers were built of fragmentary bricks irregularly laid to fit each other according to their shapes. The three lowest courses were of large complete bricks laid parallel to the side walls of the buildings. Below this were packed earth and stones. Inside the shrine stands a rectangular stone pedestal with a cavity on the top probably intended for an image. In front or to the west of the *chaitya*, with its floor at a lower level, is a large hall paved with stone flags. It measures 44′ 5″ from east to west and is 29′ 7″ broad. It is enclosed by two brick walls, the outer of which continues square around the east end of the *chaitya*. The inner faces of the walls are lined with pilasters. Outside these walls, and placed at right angles to them, at the same level, are the remains of the partitions and the outer walls of a continuous row of cells or shrines standing on the north, east and south sides. The doors to these shrines open from the interior.

At the west end of the hall is a broad entrance, 11′ wide, flanked on each side by a brick structure measuring 21′ by 15′. These structures have been apsidal ended *chaityas* standing north and south, with their entrances facing the central passage. At the north end of the north of these buildings a few bricks of the apse remain. A drain, partly rock-cut and partly built, passes outside the apsidal ends. On the extreme north side of the hall, the bounding brick wall has fallen, and the paving slabs extend up to the edge of the ground laid bare by the excavations. Underneath these is a pyriform pottery vessel of about 2′ 6″ in diameter and of slightly greater height. In form, it resembles the neolithic funeral urns found at prehistoric sites, but it was crushed and fragmentary, and only retained a semblance of its original form. No relics remained inside. Perhaps it was connected with the sacrifice of a human victim placed there, when the foundations of these upper buildings were laid. Such a ceremony was imperative in ancient times, and the custom survived to a comparatively late date in the 19th century.

In front of the hall to the west and detached from it, is another brick structure which has evidently been the principal gateway or elevated entrance to the *chaitya* court. Eight flat stones on the floor at its central front have holes for the insertion of wooden posts which have doubtless supported a temporary *pandal*. Directly outside to the west of this upper gate-way and on the centre of the west extremity of the

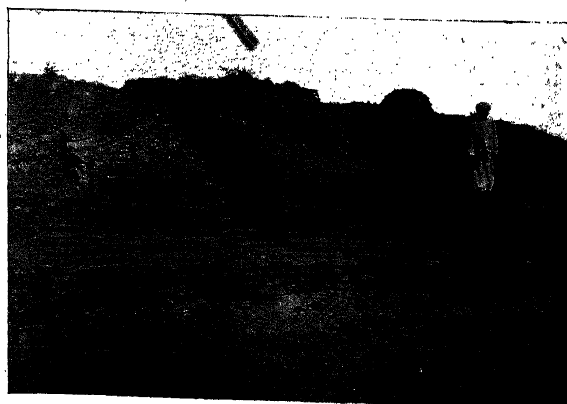
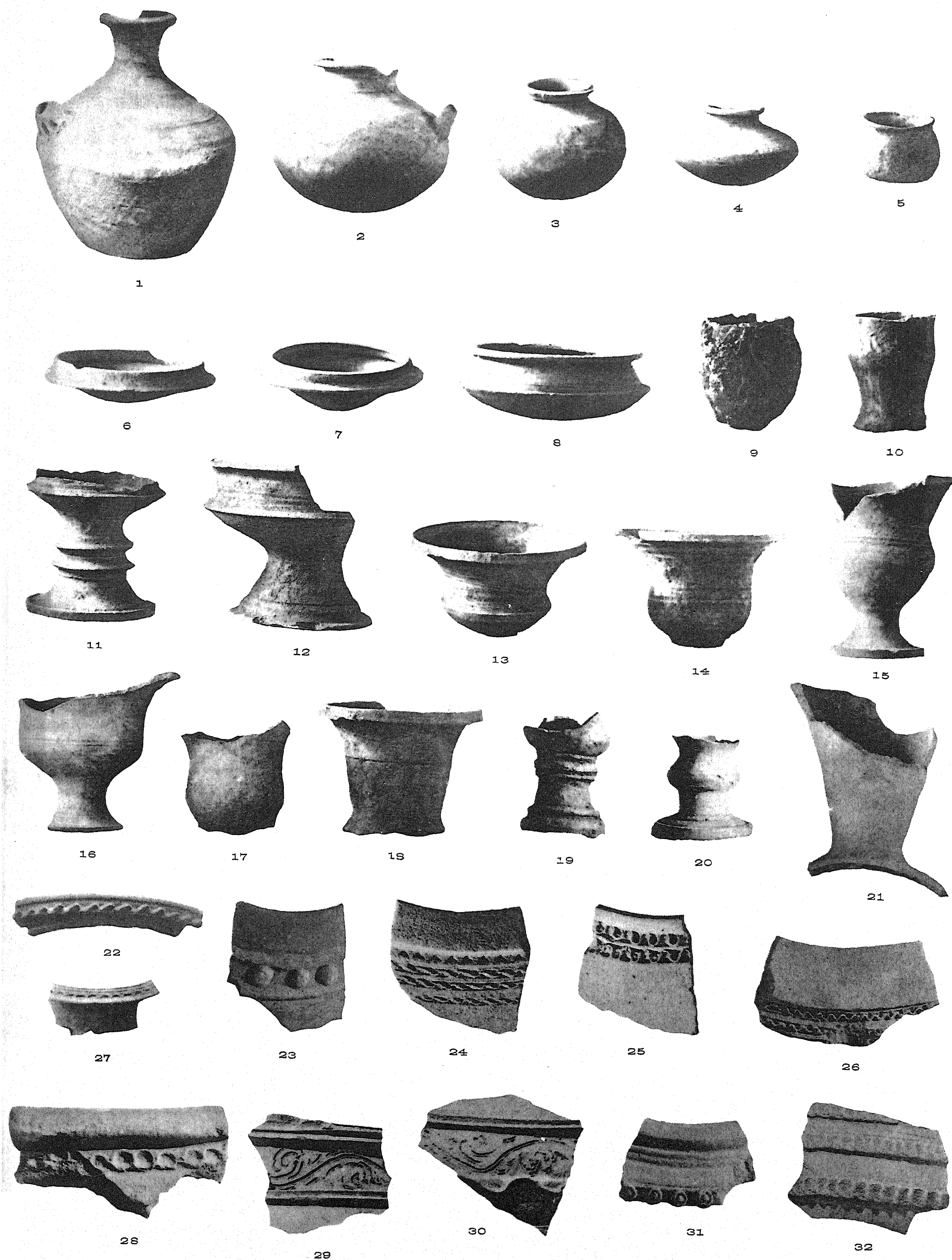


Fig. 6.

raised *chaitya* terrace a rock-cut stair-way (Fig. 6) leads down to the floor of the passage on the east of the *stūpa*. Here, as on all the sides of the *chaitya* terrace,



MISCELLANEOUS FINDS 1-32.

the rock has been cut sheer down, and resting on a lower continuous rock-cut platform is a brick retaining wall with pilasters and projections at intervals. In the centre of the wall is a narrow door, 3′ 6″ broad, above which are the rock-cut steps which lead to the top of the mound. Flanking the door, at a distance of 19′ 9″ on either side, is a stone built stairway of a few steps standing on a rock-cut platform and laid parallel to the retaining wall. Around the north, east and south sides of the raised *chaitya* terrace, and abutting against its rock-cut walls, are continuous rows of cells. The floors of these and the passage in front of them are at the same level as the passage around the square basement of the *stūpa*. Along the inner side of the passage in front of the cells is a covered drain. The cells on the north side each measure 8′ 4″ by 6″. The brick walls between them are 1′ 10″ thick and the front walls are the same.

Each cell is entered by a door 1′ 7″ broad, and, at the back of each, the walls are generally of about their original height, that is, about 6′ 9″. There is a small recess in these walls lintelled over with bracketing bricks. In a few cells on the north side, the original rock has extended over the line of cells, and in these places the partition and back walls are hewn, any irregularities or spaces in the sloping stratified rock being filled in with bricks. In each cell, small triangular lamp niches are cut in the rock or formed in the brick walls. The floors have been laid with mortar and their walls similarly plastered. Numerous traces of the plastering remain.

A large number of copper coins were found in the fourth cell from the west of the north row, and some *terra cotta* seals and inscribed stamps, pottery, coins and other articles in the other cells.

Parallel to the north row of cells, and separated from it by a passage, 9′ broad, is another outer detached row of cells which extends for the same length from east to west. The central chamber in this row is larger than those opposite in the inner row, and measures 10′ long by 6′ 9″ in breadth. This chamber has thick walls all around, the outside one projects beyond the line of adjacent walls. It has probably served as an entrance porch like the side *gōpurams* of temples. The other cells are about the same size as those on the inner row. The outer partition walls are of brick and are 1′ 7″ thick. Near the centre of this length of cells stands a rock *dāgoba*, 5′ 6″ in diameter and 5′ high, which was only unearthed when the adjoining structural walls were excavated. It abuts into the front line of walls, and partly blocks up the passage between the two lines of cells. Cavities in the rock of the *dāgoba* have originally been filled in with bricks, and traces of the plaster covering remain. A circular brick platform surrounds it. This *dāgoba* was originally coated with plaster, though now only a few traces remain at the base. It must have needed a very long period of exposure to the weather for its plaster to wear off, and afterwards the bare stone must have stood in the winds for many centuries before it could have acquired its present weather-worn appearance. Subsequent to that, again, it must probably have stood buried under the débris of the fallen walls of the *chaitya* and cells which stood adjacent to and over it. Its position shows that it must have been in existence before the structural walls of the cells were erected; for if it had then been a rough block of stone, it would have been removed and not cut into a *dāgoba*. All these considerations combine to indicate a very early date for it, and with it for the

other monoliths also on the hills.[1] Running transversely through the east end of the outer row of north cells is a stone built drain.

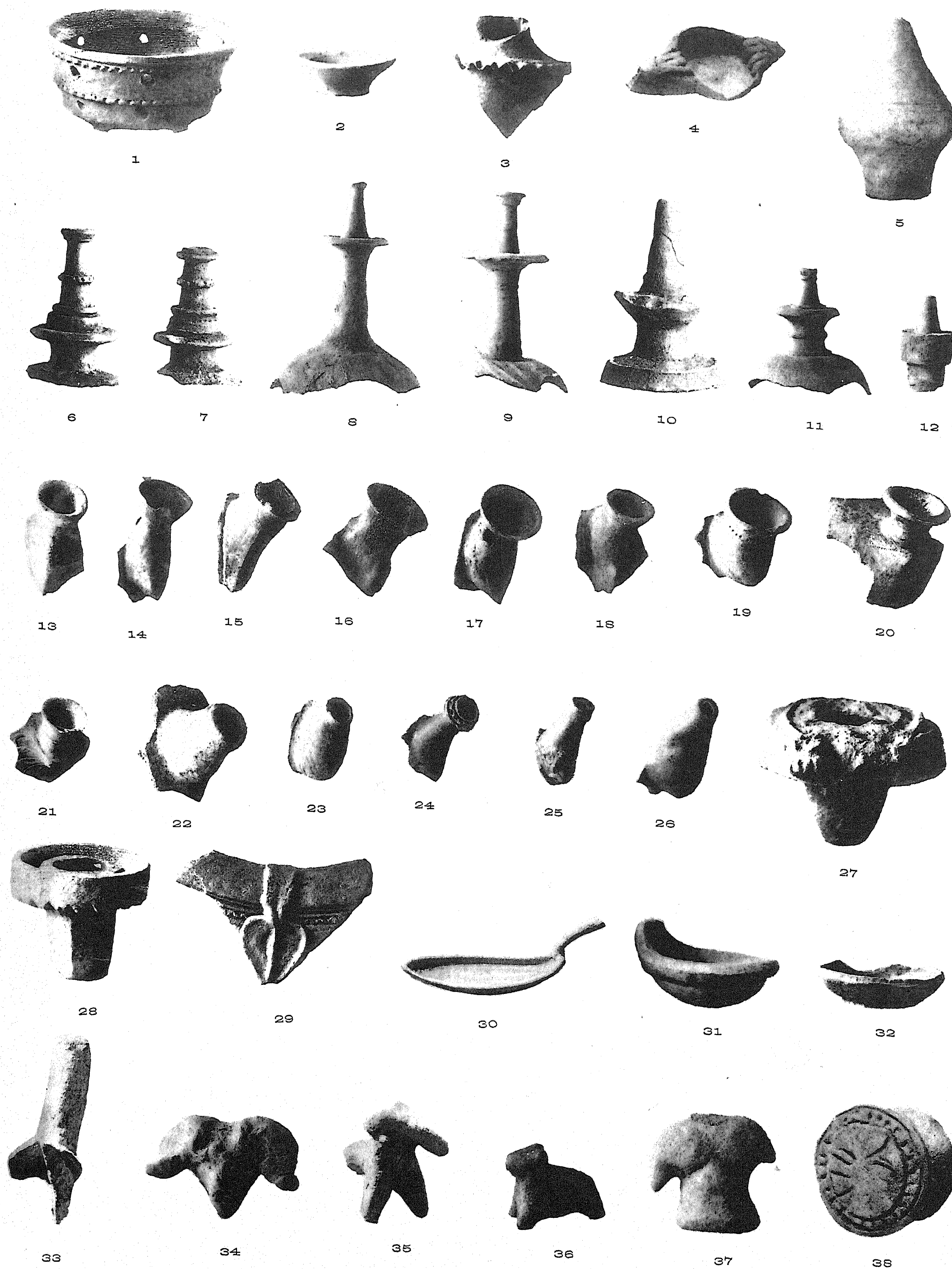
The row of cells built against the east end of the *chaitya* terrace contains nine compartments in all (Pl. LIII, *b*). The three at each of the north and south extremities are similar to those already described on the north[2] But the three in the centre are entirely different. They are only of sufficient breadth to allow room for a person to stand erect, being 2′ 7″ square and from 5′ 6″ to 8′ high. Two of them still retain the original roof. This is formed of bracketing bricks. Probably, although the other cells are much longer, they were similarly roofed. The east row of cells has a passage in front, and another row of outer detached cells similar to those on the north side. This passage has a drain along its inner side.

Traces of a few walls extend outside the outer line of east cells. The east slope of the east hill dips just outside the outer row of cells, and a stairway of rock-cut steps here leads down the east slope of the hill. It only extends, however, for a distance of 24′ and there is no trace of it below that. It probably connected the upper levels with some lower habited terraces, traces of which have been found.

The row of cells abutting against the south side of the *chaitya* terrace is similar to the inner north row, and contains twenty apartments. The fourteenth cell from the west end has its floor at a level of 2′ 9″ higher than the others. All the walls are of brick, and the rock has not extended so far in this direction as to necessitate its use for dividing walls. The two cells on the extreme west of the row have floors of solid rock, and the third has a rock-cut couch 1′ 8″ high, while another has a brick couch. They measure about 6′ 9″ by 5′ 7″. A drain runs in front of the line, and a short distance in front of the western end of the row of cells, six flat stones stand in the ground in the form of a trough. This has seemingly been used for grinding mortar for building purposes. In front of, and parallel to the row of cells, is a brick foundation wall, 4′ 3″ broad. It has evidently formed the floor of the passage in front of the cells. No traces of an outer row of cells at present remain on this side of the levelled ground, but at a distance of 3′ 6″ south of the cells a few courses of a wall run, parallel to them east and west. The levelled ground at this point extends over some 50′ from the line of cells to the retaining wall on the edge of the slope, and is sufficiently broad for other buildings to have been erected on it. Probably others did stand here, for there are traces of the remains of walls in the form of a few solitary courses of bricks at several places. These, however, are too fragmentary to be traced or to show any definite plan. Almost continuously around and below the edges of the levelled platform on the hill top, where stand the three lines of cells, and bounding the north, east and south sides, a series of retaining walls of rubble stone have been built into the hill sides and form a succession of terraces which extend down the upper slopes for about a fourth of the total height of

[1] The date is probably antecedent to the Christian era. That the structures themselves are of very early date, is evident from the large size of the bricks (1′ 5″ by 9¼″ by 3″). These have never been found in southern buildings which date later than the 2nd century A. D. The extent of the remains and their varied character show that the site has been a peculiarly important one. It bears evidences of having been added to throughout the centuries of Buddhist supremacy, and I would again assert that I think it probable that the monoliths may be ascribed to a time corresponding to that of the shrines erected or founded by Aśōka.

[2] One of them has a bench and pillow of brick.



MISCELLANEOUS FINDS 1-38.

the hill. These lines of terraces are only broken at the few places where intervening rocks appear on the surface. They are not built in regular lines and vary in height and breadth. Generally they are about 10′ broad and 8′ high. Those on the west slopes are partly rock-cut and partly structural, but it is evident that even the former have been originally faced with built brick walls. These terraces are mostly occupied by monolithic *dāgobas*, or form the level passages connecting the various groups. Apparently, the terraces on the west face of the hill were not occupied by habitations. The western slope of the hill is largely formed by broken projecting masses of rock, and it is only in the interstices that retaining walls are built. Two large outcrops appear on the lower north-east slopes, and the retaining wall there is built at a higher level. These retaining walls are stepped, so as to form a series of terraces on the hill sides, a feature which is specially noticeable on the north, west and south sides. Although at present they are only of roughly packed rubble stone, it is almost certain that originally they were all faced with brick like some of the terraces on the west slopes. Some of the lower courses of such a facing wall actually do exist at a few places. Occupying a central position on the upper southern slope of the east hill, and below the upper rubble retaining walls, are some brick walls which evidently mark the site of the principal entrance stairway to the temples on the summit. A continuous brick wall running east and west is broken by a projection of twenty feet in width, and between the walls of this, and ascending over them, are stepped courses of brick as in a stair. Below, there is the sloping rock with many traces of steps of built stonework. The stairways on the east and west of the hill are little more than mere pathways. The one on the south side seems to have been the main ceremonial entrance.

The primary object of the terraces on the hill side was doubtless to support the loose soil of the hill and thus form a secure foundation for the buildings on the summit, but, though no traces of habitable buildings have been found on them, other than the terraced brick retaining walls—several of which have been discovered on the south-east and south slopes particularly—the spaces they comprised were probably occupied by the temporary mud huts of pilgrims to the shrine or of permanent residents who catered for them. This is evident from the presence of extensive deposits of the black soil, usually found on the sites of ancient habitations, and ashes which exist for many feet in depth, and which extend continuously for long distances around the upper slopes on the north-east, south-east, south and south-west of the hill immediately below the summit. In these deposits have been found numerous small articles of much archæological interest, which will be afterwards referred to. On the upper south-west slope of the hill, and almost directly south of the *stūpa*, is a small rock-cut cell, measuring 3′ 6″ from north to south and 5′ 3″ from east to west by 5′ 7″ high. It is devoid of sculpture. (No. 6, Plate LXII.) The door-way is plain



Fig. 7.

and measures 3′ 4″ high by 2′ 3″ broad. On the top of its façade, are two rock-cut steps, 2′ long. Clustering around it and especially down the hill in front, are a large number of irregularly placed rock *dāgobas*. (LIV,*a*.) In front of one of them is a rectangular cavity sunk in the rocky floor and measuring 3′ 5″ in length with a breadth and depth of about 3′. Similar rock cuttings have been found on the west hill, but their use is not at once apparent, unless it may have been for sepulture. At a slightly lower level to the south-west of this cave, is another small cell with a panel sculptured with a seated Buddha. (Fig. 7.)

South-east from these rock cuttings and near the base of the hill, is a group of four *dāgobas*. The base of one of them is square, and in the front are two panels, in one of which is the weather-worn remains of a seated image, probably Buddha. There are a few other isolated *dāgobas* also, scattered at intervals around the slopes of the hill, the most noticeable of which are two on the north-east.

At the west base of the east hill, and almost blocking up the narrow passage between it and the west hill, is a huge heap of small stones, with the head of a stone image appearing out of the centre of the heap. The head is that of an image of the Hindu goddess Palakamma Devi[1] and it is in ordinary circumstances the only part of it visible. When however, some of the stones are removed, the goddess is seen in a seated attitude with a standing female attendant on each side and a child seated on her lap. She wears a crown encircled by a circlet of children, and has a profusion of jewellery, including a necklet strung with children. Excluding the socket for fixing into a pedestal, the image is 4′ 8″ in height by 3′ broad. (Fig. 8.) At the time of the annual *Pongal* festival, it is the special duty of every woman who passes it, to cast a stone at it; and this is done, indeed, on ordinary days, for the women coolies engaged at the excavation each added a stone to the heap on leaving work in the evening. Some of these stones have to be periodically removed so as to show at least the head of the image above the heap.



Fig. 8.

The erection here of an image of the malignant Hindu goddess, whose pleasure consists in the destruction of children, may have been originally intended to give a sinister aspect to the site, and when taken in connection with the annual ceremony at the cave, which will be afterwards alluded to, accentuates the supposition that the Buddhists were expelled by the Hindus who appropriated and desecrated the shrines.

Tradition hints at this, facts revealed by excavations support the subsequent occupation, and the two ceremonies referred to, indicate desecration rather than the ordinary forms of worship.

[1] The figure shows the image with the stones removed.

West Hill.

Immediately to the west of the east hill, is another of slightly lower elevation, with a long serrated ridge running east and west. This ridge is formed of great masses of rock with the strata sloping upwards to the north-east at an angle of about 80°. The rock is mostly in evidence on the ridge, which is broken by a saddle which cuts through it near the middle of its length. The hill is narrow from north to south, and its sloping sides are formed of detritis with isolated boulders appearing through it at intervals.

The only visible structures appearing on the surface are a few brick walls built as adjuncts to a newly excavated cave (Pl. LIV,*b*) a wall at the western extremity of the north side of the hill, and some fragmentary bricks at a monolithic *stūpa* on the west ridge. Though these are apparently the only remaining structures, the monoliths are very numerous, especially along the ridge, and so much is this the case that the hill has been called the *liṅgala mitta* and the *kōṭiliṅgam* (the hill of the crore of *liṅgams*), *liṅgams* being the name locally applied to the *dāgobas*.

On the eastern half of the hill, but few *dāgobas* appear, the principal group containing six. On the west upper end of this part of the ridge but just east of the saddle there is a huge rock about 55′ in breadth, which has been partly cut so as to form the nucleus of a *stūpa* or *chaitya*. The rock, however, is too irregular in form, and too broken up to form a solid circular core. It is separated from the ridge on the east of it by a curved passage with a wall cut vertically through the rock of the hill. This passage is 9′ 6″ wide, and 18′ 3″ in height to the summit of the ridge. In plan it is cut concentric with the curve of the detached irregular rock on the east, which if produced around would form a *stūpa* of slightly larger diameter than the rock itself. But the curve only appears on the east side, the north and south sides being broken and irregular, while there is some undefined cutting on the lower part of the west side. On the upper part of the rock at this side are some steps and a cutting. This rock may perhaps have been intended to be formed into a monolithic *chaitya*. If this was so, the arrangement of the principal shrines on this hill would be the same as on the east hill, that is, a *chaitya* on the east and a *stūpa* and caves on the west. A similar passage is cut through the rock on the west side, but it is of less height, as the hill at this point begins to dip into the saddle. The detached rock itself has been cut as far as possible on the east in the semblance of a circle. If completed as a *stūpa*, it would undoubtedly have been encased in brick as the *stūpa* crowning the east hill is. Numerous broken bricks are lying on the slope and at the base of the hill below it, and these have doubtless fallen from this place. I have mentioned that some steps are cut in the upper part of the rock on its west side; and these appear as if they were the beginnings of the cutting of the west façade of a *chaitya*. Above them is a square cutting in the rock about 9′ square, probably intended for the erection of a structure. It is possible that the first idea was to cut the rock into a *stūpa*, but this plan being abandoned, it was decided to form it into a *chaitya*, which, however, was apparently never completed.

Directly west from the east portion of the hill is the saddle above referred to. On its west slope and summit the outcropping rock has been cut into numerous *dāgobas* There are about thirty of them, and they average from three to four feet in diameter by a proportionately greater height. Almost all of these are in the last stages of picturesque decay. In some, the whole or parts of the dome or of the drum have flaked off, leaving only a base outline to indicate, on close inspection, that they have been *dāgobas*. Some of these fractured portions have fallen and are lying about in various directions; while such of them as are fairly complete are black with age, fractured at the sloping joints of the rock strata and covered with lichen. Indeed, they are only distinguished from ordinary rocks by their circular domed outline.

Ascending the western slope of the saddle, there is, first, a double row of about 33 *dāgobas*. These terminate at the upper part of the slope, where almost every available block of rock is cut into a *dāgoba*. The rock stratum outcrops in layered masses running east and west and the *dāgobas* follow these lines. At this portion of the hill there are about eight parallel lines of *dāgobas* with others irregularly placed between them (Pl. LV, *a*). Altogether they number over 200. They mostly stand adjacent to each other on rock-cut terraces or platforms, the smallest being about fifteen inches in diameter either with or without an elongated cylindrical drum and dome and a square *ti*, and the largest about 5′ in diameter. Among these latter are a series of seven *dāgobas* which stand in a line on a rock-cut platform. Their drums have moulded bases and cornices with pilasters placed around.

Two of these *dāgobas* are more complete than the others, and have a fillet moulded square *ti*. The elevated rock terrace on which they stand faces the south, and is cut down perpendicularly to a terrace standing about 11′ below. A projecting base, 6′ 3″, high forms the lower portion of the wall, and the façade above that is cut into a line of panels. The latter have never been completely cut, and they only bear the chisel-marked outlines of what were intended to be figure-sculptured panels. A plain cornice crowns the façade, over which stand the seven *dāgobas* above noted.

Still to the south of these, and at a still lower level, there are other rock-cut terraces on which stand many irregular rows of various sized *dāgobas*, some fairly complete, but most of them in a state of decay.

Immediately west of the last noted group, the ground ascends to the west peak or ridge of the hill. Here, the steeply sloping rock strata are in broken flaky slabs with but few solid outstanding boulders which could be cut into monoliths. There are consequently only about nine small *dāgobas* on the ridge itself; while on the north some short distance below the summit, there are twenty-three more.

Slightly below the north side of the west summit is a rock-cut cave. (Pls. LIV, *b* and LXIV, Fig. 7.) It is square, and measures 10′ 10″ from side to side and 9′ 7″ from front to back and 6′ 5″ high. It was filled with débris to within a foot of the ceiling. In front was a great mass of earth and broken fallen bricks of large dimensions. There is no carving or cutting of any description on the rock directly in front of the cave which is irregularly broken up by fractured uneven rock. But it has been chiselled on each of the sides of the front.

Along each of the inner sides of the chamber is a rock-cut bench, 1′ 10″ broad and 1′ 10″ high. These benches are faced by a moulded brick base, which continues to

the height of the bench and also along the back wall. In the centre of the cave is a monolithic *dāgoba* with a low tapering circular base, 4′ in diameter, a bulbous dome and a square stepped *ti* surmounted by a small umbrella post. (Fig. 9.) Its total height to the top of the square is 3′ 9″. Some plaster remains on the lower part of the *dāgoba* and the brick walls. The rock walls of the cave also must have been plastered, for they are rough dressed. The lower part of the front wall of the cave projects, and on each side of it are brick walls which must originally have formed a front structural *maṇḍapam* resting on the rock-cut base.

To the right of the cave is a raised recessed platform, 9′ square, cut into the rock, on which stands a single monolithic *dāgoba* of squat outline, and about 6′ in

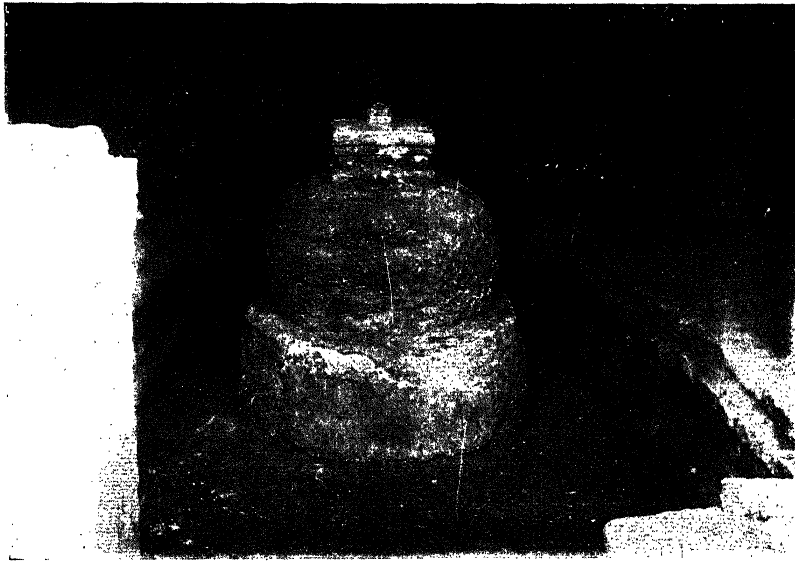


Fig. 9.

diameter. On the top of the square stepped *ti* is a small octagonal block, the remains of the umbrella post. A higher platform on its left has two *dāgobas.* To the left front of the cave, and at a lower level are two rows of large and small rock *dāgobas*, so weather-worn as scarcely to be distinguishable from ordinary rocks. A rock-cut stair leads to them.

The west termination of the west ridge is cut precipitately down for a height of 26′. Its plan is a hollow curve, cut concentrically with that of a large rock-cut *stūpa* which stands close to the west of it. The passage between the vertical rock and the *stūpa* is 4′ 9″ broad. At its north end the rocky wall is hollowed out and a small monolithic *dāgoba* stands in the cavity. At the base of the vertical rocky wall and facing west is a rock-cut cave (No. 8, Pl. LXIV, Figs. 1 and 2). In front is a vestibule 28′ long by 6′ 5″ broad, and 8′ 8″ high, with its floor raised 1′ 2″ above the level of the passage surrounding the *stūpa.* In it are two massive square piers, 1′ 10″ broad and 7′ 10″ high. Inside, is a shrine 8′ 2″ by 5′ 10″ by 6′ high. The wall is 3′ 1″ thick and the door-way is 4′ 6″ high and 3′ 7″ broad. The cave has no sculpture or carving of any description.

The large monolithic *stūpa* in front of the cave is a fine example of its class, more than three-fourths of it being almost complete. On the south side, unfortunately, the rock is largely fractured with natural cracks, which have been increased by the

roots of plants, and many portions have flaked off, though the base remains intact. (Pls. LV, *b* and LXIV, Figs. 1 and 2.) The base of the drum is 38′ 6″ in diameter and 10″ in height: it has a slight batter or taper. Above this is the dome, 18′ high and slightly more than a semi-circle in shape. Almost seven-eighths of the height of the complete dome has been of rock and it now extends no higher. The summit and the *ti* must have been of brick. At the highest part of the stone of the dome, the flat surface is rough stratified rock. A great fissure between the rocks runs through the centre from east to west, and this is filled with earth and broken bricks. Here are distinct evidences that the summit of the dome has been completed in brick. At the highest part of the curved rock face of the dome, the surface is cut with a horizontal check for laying flat sloping bricks in continuation of the upper curve of the rock. This check in the rock is to prevent them slipping. At another part, the top of the rock is cut into horizontal steps to the size of the large bricks used here. The *stūpa* has doubtless been encased in brick-work at the parts where the rock is missing. The greater part of the monolith though perfect in outline is yet but roughly hewn and scored with chisel marks, and it is certain that it was simply covered with a coating of plaster as undoubtedly all the monolithic *dāgobas* have been. Loose bricks were found among the fallen débris of earth and boulders around the *stūpa*. The nature of the rock is such that no great extent of smooth unbroken surface was available anywhere, and the only procedure possible, not only with such large monoliths but with caves also, was to coat them with plaster. Among the fallen débris on the south side of the *stūpa* were some large fallen masses of brickwork, with the bricks still adhering to each other and covered with a plaster facing, while some boulders of rock which had slipped down, still retain a coating of plaster, 2″ thick on the chiselled surface.

Immediately to the west of the great *stūpa* and separated from it by a passage, is another *stūpa* (Pl. LV, *b*, and Pl. LIV, Figs. 1 and 2) of similar outline but smaller dimensions. Its dome is more elongated vertically than the other. About half of the summit of the dome and parts of the drum have flaked off. The base is 22′ in diameter and 7′ high. The dome is 20′ in diameter and 11′ 3″ high at the existing top. This, however, was not the total original height. One curious feature of it is, that, if the curve of the drum or base next the large *stūpa* had been continued, these bases would just have touched each other and consequently there would have been no procession path between them. This has been obviated in a somewhat arbitrary way by cutting off a vertical portion of the upper part of the base and the lower part of the side of the dome of the lesser *stūpa*, leaving a passage between the two of 4′ broad, in its upper part. The lowest part of the drum or base, however, for a height of 2′ 5″ has been carried around at a flatter curve than that of the *stūpa* itself, and the breadth of the lowest part of the passage is thus only 2′ 4″. On the north and south of these two *stūpas* the rock has been cut and levelled into a terrace for a space of about 27′ on the south and 24′ on the north. On the south platform is a rectangular cavity sunk in the rock which may possibly have been for sepulchral purposes. At a lower level than the south terrace is a rubble retaining wall, 104′ long, like those on the east hill. On the west end of this level platform or terrace, and adjacent to the west of the *stūpa*, is a mass of split rock, which has been cut into a platform, on which stand lesser



MISCELLANEOUS FINDS 1-28.

about ten fractured *dāgobas* varying in diameter from three to eight feet. These stand at the same level as the *stūpas*, and crown the summit of the west slope of the hill. The hill here dips down to the plain below in broken masses of rock, none of which have been carved as *dāgobas*, but a long expanse of the sloping rock has been roughly cut into great steps to form a stairway about 6′ broad. The rock however, is too irregular to form a continuous rock stairway, and doubtless it was only in parts rock-cut and the other portions were laid with stone slabs. A short distance down the slope on the north side of the great *stūpa*, a *dāgoba* about 5′ 9″ in diameter has been cut out of a single block, which has since fallen bodily over at right angles to the slope of the hill. Close to it, is a rough natural boulder with three steps cut on the upper surface. On the upper of these steps is a miniature *dāgoba*, 7″ in diameter surrounded by a circular space 2½″ broad. A short distance north-east of the monolithic *stūpas* and lower down the slope of the hill, is a precipitous rock cliff. The lower part is cut vertically and scored with chisel marks for a height of 7′, the lateral wall surface so cut measuring 40 feet. The base of the rock is cut at right angles to it for a breadth of 4′ 6″, forming part of a floor, and in it is cut a trough 5′ 8″ long by 13″ broad and 8″ deep. It may possibly have been intended for fixing an image or for a sepulchre as suggested in regard to similar cavities mentioned elsewhere. Parallel to the rock wall, and at a distance of 19′ 3″, a line of a few bricks of a structural wall remains, and at right angles to the extremities of the cut rock wall, other traces of brick walls appear. The whole has evidently been a structural *maṇḍapam* built against the rock. In the digging here, a portion of a small image with the head and legs missing was found. It seems to have been a seated image of Buddha. (Pl. LIX, Fig. 16.)

At other points around the lower northern slopes of the west hill there are a few small *dāgobas* standing singly; but there are none on the south side, nor are there any other large groups such as those already described.

Minor antiquities.

Numerous minor antiquities of various kinds were found during the excavations, the bulk being obtained at the deposits of ashes which exist at various parts around the upper slopes of the east hill, and only a comparatively small number in the buildings themselves. The majority of these articles are of pottery, with a few household objects in stone. Others are *terra cotta* architectural ornaments to *dāgobas*, seals and their impressions in *terra cotta*, coins in gold, copper and lead. Only one gold and one lead coin have been found. The gold coin belongs to Samudragupta, who reigned from about 326 to 375 A.D. Of the copper coins, one was sent to Dr. Thurston of the Madras Museum, and he assigns it to the Chalukyan King Vishṇuvardhana (663 to 672 A.D.) The lead coin has the impression of a horse.[1] The finding of a solitary coin of this metal is in striking contrast to the results of excavations made at other South Indian Buddhist sites, such as Amarāvati, where lead coins are found in abundance.

[1] Further notes regarding these coins will be found on another page.

Most of the seals recovered came from the north-east deposit of ashes, only a very few of them being got at the south side. This circumstance seems to indicate that the office, where these were contained, was situated at the north side of the buildings, and that the other parts were occupied by servants in attendance on the offices of the monastery. An idea of the nature of the numerous articles found can best be conveyed by giving a description of the most interesting of them, and for this purpose it will be convenient to classify them under the following heads:—

1. Seals, conical and square. 2. Impressions of seals—(*a*) with inscription only (i) flat, (ii) globular; (*b*) with a *dāgoba* and inscription below; (*c*) with *stūpa* and *dāgobas* at the sides. 3. *Terra cotta* votive *dāgobas* (large and small) (*a*) flat, (*b*) elongated. 4. Iron implements such as daggers, knives, etc. 5. An ivory dagger. 6. Lamps—(*a*) in bronze and (*b*) *terra cotta*. 7. A small *terra cotta dāgoba*. 8. Perforated lids. 9. Soapstone pencils. 10. An artificial eye. 11. An inscribed stone. 12. A celt. 13. Beads. 14. Shank bangles. 15. A marble figure. 16. Mother of pearl bangles. 17. Small *panivattam* of a *liṅgam*. 18. *Terra cotta* ornaments. 19. Spindles. 20. Plaster images. 21. Touch stones. 22. Smoothing implements. 23. Brass rings. 24. A bronze face and bells. 25. *Terra cotta* figures. 26. *Terra cotta* flowers. 27. Coins—(*a*) gold, (*b*) copper, (*c*) lead. 28. Crystals. 29. Pieces of garnet. 30 Stand for burning camphor.

1. Seals.—Two of the conical seals have 5 lines of an inscription, and are circular at the bottom. One of them has a hole bored through the top, so that it can be fastened to a string. Three rectangular and four oval seals have been discovered. One of the rectangular seals is in ivory. Two of the seals, about $3\frac{3}{4}''$ high, are illustrated in Pl. LX, Figs. 5 and 10. An interesting example of these seals is $1\frac{1}{4}''$ in height with a *dāgoba* surmounted by an umbrella, two attendant figures at the sides, and three lines of writing below. Stamps of it have been found on several *terra cotta* architectural objects used on *dāgobas*.

2. *Impressions of seals in terra cotta*:—

(*a*) *With inscriptions only*—

(i) *Flat ones.*—There are 185 of these, and the letters are clearly visible in 69. The largest is $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter, and the smallest $\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. The impressed letters vary in size according to the diameter of the seal. The illustrations in Pl. LX, figs. 1, 3, 6 and 7, contain a few representative specimens illustrative of numerous such articles. Some of the sealings appear to correspond with certain of the seals. One impression is different from the others inasmuch as the characters are not in the Pali character but resemble those found at the Pallava temples of Conjevaram and the Seven Pagodas. On the top of this seal impression is a crescent, while below is a line of letters. It measures $1\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter (Pl. LX, Fig. 15). An almost similar one but in less perfect preservation is reproduced in Fig. 13 of the same plate. The letters on many of the seal impressions are much worn, and in some of them the wet clay before or during the process of stamping has been slightly bent over (Pl. LX, Fig. 1).



MISCELLANEOUS FINDS 1-26.

(ii) *Ball or globular seal impressions.*—These are 13 in number and while the largest is about the size of an ordinary playing marble the smallest is no larger than a pea.

They have from one to four lines of writing in characters similar to those on the flat ones. What the object of these ball-like seals was, can only be surmised; probably they were used for the same purpose as beads in chanting *mantras* and the writing on them probably is a *mantra.*

(*b*) *With dāgoba and inscription below* (Pl. LIX, fig. 20).—These were found in various parts of the excavations. The impression consists of a *dāgoba* with an umbrella over it and three lines of an inscription below. In the *dāgoba* is a seated image of Buddha with the right palm over the left. At the sides of the *dāgoba* are two attendants in a standing posture, probably worshipping the *dāgoba.* The original seal from which these estampages have been prepared has already been noticed under seals. There are 54 of these estampages, all of which are apparently similar. Three casts from similar or identical moulds and intended probably for being placed in small niches on the tops of pilasters have a similar estampage in the centre surrounded by ornamental work (Pl. LVIII, fig. 2). They are ¾″ long at the base.

Three *terra cottas* with similar seated figures have been found. Two of these are incomplete and are illustrated in Pl. LVIII, figs. 3 and 7. The other 3¼″ by 2″, on fig. 8 of the same plate, is in more perfect condition. In it the *dāgoba* is surmounted by seven umbrellas.

(*c*) *Stūpa with a dāgoba at the sides.*—Of this class there are seven, the largest of which is 1¼″ square (Pl. LX, fig. 4), while the others are circular and ¾″ in diameter.

3. *Terra cotta votive spiral shaped dāgobas* [Pl. LVIII, figs. 26 (*a*) and (*b*)].

(*a*) *Flat.*—There are 44 of these, which vary in diameter from ⅛″ to 1″. They are similar to those exhumed by Cunningham at Bodh-Gaya, and referred to in Part II, p. 72, of the Annual Report of the Director-General of Archæology for 1904-05.

(*b*) *Elongated spirals* (Pl. LVIII, fig. 28).—Five of these have been discovered, which vary from 1⅛″ to 2″ in height. They are of black clay. A portion of the top of the largest has been broken and the portion that remains is 2″ high.

4. *Iron implements.*—The implements found are some iron knives (Pl. LIX, figs. 6 and 7), an adze (fig. 9), a dagger (fig. 8) and nails. They vary in size from about 3″ to 4¼″. These implements are similar to those found in prehistoric sites such as Pallavaram and Perambair in the Chingleput District.

5. *An ivory dagger* (Pl. LIX, fig. 24).—This is the only one of its kind found. It is of similar form to the iron one illustrated in fig. 8 of the same plate. It is 2½″ long with a handle measuring ¾″. In the blade are two holes, which may have been used for fixing jewels. The bottom portion of the handle below the hasp is ornamented, and there are lines at the top and bottom of the blade which serve to ornament it.

6. *Lamps* (*a*) *in bronze.*—There was only one of this kind found here. It is oval spoon-shaped and is 3½″ long, but only a portion of the handle remains. There are parallel rows of elongated lines on the inner side. It is illustrated in Pl. LVII, fig. 30.

(*b*) *Terra cotta lamps* (Pl. LVII, fig. 31).—The one illustrated is similar to the bronze one described above, and is 3″ long, of thick material and without handle. The rim on the under side is raised, and is formed like the petal of a lotus. Another specimen (Pl. LVII, fig. 33) is peculiar, inasmuch as the cup for holding the oil is rectangular in shape. The major portion of it is gone. The handle is complete and is 2½″ long. One, similar to this, but of a smaller size, has also been found. A pottery lamp of ordinary circular form, which occurs in large numbers at all such Buddhist sites, is illustrated in Pl. LVII, fig. 32. There are 114 of this type, and they vary from 2½″ to 4½″ in diameter.

Two others, one of which is illustrated in Pl. LVIII, fig. 19, are circular and are formed like lamps, but it is more probable that they may have been used as umbrellas for votive *dāgobas*. They have a projecting stem in the centre of the hollow which may have been meant for a miniature umbrella post.

7. *A small terra cotta dāgoba* is illustrated in Pl. LVIII, fig. 27. It is 1¾″ high and has a moulded projection at the middle and at the base. It has a vertical hole running through it, probably for fixing an umbrella.

8. *A perforated lid* (Pl. LVIII, fig. 23).—This is in *terra-cotta* and is pierced with five holes. Two small round pieces, about 1½″ in diameter, and another about an inch square, have each a hole in their centre. They are similar to those used in making the sacred thread from cotton.

9. *Soapstone pencils.*—Six of these have been found, which vary from half an inch to an inch and a half in length with a hole for a string at one end. They are thicker than the ordinary slate pencil now in use among school-boys. The purpose of these at that early period can only be surmised.

10. *An artificial eye.*—This is the only one of its kind found here. It is half an inch in diameter. The central portion or the pupil is slightly black, while the surrounding portion is white. It has doubtless been used in a statue.

11. *An inscribed stone* (Pl. LX, fig. 12).—This stone is square in section with a slight taper towards one end, and has an inscription on two sides. It may have been the umbrella post of a small *dāgoba*. It was found among the débris around a *dāgoba* on the west side of the east hill. It is 4¾″ by 1¼″ by 1¼″. Two pieces of inscribed tablets (Pl. LX, figs. 8 and 11) are 2¼″ by 1½″ and 2″ by 1⅓″ respectively. They differ from the other *terra-cotta* objects found here in large numbers in that they have been engraved with a stylo when the clay was wet. All other objects of whatever form except one have been stamped. Fig. 14 of Pl. LX is a similar one, circular in form.

An oval estampage (Pl. LX, fig. 2) measuring 2¼″ in length has apparently been used as a token. A unique example of inscribed *terra cotta* was found among the *dāgobas* exposed near the south-west cave (Pl. LX, fig. 9). It is 9¼″ by 7″ by 3¼″ and is hollow grooved on the under side. It has four lines of an incomplete inscription in Pali characters similar to those on many of the marble sculptures at Amarâvati. The right end of the slab is broken off.

12. *A celt in black stone.*—Only the cutting portion remains. It is 1⅞″ broad at the base. Whether it belonged to this site or was brought from some other place it is difficult to say. It was found in one of the north cells.

SANKARAM BUDDHIST MONASTERY.



INSCRIBED OBJECTS 1-15.

13. *Pottery beads* (Pl. LIX, fig. 26).—(*a*) with holes. These are 44 in number and are mostly spherical or cylindrical: nine are elongated. The beads vary in diameter from a fraction of an inch to more than three-fourths of an inch. The elongated ones extend up to $1\frac{7}{8}''$ in length.

(*b*) *Beads without holes.*—These number 600. It is impossible to state for what purpose they may have been used.

14. *Shank bangles.*—Twenty pieces of these bangles were found. They are similar to those excavated at prehistoric sites in other parts of the Presidency.

15. *A marble figure* (Pl. LIX, fig. 16).—This is the only one of its kind found. Apparently it has been brought as an offering from some other place and kept as a sacred object of worship. The figure is a seated one and represents Buddha ($4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$). There are no marble sculptures as architectural adjuncts at the site.

16. *Two pieces of bangles in mother-of-pearl* (Pl. LIX, fig. 25).—They have diamond shaped ornaments. I have not found such objects in any excavations elsewhere.

17. *A small panivattam of a liṅgam.*—It is curious to find such an object in a Buddhist site, and its presence presumably shows a subsequent Hindu occupation of the buildings after the expulsion of the Buddhists. This must undoubtedly have occurred, as evidenced by tradition and the Hindu appropriation of the *dāgoba* in the main lower cave and its worship as an incarnation of Bojaṇṇa.

18. *Terra cotta ornaments.*—Two ear ornaments in *terra cotta*, resembling the modern Hindu *kammal.* Pl. LVII, fig. 38, represents one of them. They are $1\frac{3}{4}''$ and $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter.

19. *Spindle whorls.*—Two of these are $\frac{3}{4}''$ and $1\frac{1}{2}''$ high respectively. The larger (Pl. LIX, fig. 15) is similar to one found by me at Amarāvati during the similar excavations conducted in 1888. They have a hole through the centre. They are similar to wooden ones used for twisting thread.

20. *Plaster images.*—These number ten, and they are made to represent human busts, and the faces of animals such as the dog, and birds like the parrot, and eagle. Some have been so disfigured as to be scarcely distinguishable. Three are illustrated (Pl. LVIII, figs. 24 and 25, and Pl. LIX, fig. 22).

21. *Touch stones.*—There are six of these, which are apparently similar to those used by goldsmiths for testing the quality of gold or silver. They vary from $1\frac{3}{4}''$ to $1\frac{1}{4}''$, and are of a black, gray or reddish colour.

22. *Smoothing implements.*—These have apparently been used for impressing the clay before impressions were taken from seals. They number five. One found at the east terrace below the east row of *chaitya* cells is of black stone, and is illustrated in (Pl. LIX, fig. 10). It is like a *lota* in shape, and is $1\frac{3}{4}''$ long.

23. *Brass rings.*—A ring $\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter is without ornament, but a brass bangle $3''$ in diameter has line ornaments on one side.

24. *A bronze face and bells.*—Three small bells of this material are $\frac{3}{4}''$ long. The most curious feature about these bells is that on one side of them is a human face. A similar face (Pl. LIX, fig. 3) is probably the side of a bell. The figure shows the actual size.

25. *Terra cotta figures.*—Small *terra cotta* figures such as a bull (Pl. LVII, fig. 36), a ram's head (fig. 34), a female figure without head (fig. 37), a goat (fig. 35), and a female bust (Pl. LIX, fig. 21) are similar to the toys used now-a-days by children, and probably they were used as such, except the bull, which may have been an object of worship.

26. *Terra cotta flowers.*—Three spiral flowers are all about the same size, *viz.*, 2″ in diameter. They have been used as ornaments applied to walls or image niches. Six other smaller flowers are about the size of jessamine flowers. One of these is illustrated in (Pl. LIX, fig. 19). Another small object in *terra cotta* is shaped like a clove.

27. *Coins*—(*a*) *Gold.*—Only one of this metal was discovered. It is illustrated in Pl. LIX, fig. 1. It was found near the deposit of black earth on the hill-side to the north of the *chaitya.* The coin has a standing figure on one side and a seated one on the other. This coin belongs to Samudragupta, who reigned about the 4th century A. D.[1] It is 111 grains in weight.

The other objects in gold are 3 gold *tilakams* or diadems which are similar to one of the smallest found at the prehistoric site at Adichanallur in the Tinnevelly District. They are about 3″ long and have holes at the ends for tying them by strings to the forehead.

(*b*) *Copper coins.*—The copper coins are nearly 70 in number, and were found in various parts of the buildings but particularly in the ashes deposits. One coin is illustrated full size in Pl. LIX, fig. 2, which shows its obverse and reverse.[2]

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[1] The following note on this coin by Mr. Venkayya, Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, contains some interesting particulars :—

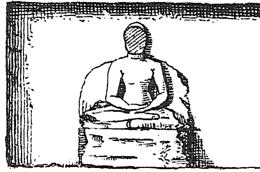
" The gold coin belongs to the Gupta dynasty of Magadha whose original capital was Pāṭaliputra, the modern Patna. This is perhaps the only coin of the dynasty found so far south in the Madras Presidency. The coin belongs to the reign of Samudragupta, who was the most powerful king of the Gupta dynasty. According to Mr. V. A. Smith (*Early History of India,* Second Edition, p. 267). Samudragupta's accession took place in A. D. 326, and he reigned until 375 A. D. Samudragupta claims to have conquered Pittapuram in the Godaverī District and to have extended his military operations as far south as Conjeevaram in the Chingleput District. The Gupta era, whose first year was equivalent to 320-1 A. D. appears to have been current in the Ganjam District in the 7th century A. D. (*Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. VI, p. 143). Consequently the influence of the Gupta dynasty may be supposed to have extended into the Vizagapatam District. Of course this single coin of the Gupta dynasty cannot prove much. It is just possible that the coin found its way by accident into the Vizagapatam District at a later period. This seems to be confirmed by the fact of the coin being worn considerably on the margin, as will be seen by a comparison of it with the specimen figures by Mr. V. A. Smith (*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.* Plate XV facing, p. 106). This coin appears to be comparatively rare, as this particular type is neither figured nor described by Mr. Smith in the Catalogue mentioned above. It seems to be a combination in one coin of the two types described by Mr. Smith as the ' archer', and the ' spearman ' types. The obverse resembles No. 8 ' archer ', on Plate XV, facing p. 106 of the same Catalogue. But the bow, which is quite clear on the latter, is partly worn on our coin, the bowstring above being seen. Besides, what remains of the legend round the margin looks like *Samarasa* . . . . and (1) which is found on the obverse of No. 6 ('spearman'). The reverse resembles that of No. 8 ('archer') but bears the legend *Parākrama* (found on the ' spearman ' type) instead of *apratiratha* (of the (' archer ' type).

[2] Mr. Venkayya has the following note on these coins :—

" These coins generally bear a lion on one side and on the other a vase or a symbol which has been taken by Professor Hultzsch for a double trident. I need not mention that the symbol occurs on some Chola coins as well as on those of Ceylon. Professor Rhys Davids calls it a weapon of some kind while Prinsep calls it 'an instrument of warfare' (*Numismata Orientalia* : *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,* p. 25). Those which bear the double trident are probably to be connected with the ' base silver ' piece figured and described by Mr. Smith (*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,* p. 312 ; No. 1 on Plate XXX, facing p. 324). The latter bears the legends *Vishamasiddhi,* and some of our coins of the ' double trident' type also bear the same legend.



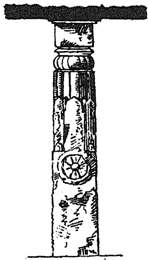
a. SOUTH PANEL.



b. PANEL FROM No. 3 CAVE.



c. WEST PANEL.



d. PILLAR FROM No. 5 CAVE.



e. WEST PANEL.



f. PILLAR FROM No. 1 CAVE.



g. EAST PANEL.



h. SOUTH PANEL FROM THE VESTIBULE OF No. 2 CAVE.



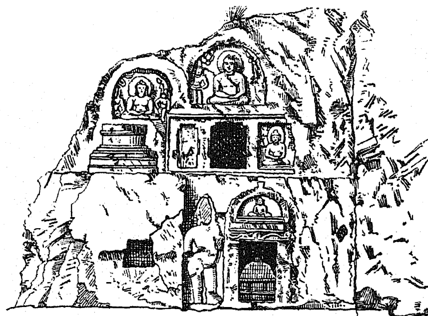
i. WEST PANEL.



j. WEST PANEL FROM No. 5 CAVE.



k. NORTH PANEL.



l. ELEVATION OF No. 1 & 2 CAVES.



m. EAST PANEL.

SCALE OF 12" 6" 0 1' 2' 3' 4' 5' 6' 7' 8 9' 10' 11 FEET.

A lead coin.—Only one lead coin was discovered. It was found at the deposit of black earth on the north-east side of the *chaitya*. One side is embossed with the image of a horse.

It may not be out of place here to mention the difference between the Śaṅkaram coins and those from Amarāvati. The coins from the latter place are almost all of lead, while those found at Śaṅkaram are all copper except two, one of gold and one of lead.

28. *Crystals.*—Six of these were unearthed from the deposit of black earth to the north of the *chaitya*. They are of semispherical form and may have been used for the same purpose as *Athiṭhyans* (Sūrya) in the household worship of the Hindus.

29. *Garnets.*—Two small garnets have evidently been used in a piece of jewellery. One is slightly larger than a pea, and the other an eighth of that size.

30. *A stand for burning camphor* (Pl. LVIII, fig. 16).—This is in *terra cotta* and is $1\frac{7}{8}''$ high.

The other articles are of larger size than those described above and they may be classed as under :—

1. Pots. 2. Chatties. 3. Vases. 4. Bowls. 5. Lids. 6. Stands. 7. Crucibles. 8. Jars. 9. Brick ornaments. 10. *Terra cotta* umbrellas for votive *dāgobas*. 11. Umbrellas for monolithic *dāgobas*. (*a*) stone. (*b*) *Terra cotta*. 12. *Terra cotta* pillars. (*a*) Capitals. (*b*) Bases. 13. Spouts of pots. 14. Hones. 15. Grinding stones. 16. Rollers. 17. Hammer stones. 18. Stone posts for the *ti* of the *dāgobas*. 19. Stone relic caskets. 20. A stone image. 21. Polishing stones. 22. Iron torch lamp.

1. *Pots.*—The pots from this monastery are not in any way peculiar to this site, but resemble in some respects the pottery found in various prehistoric sites such as Adichanallur in the Tinnevelly District, and Perambair and Pallavaram in the Chingleput District. Specimens of their forms are illustrated in Pl. LVI, figs. 1 to 5. They number in all 25, and are in various states of preservation. Of these 6 have spouts on one side. They vary in size from $1\frac{5}{8}''$ to $8''$ in height, and in diameter from $2\frac{3}{8}''$ to $10\frac{1}{2}''$. The spouts are generally plain, but some are variously ornamented. One with a floral ornament at its base is shown in Pl. LVI, fig. 1. Fig. 5 shows a pot which has simply been moulded with the hand, and never put in the potter's wheel. It is $2\frac{1}{2}''$ high and $4''$ diameter.

2. *Chatties.*—These vary in size from $2\frac{1}{2}''$ to $9''$ in diameter, and number 3 in all. One is illustrated in Pl. LVI, fig. 8.

Vishamasiddhi was the surname of the first Eastern Chalukya king Vishṇuvardhana, who according to Dr. Fleet reigned from A.D. 615-33 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 95).

As regards the 'vase' type to which most of the coins now sent to me for examination, belong, Sir Walter Elliot figures two specimens (Nos. 49 and 50 on Plate II of his *Coins of Southern India*), and attributes them to the Pallava (p. 152 B of the same volume). If these copper coins are to be attributed to the Pallavas, it may be that Vishṇuvardhana adopted with some alteration the Pallava coinage after he took possession of their dominions. He must have substituted the "double trident" for the 'vase' of the Pallava coinage. It is worthy of note that the lion was the crest of a family of kings whose dominions lay in the modern Godaveri District (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 194, and No. 3 on plate facing page 244 of the same volume).

I have not been able to identify one of the copper coins (II. S. 30). It bears on the obverse a lion and a vase (?) on the other side. There is a short legend in ancient characters belonging to the 4th or 5th century A.D I have tentatively read the legend as *Śrikaṁsa*. But I do not know of any king who bore that name.

3. *Pottery vases.*—These are 15 in number and vary in height from $4\frac{1}{2}''$ to $7\frac{1}{2}''$. Some of these are complete with stands, but in others the base has gone. A few are illustrated in Pl. LVI, figs. 10 and 13 to 17.

4. *Bowls.*—There are 24 of these, which vary from $1\frac{3}{4}''$ to $3''$ in height and from $6''$ to $7\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. They have no peculiarity about them except the one represented in Pl. LVII, fig. 1, which has two rows of eight holes around it and 4 legs, which are also perforated. There is also a hole in the bottom. It may have been used either as a strainer for rice or for the burning of incense. It is $4\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter and $2''$ in height.

5. *Lids.*—There are eleven of them, and they are mostly complete. They have been used for covering pottery vessels, and are similar to those in common use at the present day. No complete pots for which they might have been used have been found, but numerous portions of the rims of certain pots have been. The lids vary in diameter from $6\frac{1}{4}''$ to $7''$. Two are illustrated in Pl. LVI, figs. 6 and 7, and Pl. LIX, figs. 17 and 18.

6. *Stands.*—There are six of these. Illustrations are given in Pl. LVI, figs. 11, 12 and 19. They vary in size from $4\frac{1}{4}''$ to $5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pl. LVI, fig. 12, has a hole through the centre, which probably suggests that it was used for incense in worship. Three smaller ones vary in height from $2\frac{1}{2}''$ to $3''$ with a diameter from $3''$ to $3\frac{1}{2}''$. These have been stands for the support of globular vessels in pottery.

7. *Crucibles.*—There are eight of these vessels. One is complete, but the others are more or less broken. The one illustrated in Plate LVI, fig. 9, represents about three-fourths of the crucible. They vary in height from $1\frac{1}{4}''$ to $4\frac{1}{2}''$, and are composed of a thinner layer of fine pottery and a thicker one of coarse material outside it. The crucibles are about $\frac{5}{8}''$ thick, and may probably have been used for baking the clay seals and tablets.

8. *Jars.*—Two mouths of jars are illustrated in Pl. LVI, figs. 18 and 21, which are respectively $5\frac{1}{2}''$ and $7\frac{1}{2}''$ high.

9. *Terra cotta architectural ornaments.*—It has been mentioned previously that the majority of the monolithic *dāgobas* were covered with plaster, but a few seem to have been covered with ornamental *terra cotta*, probably at a late period. Several specimens were unearthed, chiefly at the *dāgobas* on the north-west slope of the east hill. Pl. LVIII, fig. 1, is a fair specimen of one of them. It is a portion of the circular plinth of a *dāgoba*, 8″ high, with a figure of Buddha seated within a *dāgoba* sur-
mounted by five umbrellas. This panel is similar to the small *terra cotta* estampages
described above. Fig. 2 is a portion of another panel representing a figure seated
within a *dāgoba*. A fragment with the umbrella of the *dāgoba* of a similar panel was
found near the *dāgobas* which adjoin the south-west cave. It is illustrated in fig. 7 of
the same plate. Fig. 8 is a complete one of rectangular shape which was doubtless
also an architectural ornament. Two pedestals for images are $4\frac{3}{4}''$ by $3\frac{3}{4}''$ and $9''$ by
$14\frac{1}{2}''$ illustrated in figs. 5 and 20. Fig. 20 is only a fragment, and is stamped with a
line of ring ornaments, while fig. 5 has a hole at the top for fixing the image, and
another hollow at the sides. Fig. 4 is another *terra cotta* ornament which has prob-
ably surmounted a pilaster. Six moulded pieces of *terra cotta* which form the com-
ponent parts of a cylindrical pillar with base and capital deserve special notice. Two

PLATE LXII.

SANKARAM BUDDHIST MONASTERY.

a. PLAN OF No. 2 CAVE.

b. SECTION OF No. 3 CAVE ON LINE E. F.

c. PLAN OF No. 3 CAVE.

d. PLAN OF No. 4 & 5 CAVES.

e. SECTION OF No. 5 CAVE ON LINE I. J.

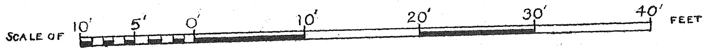
f. SECTION OF No. 6 CAVE ON LINE K. L.

g. LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF No. 1 & 2 CAVES ON LINES A B. & C D.

h. PLAN OF No. 6 CAVE.

i. SECTION OF No. 4 CAVE ON LINE G. H.

j. PLAN OF No. 1 CAVE.



CAVES ON THE EAST HILL.

of these are illustrated in figs. 10 and 15. They have a hole through the centre and when fitted together form a complete pillar. A rod or a piece of wood has probably been passed through them to keep them in position. Fig. 13 is a *terra cotta* railing slab for a *dāgoba* and is 6″ by $3\frac{1}{2}$″. It has a line of five *dāgobas* and was found near the stone *dāgobas* in front of the south-west cave. Other pieces with two *dāgobas* moulded on them were found near the same place. Besides these, bricks used as coping stones or for the caps of pilasters have been obtained in some number. Illustrations of them are given in figs. 6 and 14. Fig. 6 is a brick with a roll moulded projection on its side, while fig. 14 is either the base or the capital of a pillar. There are altogether 11 of these, but only 5 of them are complete. They vary in height from 7″ to 10″. One of these bricks has an incised mark, made while the clay was yet moist, resembling a stand with two flowers at its side.

Along with these *terra cotta* ornaments may also be classed the ornaments on the rims of large pottery vessels. The varieties of these are numerous, but none are complete. Some have thumb impressions, while others have carved inscribed floral or projecting ornaments of various crude designs. A few are illustrated in Pl. LVI, figs. 22 to 32. Altogether there are 118 of these fragments, which must have belonged to pots of from two to three feet in diameter. A portion of a vessel with the figure of an elephant and stamped perforations on the top is illustrated in Pl. LVIII, fig. 18, while fig. 17 is the top of a *kalaśa* in *terra cotta* 6″ high. A similar one is illustrated in Pl. LVII, fig. 5. It is hollow and is 7″ high. Pl. LVII, fig. 3, is also a similar incomplete *kalaśa* slightly ornamented. It is $4\frac{3}{8}$″ high. Pl. LVIII, fig. 22, is the handle of a lamp or a platter and formed like a crocodile's face, $8\frac{1}{4}$″ long. There are five other handles of an ordinary type which have probably belonged to vessels used in the offerings of *pūjā*. Pl. LVII, fig. 4, is a two-handled lamp that has been affixed to the side of a vessel, while fig. 29 is a leaf ornament on the rim of an urn.

10. *Umbrellas for votive dāgobas.*—These are all in *terra cotta* and were found in very large numbers in the deposits of ashes. A few typical specimens are illustrated in Pl. LVII, figs. 6 to 12. Figs. 6 and 7 are ornamented and are $5\frac{1}{4}$″ and $4\frac{1}{2}$″ high respectively. The others are 646 in number. They vary from 3″ to $7\frac{1}{2}$″ in height. Pl. LVII, fig. 11, is a specimen in thin polished pottery. Pl. LVII, fig. 28, is a similar umbrella also in *terra cotta*, $2\frac{1}{4}$″ high. At the top is a cavity 1″ in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$″ deep in which is a small projection. A groove is formed around the rim while others are on the underside. The post is octagonal in form. Fig. 27 of the same plate is a similar object, but in this case it appears to be the pedestal for an image of which the foot still remains.

11. *Umbrellas for monolithic dāgobas.*—(*a*) *Stone.* An almost complete stone umbrella was found in a rectangular cavity in front of a rock *dāgoba* near the cave on the south-west side of the east hill. It has been broken and a portion of it is missing. It is a foot in radius, with a raised rim around, and a projection appears in the centre which forms a socket for fitting on to the post. A portion of another umbrella was discovered near the vertical rock wall on the north of the west hill.

(*b*) *Terra cotta.*—One specimen was unearthed near a rock *dāgoba* on the west of the east hill. It is interesting as showing in connection with other *terra cotta*

objects found, that some of the *dāgobas* either structural or monolithic were encased in this material. It has a radius of 10″ and a socket and rim similar to the one in stone above described. It is nearly complete though broken into two. Between the socket and the rim on the underside are four small knobs, which may have been used for the affixing of a plaster coating (Pl. LIX, fig. 23).

12. *Terra cotta pillars.* (*a*) *Capitals.*—Two capitals were discovered. They are illustrated in Pl. LVIII, figs. 9 and 12. Fig. 9 is 6¾″, while fig. 12 is 8″ high. Another, similar to fig. 12, is 5¼″ high and is broken. These were found in the débris between the *stūpa* and the *chaitya* on the east hill.

(*b*) *Bases.*—One shown in Pl. LVIII, fig. 11, was found near the rubble retaining wall on the north side of the *chaitya*. It is 13″ high, is hollow and variously moulded on the exterior. Three smaller ones were recovered from the deposit of black earth to the north of the *chaitya*. They vary from 7″ to 8¼″ in length and have a diameter at the top of nearly 2″. Two of these are illustrated in Pl. LVI, fig. 20, and Pl. LVIII, fig. 21.

13. *Spouts of pots.*—Numerous forms of spouts have been discovered, the most typical of which are illustrated in Pl. LVII, figs. 13 to 26. In some, the end is pointed, while in others it is blunt (figs. 17 and 26). On fig. 25 there is the face of a lion, while fig. 18 has a knob at the end. The spouts number 734 in all, and vary from 1¾″ to 4½″ in length. They have been affixed to large pottery vessels.

14. *Hones.*—Two of these have been discovered, and are illustrated in Pl. LIX, figs. 13 and 14. The hollow grooves, left by the rubbing of the chisels, show the various sizes of the implements thus sharpened. These grooves are on two sides of fig. 14 and on three sides of fig. 13. They are about 4½″ long, and were found in the deposit of black earth to the north of the *chaitya*.

15. *Grinding stones.*—There are six of these, of which three are complete. One discovered in the débris on the *chaitya* mound is illustrated in Pl. LIX, fig. 4. It is 15″ by 7½″ and is the largest of all. The smallest is 6″ by 3½″ and has four legs.

16. *Rollers.*—A roller is illustrated in Plate LIX, fig. 4, placed on a grinding stone. There are two others, one of which is broken. They vary from 4¾″ to 11″ in length.

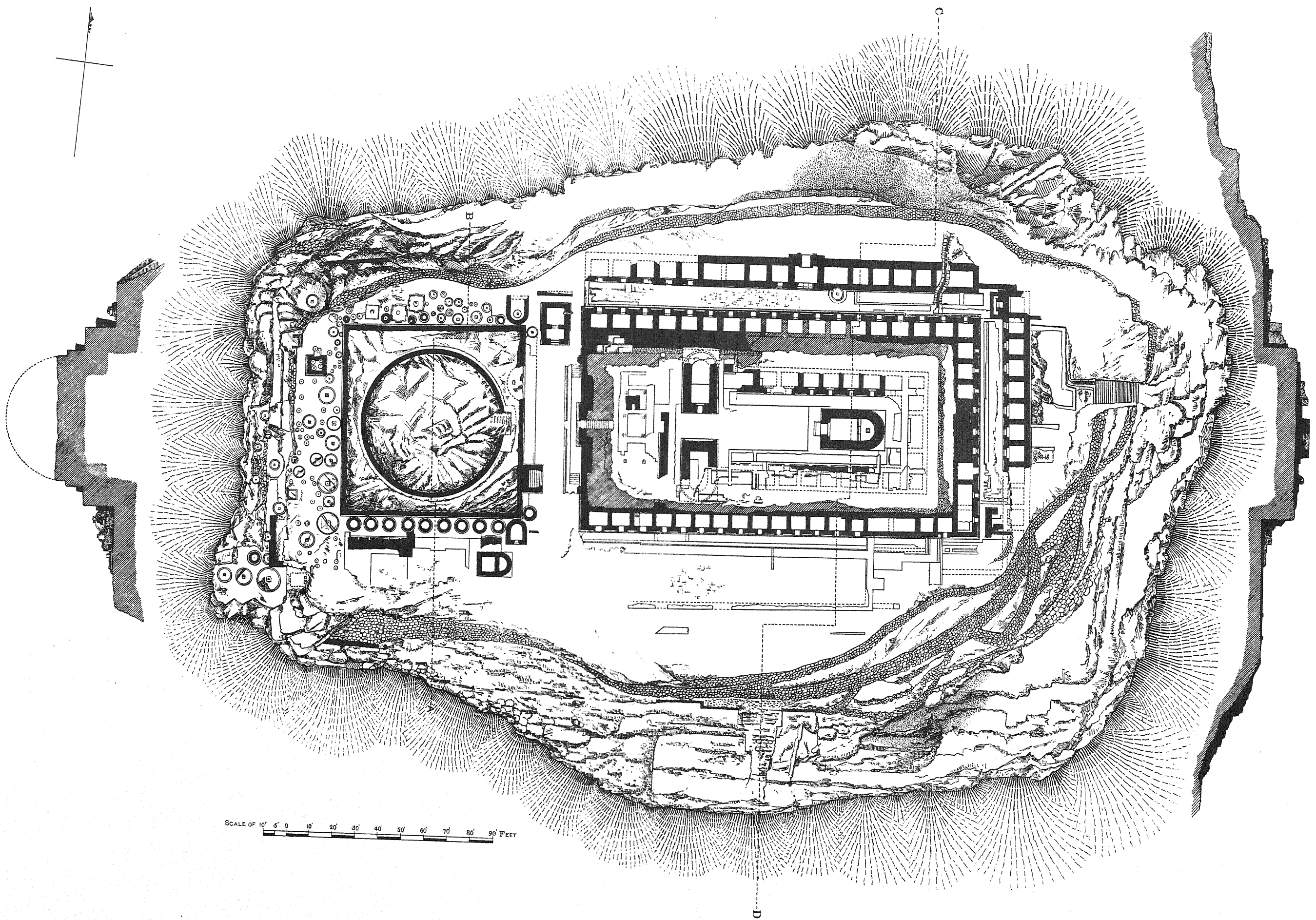
17. *Hammer stones.*—Two hammer stones from the deposit of black earth to the north of the *chaitya* are illustrated in Plate LIX, figs. 11 and 12. They are 4¾″ and 5½″ high respectively.

18. *Stone posts for the ti of dāgobas.*—There are eight of these. They lay underground near *dāgobas* in front of the cave on the south-west side of the east hill. They are circular and octagonal in section, varying in length from 6⅜″ to 13″, but originally longer.

19. *Two stone relic caskets* were found in the 2nd and 3rd brick *dāgobas* on the south of the rock-cut *stūpa* on the east hill. One is 6″ high and 6″ broad, while the larger one is 10″ by 8″. The smaller one is illustrated in Plate LIX, fig. 5.

20. *A stone image.*—A panel with only the hands and body of a seated figure was discovered near the vertical rock wall on the north of the west hill. It measures 11″ by 7½″.

SANKARAM BUDDHIST MONASTERY.



PLAN OF STRUCTURES AND MONOLITHS.

21. *Polishing stones.*—Thirty-nine stone implements of this description are among the finds which have been obtained in various parts of the ashes deposits. They vary from $1\frac{1}{2}''$ to $4\frac{1}{2}''$ in length.

22. *An iron torch lamp.*—This is illustrated in text (Fig. 10), and its use has been explained in the descriptive notes. It is about a foot high, and is formed of three separate pieces.

Neighbouring Sites.

About a mile north-west of the Śaṅkaram hills is a lofty hill known as the Yedikoṇḍa. At its base is a low mound with scattered traces of bricks of large size. The site may have been a Hindu one, as an ancient image of Vishṇu lies there, and some Chalukyan copper coins of the 7th century have also been found. A local tradition mentions a connection between the Yedikoṇḍa and the Bojannakoṇḍa, which resulted in a conflict between the people of the two places and the destruction of the latter.

Haripalayam is a village standing at the base of some hills 5 miles south of Anakapalle. There is a low mound with traces of early brick-work. On the hill side are a few plain rock-cut cells of small size which are said to have been the residence of ascetics. Whether these caves are Buddhist or Hindu it is impossible to say.

About 2 miles north of Śaṅkaram is the village of Māruṭūru, standing at the base of the lofty rocky range of hills which here bounds the plains of rice fields on the north. There are numerous masses of rock admirably suited for caves or detached monoliths, and seeing how common these are at the comparatively adjacent Śaṅkaram hills, it might have been expected that remains of the same kind would be found here also. But apparently there are none, and the reason is that the summits of detached or isolated hills were oftentimes preferred for early temples in this district whether by the Buddhists or Hindus. Many such conical hills stand detached from adjoining higher mountainous ranges of the Eastern Ghats, and on these, numbers of late temples, which may have replaced others of an earlier date, can still be seen in various places in this district, their position rendering them visible for long distances on all sides. They are generally brightly whitewashed, and when distantly viewed they appear as small white specks crowning the black rocky hills.

Among other examples of this class, mention may be made of one on the summit of a hill named the *Paṇḍavalamiṭṭa* (or Hill of the Pāṇḍavas) at Gopalapatnam in the south of the Vizagapatam District. It is a small building of no great age, but it is said to stand on the site of an older shrine, and this contention is borne out by some ancient Hindu sculptures grouped around. Adjoining it on the summit are several natural and plain rock-cut caves, cells and tanks which may have been the abode of early hermits, either Buddhist or Hindu. To these caves is attached the well-known legend of Rāma and Sītā. A rock-cut tank is connected with Sītā, and the water is believed still to contain miraculous properties.

The crowning monoliths and structures at the Śaṅkaram hills are prominent for miles around, and they must have been much more so in their early days when everything structural or monolithic, whether grouped in large masses on the summits, or standing as detached examples on the hill sides, was covered with stucco.

The part of the hilly range near Māruṭūru is known as Siṁhāchalla Appadu Vaddi. On the summit of a lofty rounded peak of solid rock are three hollows in the stone, and situated in a straight line a few feet distant from each other. These are believed to be the heel marks of the god Siṁhāchalla Appadu now at the temple of Sri Siṁhāchallam near Vizagapatam. This temple is said to have been built by Laṅgula Gajapati of Orissa, who founded the sun temple at Konarak in Orissa (A. D. 1237—1282).[1] The local tradition is that the god intended to settle on the Bojaṇṇa hill at Śaṅkaram, but was refused permission by the local god to do so, or to remain anywhere near. On his departing in search of another site for his temple, he halted to drink from a perennial spring which flows from the Māruṭūru rock. It was then that the foot marks were formed, and some other parallel grooves on the rock are said to be the marks of his chariot wheels.

That the tradition has some foundation in fact is shown by the existence of a Buddhist *stūpa* which has been recently discovered on the hills 3 miles north-east of Siṁhāchallam.

The tradition may possibly have a reference to an attempt at the expulsion of the Buddhists by the Hindus who subsequently appropriated the site. The *stūpa* being unsuited to their religious rites, may then have been dismantled, and possibly the *chaitya* also, though it would have been easy to utilise it for Hindu worship as has been done with the *chaitya* at Chēzarla in the Guntur District. It has been found possible to transform Buddhist *dāgobas* into Hindu *liṅgams*, as with a *dāgoba* in a cave at Guṇṭupalle near Ellore in the Kistna District. Similarly the *dāgobas* on the Saṅkaram hills are recognised as *liṅgams*, though only one of them, the *dāgoba* in the principal cave, receives any form of attention, and that not as a matter of regular daily occurrence, but only on the festival of the *Poṅgal* held annually in the Telugu month of *Pushyam* or about the middle of January. The ceremonies enacted then appear, as I have already intimated above, to celebrate what was originally an act of desecration.

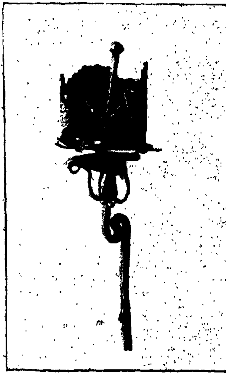
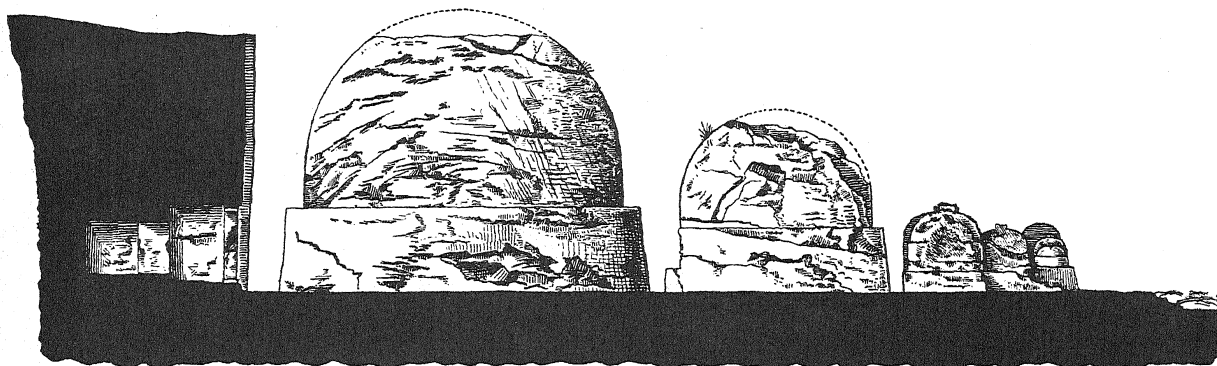


Fig. 10.

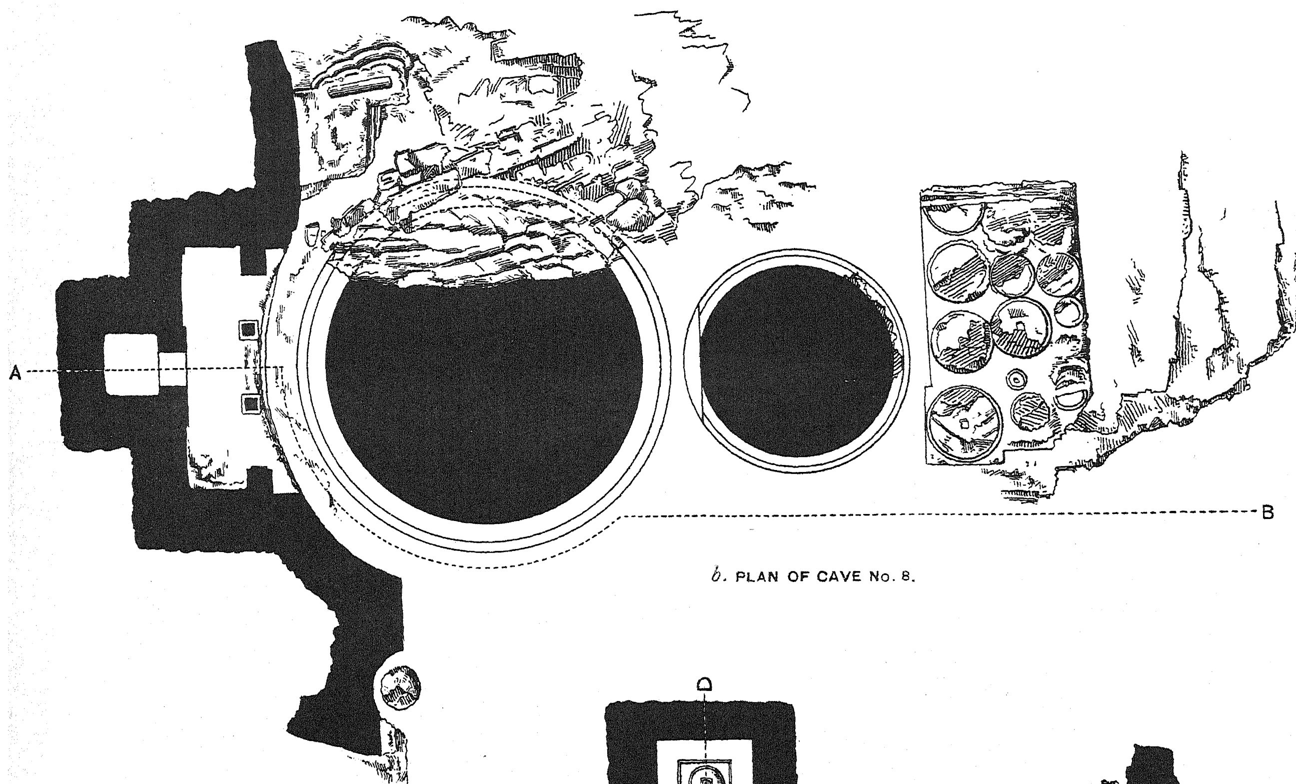
On this occasion, the village cattle are driven up the hill into the main cave, and preceded by lighted lamps go three times round the *dāgoba*. Two of the iron lamps used on such occasions were found on the site. (Fig. 10.)

A. REA.

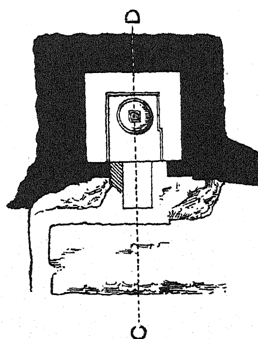
[1] (Sewell *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 16).



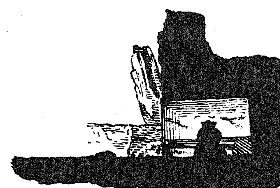
a. SECTIONAL ELEVATION OF CAVE No. 8 ON LINE A.B.



b. PLAN OF CAVE No. 8.



c. PLAN OF CAVE No. 7.



d. SECTION OF CAVE No. 7 ON LINE C.D.

SCALE OF 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 FEET

CAVES AND MONOLITHS ON THE WEST HILL.

EXCAVATIONS AT RĀMPURVĀ.

THE excavations at Rāmpurvā were started on the 10th November, 1907, and lasted for 59 days continuously. Throughout this period I had the valuable co-operation of Mr. H. P. Ghosal, Executive Engineer, whose services were kindly borrowed by the Director-General of Archæology from the Government of Bengal, and my warmest acknowledgments are due to him for his expert advice in matters requiring engineering skill. Some difficulty was at first experienced in procuring sufficient labourers, owing chiefly to the bad climate of the place. The average number of coolies employed each day was about 50, and the total cost of the work including the pay of a draftsman-photographer and a fitter to work a hand-pump for draining the trenches, amounted to Rs. 1,193-12-5. A considerable sum was saved by the kind loan of a double hand-pump by Mr. A. W. Wakeham, Resident Engineer, Narkaṭiāganj, B. & N.-W. Ry., to whom and Mr. L. F. Souter, Assistant Engineer, Bhiknathoree Railway, I am deeply indebted for the generous assistance accorded to me.

Rāmpurvā is a tiny village in the district of Champaran, containing some two dozen huts and about a hundred inhabitants, mostly agriculturists or fishermen. The village is divided into two small *ṭōlās* by a few cultivated fields, and is so obscure a place that it is scarcely known beyond a few miles from it. It is on this account that the ancient pillars to be described below are generally known in the neighbourhood as the pillars of Pipariā, a somewhat larger village inhabited by Musāhars and Thārūs, about half a mile south of Rāmpurvā, although the lands surrounding the pillars fall within the boundaries of the Rāmpurvā villageship.

The existence of two important pillars at Rāmpurvā might lead one to assume that, at the time they were erected, the place was occupied by a flourishing town, but the total absence of any vestiges of buildings in the area explored in the past winter strongly militates against any such assumption. That the northern pillar was set up by Aśōka in the 26th year after his coronation (corresponding to about 243 B. C.) is evident from the edicts incised on it. The date of the other column cannot be so precisely fixed, but it will be seen below that it is of the Mauryan style also, though perhaps a little later than the northern one. The columns do not appear to be alluded to by any of the three Chinese pilgrims, possibly because they had seen

similar inscribed pillars elsewhere in the country, or, because the hardships of the road prevented their visiting them. Nor have we any record of their existence, until they were discovered by Mr. Carlleyle in 1877.

Mr. Carlleyle found the northern pillar buried in a morass, with some three feet only protruding above the surface. The southern column was standing to a height of some 6′ above the ground. Its upper portion, including most of the shaft and the capital, was missing. Mr. Carlleyle did not search for them, but exposed the upper 40′ of the northern pillar carrying the trench around it to a depth of more than 8′. At this point his work was stopped by the percolation of water.[1]

A year or two later, Mr. Garrick was deputed by General Cunningham to procure a photograph of the capital which crowned the northern pillar, and this he proceeded to disconnect from the shaft and remove to a distance of about 37′ away.[2] The task would seem to have been a somewhat difficult one, if we may judge by the innumerable small chips, etc., and it is much to be deplored that it was ever undertaken. Mr. Garrick also did some digging around the columns and drove shallow pits into the centres of the two mounds situated near the southern pillar, but they yielded no antiquities of any interest. No attempt was made either by Mr. Garrick or Mr. Carlleyle to rescue the pillars from the morass which had overwhelmed them, and it was not until several appeals had been made by Dr. Theo. Bloch[3] to the Government of Bengal that any steps were taken towards their preservation. The estimate then framed amounted to Rs. 9,000.[4] This estimate was considered too heavy, and misgivings had also arisen in the meantime about the identity of the remains at Rāmpurvā as parts of one pillar or two distinct ones. Mr. A. H. Longhurst, who inspected the site in the winter of 1906-7 in order to settle the above questions, submitted his report to the Government in April, 1907. He rightly concluded that portions of two separate columns existed and suggested that if his conclusions were proved to be correct by a thorough examination of the pillars, they might be re-erected on a suitable spot close by. The Director General accordingly made arrangements for the excavation of the site and deputed me to conduct the work.

Excavations of 1907-8.

The Northern Pillar.

Most of the time, labour and money were taken up by the excavation of the northern pillar, which is lying in a pit inclined at an angle of about 18°. The first step was to sink a trench, round about the column, sufficiently large to cover the entire length of the pillar and wide enough to provide space for the slips, which were sure to occur on account of the abundance of water and sand with which the soil is permeated. Up to the depth of 7 feet the digging was quite easy, for we were digging through layers of clay alternating at irregular intervals with sand (Pl. LXV,*b*) deposited obviously by some large river, though the only one of any dimensions now flowing past the site is the Harbora, which now seldom rises so high as to inundate

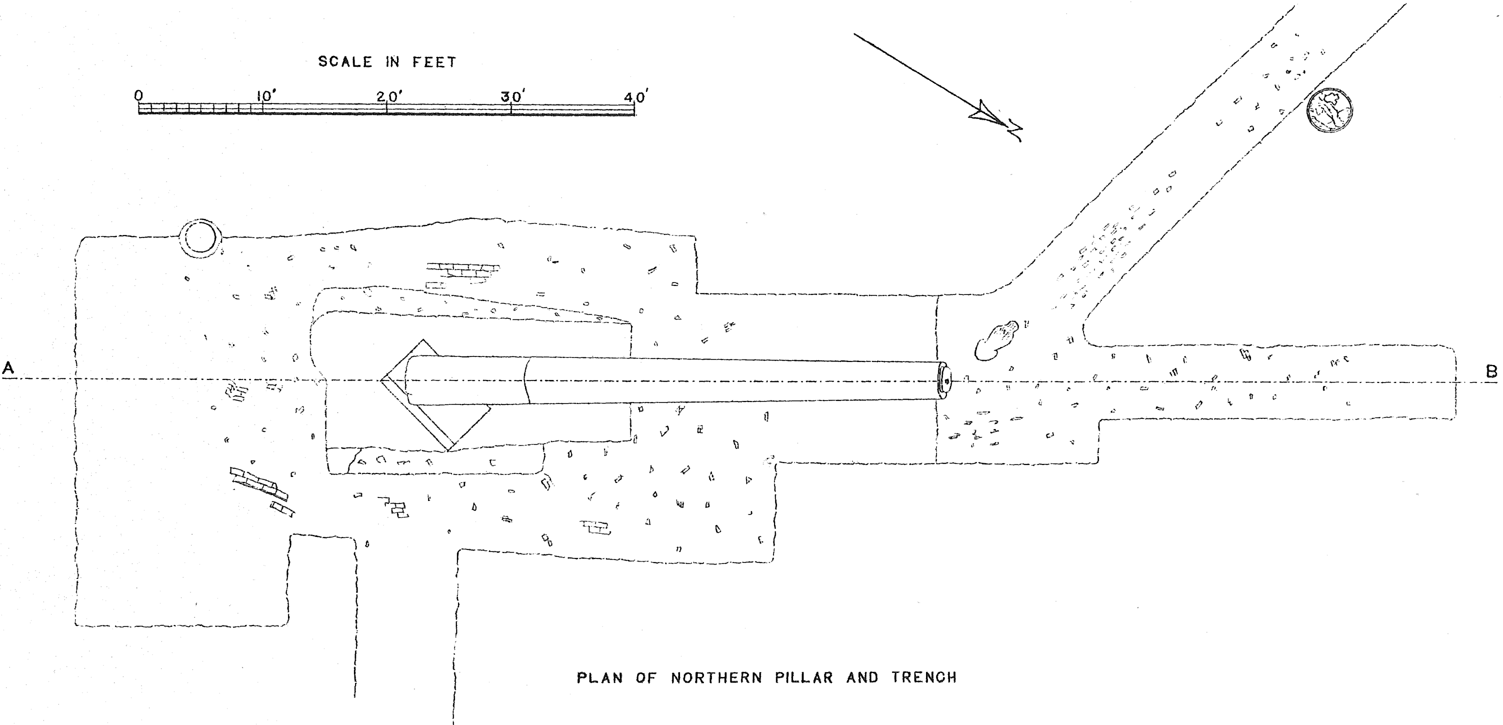
[1] *A. S. R*, Vol. XXII, p. 51 ff. [2] *Ibid.* Vol. XVI, p. 110 ff.

[3] *Annual Report*, Arch. Survey, Bengal Circle, for 1901-2, pp. 3 and 5.

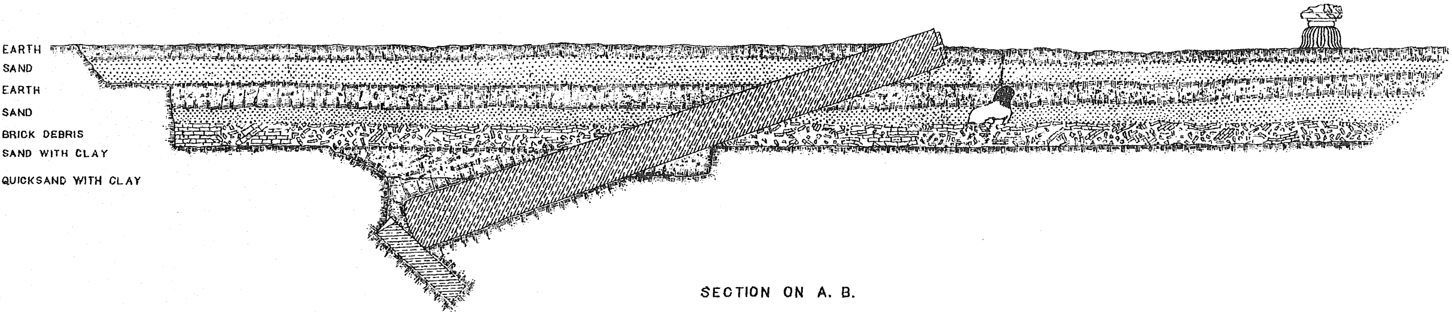
[4] *Ibid.* for 1904-5, p. 2.

PLATE LXV.

EXCAVATIONS AT RAMPURVA.



PLAN OF NORTHERN PILLAR AND TRENCH



SECTION ON A. B.

this area. It is noteworthy that no remains or antiquities of any kind came to light in these strata. At this point we came upon some brick débris extending throughout the whole length of the trench. The entire bricks measured $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$, which by the way are precisely the dimensions of bricks used in the colossal ruin of Chāndkīgaṛh near Narkaṭiāganj Railway Station. Similar débris occurred also in the trenches dug in the western portion of the area. These remains are, I have little doubt, the remnants of an extensive floor laid in Aśōka's time. This conclusion is supported by the discovery, at this level, of an ancient well, $2'$-$4\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter, composed of nine earthenware rings, $4\frac{1}{2}''$ high each, ingeniously fitted one above the other,[1] as well as some quantity of pottery found buried in the débris, and by the fact also that this level marks the dividing line between the rough and smooth portions of the Aśōka column. Further evidence, moreover, is to be found in the absence, below this level, of any indication of the ground ever having been disturbed. But to return to the account of the digging. We were now below the water-level of the locality, and water was fast percolating in. Accordingly, the work had to be restricted to the unexcavated portion of the pillar, thus reducing the trench to a rectangle of $20' \times 12'$. As, however, innumerable little springs broke out in the trench, some of the workmen had to be exclusively set apart for clearing out the water and sand which also flowed in in large quantities. This went on for several days, a little forward progress being made each day, until at the 12th foot below the ground level two large springs burst out, for coping with which no amount of manual labour would have sufficed. Attempts were made to check them in various ways, but in vain. It was at this juncture that we received the pump spoken of above from Mr. A. W. Wakeham. The machine was set up on the south-east corner of the outer trench on a stout wooden platform, constructed for the purpose on the level of the ground around, and a well was sunk under it into which to drain the water from the trench before it could be drawn out by the pump. In this way we got down to the depth of some 13 feet, but, as the digging proceeded lower down, it was found necessary to have a deeper reservoir under the pump. Neither the well, however, already in use nor two others newly excavated could be made sufficiently deep for the purpose. The only alternative left to us was adopted. The springs were hemmed around with *gani* bags filled with sand and arrangements made to bail out their water by means of earthen pitchers direct into the well under the machine. This process proved very successful. The lower end of the pillar was found buried in sandy clay at the depth of about $16'$ below the ground level, resting edgewise on a stone slab of which only one side, measuring $7'\ 9''$ from corner to corner, could be uncovered. The slab is $1'\ 9''$ thick, but since most of it has slipped deep into the soil under the pressure of the huge monolith it supports, it was not found possible to exposethe other sides of it. The stone was originally secured with stout *sāl* wood stakes at the four corners, two of which were found in a much decayed condition.

The bottom of the pillar is much damaged. About $6''$ of it is broken away at the lower edge and the fractured surface lies flat on the bed-stone. Another portion, about $20''$ long and the same in width, has come off the northern edge and

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[1] Mr. Cousens, who unearthed a similar well at Brāhmanābād-Mansūra, states that he found wells formed of earthenware rings still being made at Patan in North Gujarat. *A. S. R.*, 1903-4, p. 136.

a smaller chip has occurred at the upper edge. The pillar forms a valuable addition to the ten Aśōka pillars hitherto known, namely, two at Delhi, and one each at Allahabad, Lauriya Arārāj, Lauriya Nandangaṛh, Bakhrā, Pahlādpur, Sānchi, Sankisa and Sārnāth. Possibly it yields in point of size only to those at Bakhrā and Lauriya Arārāj, but this is by no means certain, for, though the latter are a little thicker at top, their lengths are still undetermined. The newly unearthed pillar of Rāmpurvā is 44′ 9½″ long, exclusive of the capital, which is composed of a separate block. The polished portion is just 36′ in length and the shaft is 3′ thick at the top, 3½′ at the middle point and a little over 4′ at the base. The total weight of the shaft is about 866 maunds or rather less than 31¾ tons, taking a cubic foot of sandstone to weigh two maunds.

The cap which crowned the pillar, as observed above, is lying not far from the pillar, and is described in the *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVI, p. 115. The following few details, however, which Mr. Garrick has omitted may be noticed here. The capital is of the usual bell-shaped style and in general design resembles the cap of the Nandangaṛh pillar, which, however, it far surpasses in the beauty of its carving. It stands just three feet high up to the top of the abacus, which originally formed the pedestal of a lion's figure and of which it still retains the paws.[1] The abacus, which is 6½″ high, is adorned with a row of geese, twelve in number, which start in opposite directions from below the lion's tail and meet below the fore paws.

The next object of my search in connection with this pillar was naturally the lion's figure alluded to in the preceding paragraph. Its disappearance was the subject of much speculation on the part of Mr. Garrick[2] who concluded by remarking that " they (the lion and the missing portions of the southern pillar) might have been broken into small fragments and carted away for road works, or to assist in forming *bunds* to prevent some of the numberless streams in the district from inundating the cultivated land ". Such hypotheses were of course possible, but surmises were idle while most of the site had yet to be explored. The overthrow of the pillar obviously took place at an early date, and the delicate sculpture which crowned it could not well have withstood the violent calamity which brought down the mighty column. There was every hope, therefore, of finding the figure buried somewhere in the vicinity of the column, and possibly near below the top of the shaft. This hope was speedily fulfilled. The figure was found at the depth of 7′ below the ground level on some brick débris, which has been described above as an extension of the floor which surrounded the foot of the pillar, some 4′ to the west of the top of the column (Pl. LXVI). So well preserved is it save for the loss of the upper jaw, which unfortunately could not be found, that it fits almost flawlessly on to the cap. The figure measures about 5 feet from head to tail and is exactly 3 feet high. The animal is represented *sejant*, with the mouth wide open and the tongue protruding. The attitude is most natural and the execution all that could be desired, particularly in the portrayal of the muscles. The polish which is somewhat faded on the shaft is still quite fresh and bright on the lion.

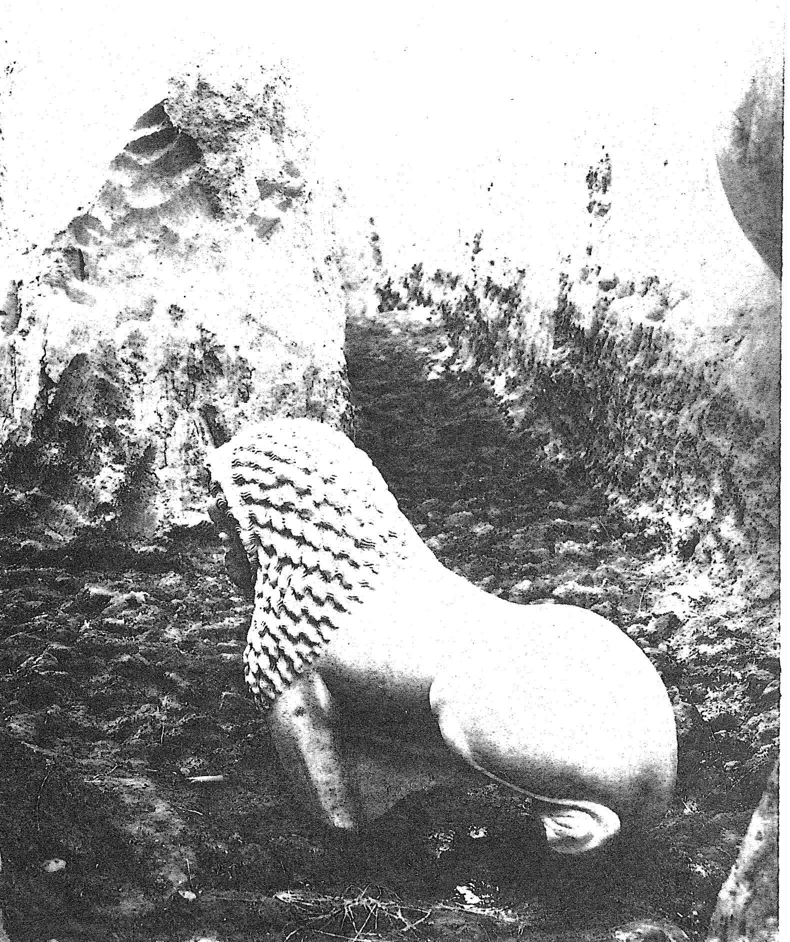
An important piece of work accomplished in the course of the excavation around

[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVI, Pl. XXVIII.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 116.



NORTHERN PILLAR, WITH LION OF CAPITAL.



STATUE OF LION FROM CAPITAL OF NORTHERN PILLAR.

this pillar, was the preparation of a complete inked estampage of the Aśōka inscription carved on it. Such an impression was needed for the revised edition of the Aśōka inscriptions now being undertaken by Professor Hultzsch, since the copy said to have been made by Mr. Carlleyle is not known to exist. The inscription begins at a depth of 22 feet 3 inches below the top, and is divided into two columns, one of which faces to the south and the other to the north. The northern portion consists of 20 lines and represents the first four of the famous Pillar Edicts issued by Aśōka in the 26th year after his consecration. The other portion, comprising $14\frac{1}{2}$ lines, contains the fifth and sixth edicts. The inscription is neatly engraved in clear and deeply cut letters and is throughout so well preserved that scarcely a vowel stroke is doubtful. A small portion of the epigraph amounting to about a third of the northern column was copied by Mr. Garrick in 1880-81 and published by Dr. Bühler, first in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Volumes 45 and 46, and afterwards in the Epigraphia Indica, Volume II, page 245. The inscription corresponds almost letter for letter with those on the Lauriya pillars, and it is probable, as Dr. Bühler conjectured, that these three versions had either been engraved according to the same manuscript or, at least, according to three manuscripts written out by the same *kārkun*. In respect of lexicography and palæography I cannot do better than repeat what has been said in an article contributed by the Director-General of Archæology to the J. R. A. S. for October, 1908.[1] "Dr. Bloch" says he, " who has examined the estampage, could find not more than eight *varietates lectionis* in the Rāmpurvā inscription, when compared with the Lauriya versions of Aśōka's six pillar edicts. In two particulars, he says, the new facsimile settles doubtful points in Bühler's transcript (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 245 ff). In line 18 in edict 4, Bühler read *kī-ti* (?) ; it is now evident that what he mistook for the second vertical stroke marking the long *ī* is merely the *anusvāra*, placed inside the angle of *i*. In the following line we may now cancel the brackets, between which Bühler placed the *o* of *yote*. There is only one palæographical point which deserves being noticed. In line 6 of edict 5 there are two curves, somewhat resembling the usual Kharoshṭhī form of *da*, placed on each side of the letter *na*, in the words *tisyaṁ puṁnamāsiyaṁ* thus : [illegible] . It is evident that these two marks must have conveyed some meaning, for they are certainly not later scribblings, but what their significance was, is not apparent ".

Southern Pillar.

The excavation around the stump, situated some 900 feet to the south of the pillar described above, was relatively easy. For though here also a great deal of water had to be pumped out, it was not necessary to go very deep below the water level, inasmuch as a brick plinth was found encircling the pillar at the level of the floor around the northern pillar, which proved at once that the stump stood *in situ* (Pl. LXVII,b). This plinth is an irregularly shaped structure, measuring $11\frac{1}{2}'$ from east to west and 9′ from north to south, built, in the southern half, of bricks of the same size as those found around the other pillar but of somewhat smaller ones in the other half. Around the plinth were found on all sides the remains of a brick

[1] Pp. 1086-87.

floor at the level of about 2′ below the top of the former. On this floor were found a number of terracotta figures. One of them (Fig. 1), which was found quite intact, possibly represents a rabbit. It is 3″ high. The modelling is of the rudest kind with no pretensions to naturalness. The trunk of the figure is hollow, and the legs and head were made separately and placed in position. The feet are not articulated. The other figure (Fig. 2) is 4″ high and represents a quadruped, presumably a horse. In company with these figures was found a baked clay incense-burner of a type which is still used in Hindu temples. Another piece of pottery found on this floor is the top of a goblet ornamented with a series of plain bands incised round neck.

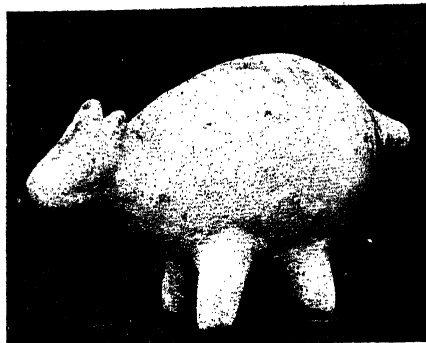


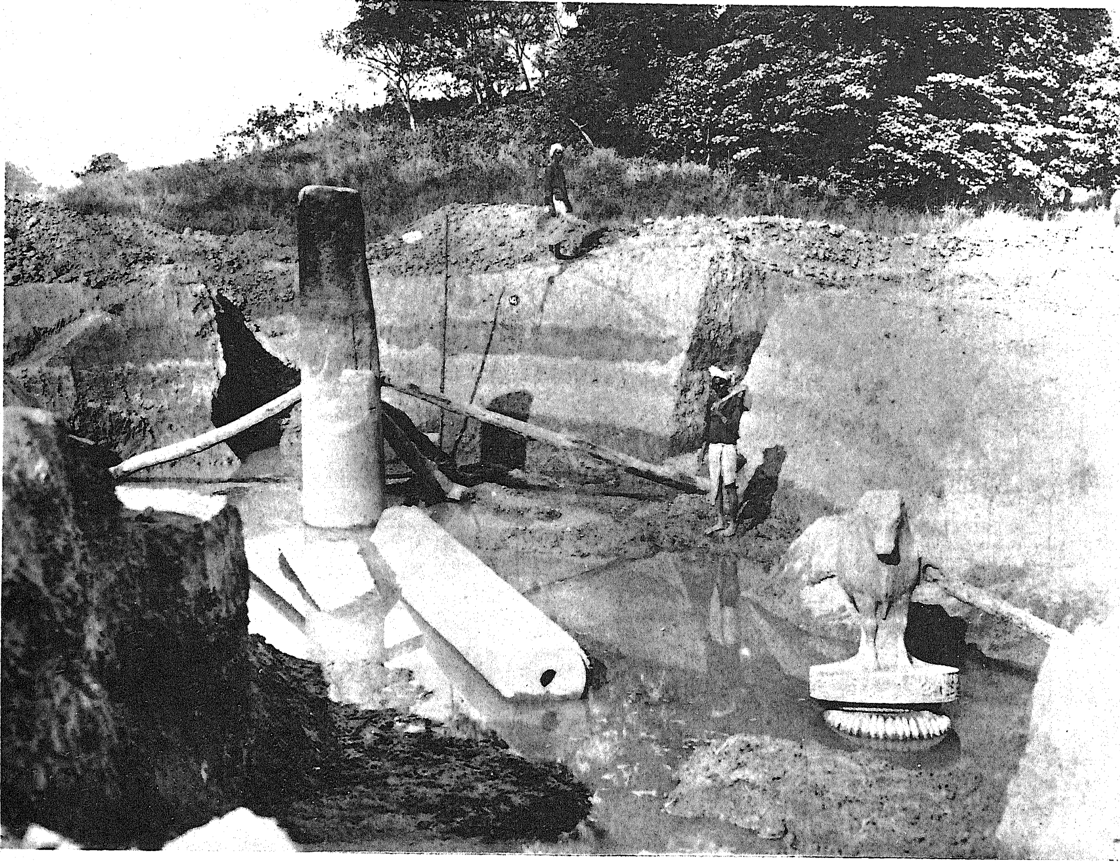
Fig. 1.



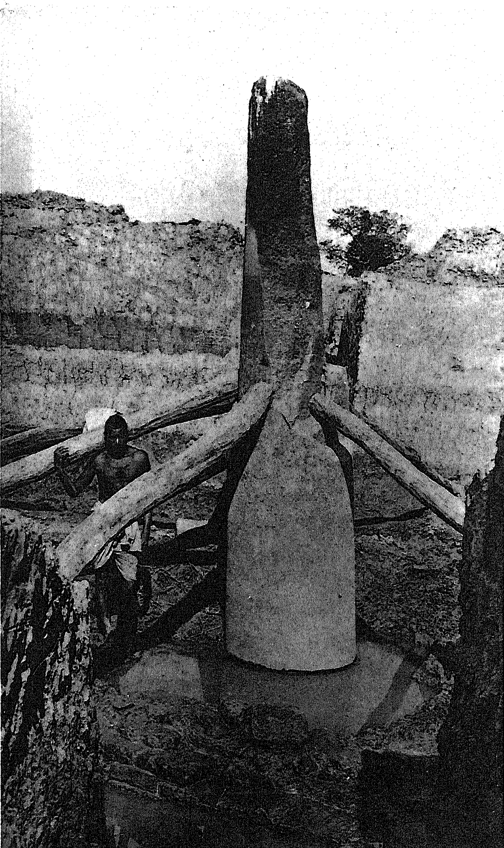
Fig. 2.

The stump measures 12½′ from its shattered top to the level of the plinth. It has, however, suffered a slight sinkage; for though the digging was continued on its south side for upwards of three feet below the plinth, the commencement of the lower rough portion could not be found. Further digging was considered inadvisable because the stump was slightly out of plumb, and though propped up on all sides with stout wooden struts, it was feared that it might give way. The missing upper portion of the shaft was found lying on the floor referred to above, three feet east of the foot of the erect portion. It is complete at the upper end, in which is sunk a socket hole, about 6″ in diameter and a foot in depth, intended to hold the bolt which carried the capital. The broken portion is 18′ 4″ long, making the total length of the shaft exposed just 34 feet, which with the nine or ten feet still under ground would give the pillar a considerable length. Close to the fallen shaft was found a fragment about 7′ long, which no doubt broke off from the lower portion of the former at the time of its overthrow.

The capital of the pillar was still wanting. A careful search made on all the remaining three sides of the stump by means of wide trenches (Pl. LXVIII) dug down to the level of the plinth around the pillar failed to supply any clue. The capital was, however, found quite unexpectedly some five feet from the eastern end of the fallen shaft while the northern side of the eastern trench, which had been undermined by water, was being removed to prevent its fall on the shaft. The same catastrophe which broke the pillar in twain also severed the cap from the former and deposited it in a somewhat tilted position where it has been found. The shock it received was a severe one since it separated from its base a large piece measuring 4′ 6″ long and more than 6″ thick. The bolt with which it was fastened on to the shaft probably still remains fitted into its lower end. An effort was made



a. EXCAVATION AROUND SOUTHERN PILLAR.

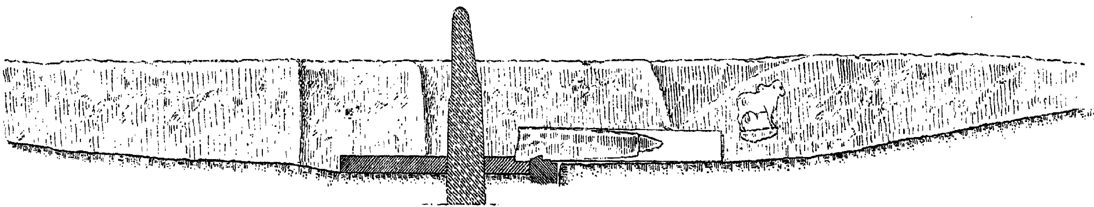


b. SOUTHERN PILLAR WITH BRICK PLATFORM AROUND IT.



c. CAPITAL OF SOUTHERN PILLAR.

SCALE 0 8' 16' 24' 32' 40 FEET



SECTION ON A.B.

A B

PLAN OF SOUTHERN PILLAR AND TRENCH.

to expose it but had to be abandoned in view of the danger of its falling over when we began to dig around it. The capital is 6′ 9″ high, of which 4′ is the height of the statue crowning it. The lower member, the bell, is shaped precisely like that of the northern pillar, but the figure that surmounts it is that of a bull (Pl. LXVII, c). I was at first inclined to ascribe the capital and consequently the whole monument to the Śaiva Cult and to a date falling in the Kushaṇa or Gupta period, but the honeysuckle ornament, very much like that occurring on the Allahabad and Sankisa pillars, which adorns its abacus, the cable ornament which forms the necking between the bell and the abacus and the polish it has undergone leave absolutely no doubt that it is a Buddhist memorial of the Mauryan period. The bull's effigy which stands on it is in no way antagonistic to Buddhist views, for though we are not aware of the existence of any other Buddhist *lāṭ*, which bears this ornament, we know that Śākya-puṅgava was as much a recognized epithet of Buddha as Śākya-siṁha, etc., and that it is one of the four noble animals sculptured on the Sārnāth capital. Statues of bulls moreover, in the round, were used in ancient times to decorate Buddhist capitals, for one of the two pillars which the Chinese pilgrims saw at the entrance of the Jētavana monastery is said to have carried the figure of an ox. So far, therefore, from being an anomaly, our statue supplies an important missing motif in Buddhist art. The lion is the crowning member of the Lauriya and other monoliths, the elephant appears on the Sankisa capital,[1] and the horse is said to have been represented on the Rummindei column.[2]

No buildings came to light besides the much dilapidated floors around the two columns. The two mounds standing on each side of the southern pillar which were hitherto supposed to contain *stūpas* or other Buddhist remains were also opened, but though potsherds, brickbats, beads and lumps of burnt ore continued to be found in them up to the level of the ground around, no structures of any description were revealed. The mounds are made up of yellowish clay like those explored by Dr. Bloch at Lauriya Nandangaṛh,[3] but they cannot be called sepulchral barrows like them, for neither of them yielded any of the objects—human bones, gold leaf or wooden posts—characteristic of such monuments; nor did I observe in them the strata of straw and leaves which alternate with those of clay in the Nandangaṛh tumuli.

Nevertheless the object of the digging has been fully realized. It has been proved, as Mr. Longhurst surmised after his inspection of Rāmpurvā, that what had previously been taken to be portions of one and the same pillar are in reality two distinct columns. The entire length of the northern column has been exposed, the base-stone being struck at the depth of some 15 feet below the present ground level. The figure of the lion which formed the upper member of the capital has also been recovered. The excavation around the southern column was equally successful. The capital of this pillar, which was found 25′ to the east of it, is crowned with a nearly full size figure of a bull which gives it a peculiar interest inasmuch as no other statue of this animal in the round has hitherto been found anywhere else in the country. It is much to be regretted that no writing was found on any portion of this column.

[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 277, and Pl. XLVI.

[2] Beal's *Bud. Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 25.

[3] Progress Report of the Eastern Circle for the year ending with April 1905, p. 11.

The question of the overthrow of the columns should not detain us long. Their destruction evidently took place at a very early date. This is especially manifest in regard to the southern pillar, for its broken shaft and capital were lying on the brick paving around the column, which, there is every reason to believe, is the earliest construction on the spot. The northern column would seem to have stood much longer in position, though here too the separation of the crowning figure from the column must be assigned approximately to the same period as the demolition of the southern column. No clue was found as to the causes of their destruction, but it may be presumed that it was brought about by an inundation.

This brings us to the proposed repairs of the columns. The restoration of the southern pillar is out of the question, for it is impossible to put together the three portions into which it is broken. Nor is the northern column sufficiently well preserved to justify its re-erection. It is badly cracked for the greater portion of its length and the stone has already begun to show signs of deterioration. Another objection to this measure would be the obvious difficulty of effectively protecting the inscription carved on it, if it were again hoisted up. A still more serious objection is the disproportionately large sum which would be required for the completion of this work. A simpler scheme is, therefore, being adopted. The capitals with their crowning figures will be removed to the Indian Museum where they will be readily accessible to all interested in the antiquities of the country. The northern pillar will be taken out of the swamp in which it is lying and placed on raised platforms on the top of the mound to the west of the southern column and a plain shed built over it to protect the inscribed portion from the effects of weather. The broken shaft of the other pillar will be also removed to the same mound.

DAYA RAM SAHNI.

THE ANCIENT TEMPLES OF AIHOḶE.

THE little village of Aihoḷe, cut off by the absence of roads from the outer world, lies nestling beneath the rugged crags of a sandstone ridge that overshadows its eastern quarter. Being well off all the principal lines of communication, it pursues its peaceful way, year in and year out, almost untouched, even by the skirts of modern civilization. During all the thirteen centuries that have passed since it was one of the principal towns of the Chalukyas, it is difficult to say which has been affected most by the hand of time, the manners and customs of its people or the massive stone monuments which their forefathers raised to its glory : I fear the last.

Aihoḷe is in the Bādāmi *tāluka* of the Bijāpur district, and, in a straight line, s some fourteen miles north-east from the Bādāmi railway station. But easier ways to get to it are from Kaṭgeri station through Guḷedguḍ, or from Bāgalkōṭ, through Kamaṭgi. Bādāmi, the earliest capital of the Western Chalukyas, after they separated from the eastern branch of the family, formed, with Aihoḷe and Paṭṭadkaḷ, between these two places, a triad of towns of very great importance in those early days, and all three have still, in more or less decay, scores of those substantial temples which were then erected to the country's gods.

An old world air still clings to the village, now little more than five hundred yards across, which is greatly enhanced by a great portion of its old primitive looking cyclopean walls that still exist with their square bastions at close intervals, and the remains of ancient stone paving in the principal streets. The great dislocation of the latter makes it now no pleasure to walk over it. Aihoḷe has been known in old inscriptions as Āryapura and Ayyāvoḷe, and is said to have been a western Chalukyan capital in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D.,[1] but it could never have been much larger than it is now, as contained within the sections of the old walls which sweep round the north and north-east and the south and south-west. Yet it has, within this circumscribed area, over thirty old temples, mostly more or less ruined and desecrated, and converted into dwellings, cowsheds, and worse usages, while around the town, and without it, are some forty more. A Brahmanical and Jaina Cave, and a number of dolmens, add to the archæological wealth hidden away, uncared for, within this crowded village or among the forests of prickly pear around it.

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, VIII, p. 237.

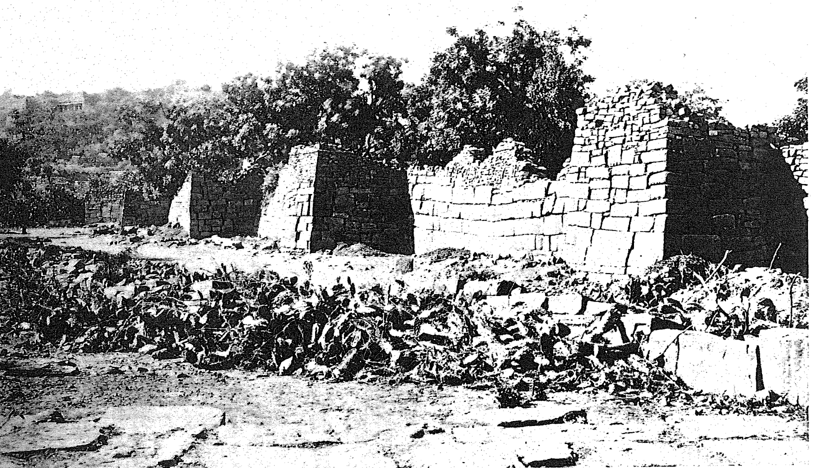
A description of some of the principal remains at Aihoḷe has been given in the first volume of the Archæological Survey of Western India Reports by Dr. Burgess, and this article is intended to supplement that account and introduce a few new points in connection with them.

As to the age of the Aihoḷe temples, we have a very good starting point in the dated inscription upon the temple of Meguti, which records its erection in A.D. 634 by a certain Ravikīrtti, during the reign of the western Chalukya King, Pulikēśi II. But, before this, about A.D. 578, the Vaishṇava Cave III, at Bādāmi, was excavated by Maṅgalēśvara, the predecessor of Pulikēśi II. The inscription upon it records that this king excavated the cave, and made a grant of land for its upkeep upon that date. Though several of the other old temples at Aihoḷe have inscriptions upon them, none are dated, but a fairly good clue to the dates of these is got from the style of character used in the script; and from this we may gather that the temples upon which they are incised cannot be of later date.

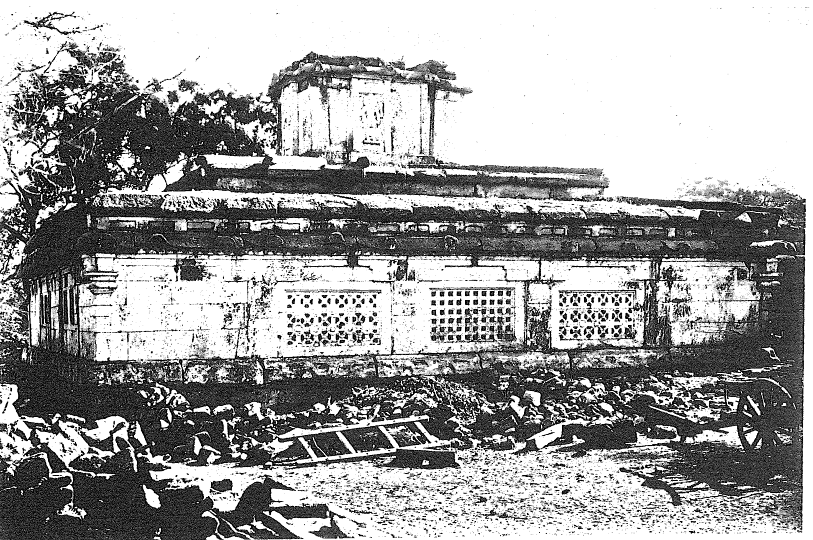
Perhaps the oldest temple at Aihoḷe is that of Lāḍ Khān. There is an inscription upon the front of this in characters of the 8th or 9th century A.D., which records the grant by a certain man to the Five Hundred, the great body of the Chaturvēdis of the excellent capital of Āryyapura.[1] The inscription, therefore, does not seem to have any connection with the temple other than that it was a convenient and permanent place upon which to inscribe it. There is no temple at Aihoḷe, nor elsewhere, that I know of, which impresses one so much with its cave-like character. Its general massiveness, the simplicity of its construction, its plan, and details have much more in common with cave architecture than with that of later mediæval temples; and with cave architecture not of the latest. It is peculiarly wooden-looking in its construction, making allowances for the more massive nature of stone work. The walls are not walls in the ordinary sense of stone masonry; they are composed of posts at intervals, joined up by screens and lattice windows. The flat roof, and want of elevation of the same, are cave-like characteristics. But, perhaps, more than anything else are the great massive square pillars, with roll bracket capitals, which proclaim a simpler and more dignified style than many of those in Cave III at Bādāmi, and are doubtless older. The curious position of the shrine, which is placed within the main hall against the back wall, has a very primitive air about it. At first sight, it might almost be said that the building, to begin with, was simply a *maṭha* or hall, in which, by an after-thought, a shrine was clumsily inserted to convert it into a temple. That this was not so, is clearly shewn by the fact that in the similar temples of the Kont Gudi group, the beam, from pillar to pillar, before the shrine, has been placed on a higher level in the original construction, in order to admit of the loftier decorated shrine doorway being seen to its full height. Lion brackets project under the raised beam, one on each side, to decorate further the entrance to the shrine. After very close exmination of these temples I am fully persuaded that these peculiar shrines are original. Moreover, there are, on the north and south sides of the temple, three perforated windows, the central one occupying the central bay of the walling and the other two the adjoining ones; but, in the back wall, which has the same arrange-

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 287.

ANCIENT TEMPLES OF AIHOLE.



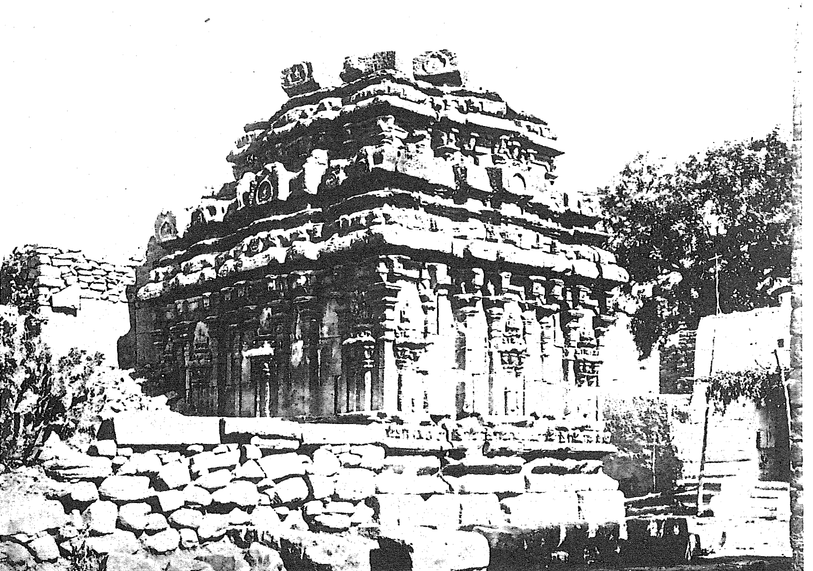
THE OLD WALLS OF THE VILLAGE.



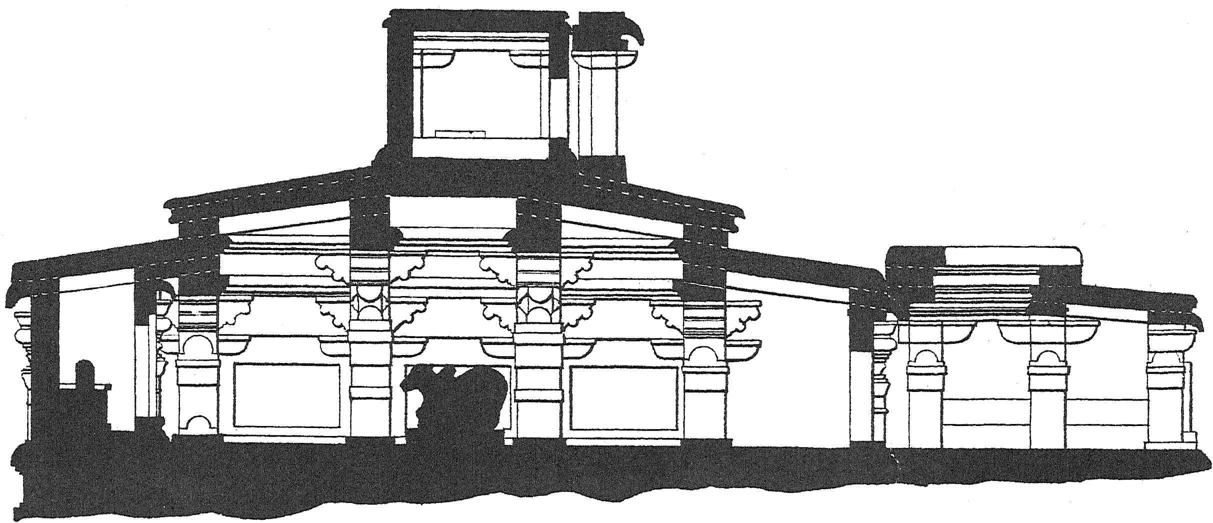
LAD KHAN'S TEMPLE.



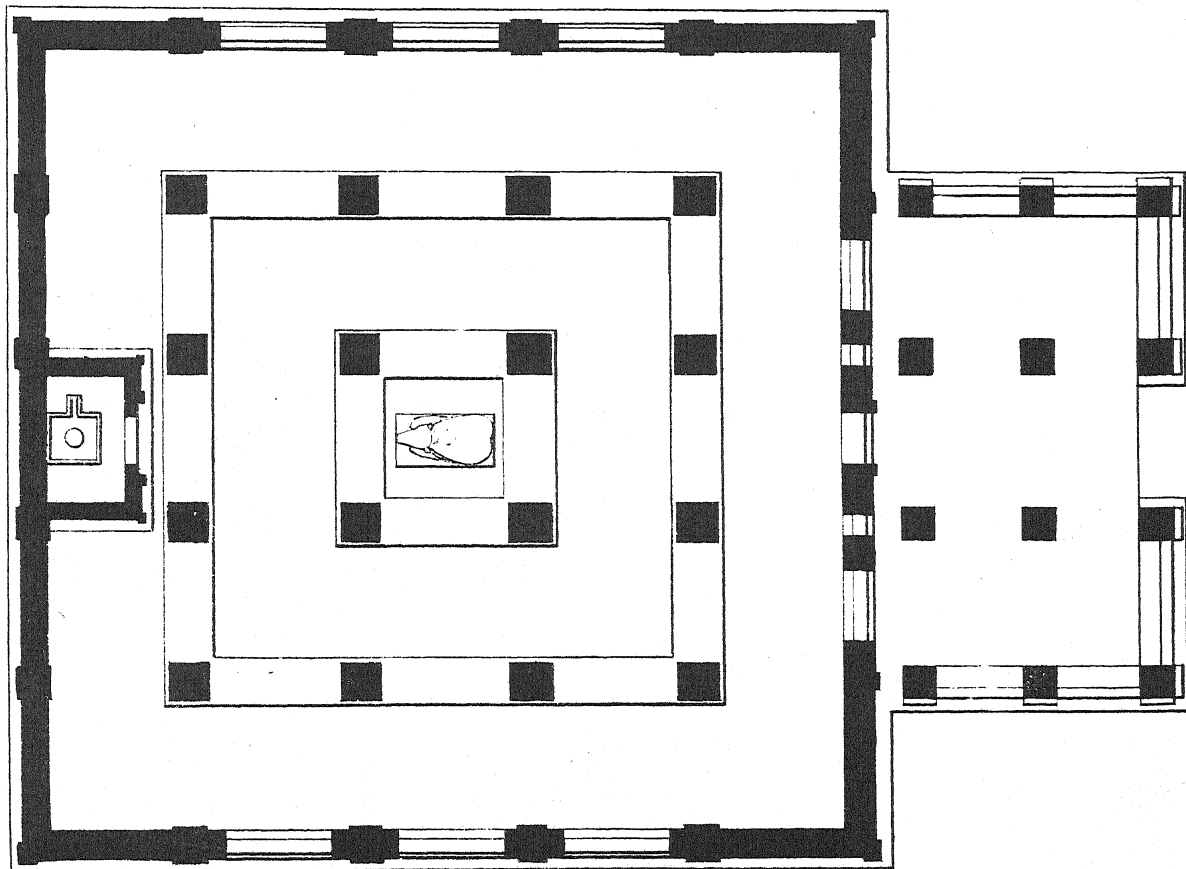
KONT-GUDI.



JAINA TEMPLE NEAR VIRUPAKSHA.



SECTION



PLAN

SCALE OF 10' 0 5' 10 20' 30' 40' 50' FEET

TEMPLE OF LAD KHAN

ment of bays between the pilasters, there are only two windows, the central bay being left blank on account of the shrine which was to occupy this position on the inside. Taking all these points together, and noting the total absence of anything like a *śikhara*, the roof having been closed over entirely with flat slabs, I feel constrained to give this building an earlier date than that of Meguti, and should consider about A.D. 450 not far out. The Cave III at Bādāmi is a distinct advance upon this in the decorative evolution of the style, and the Meguti temple a very considerable advance upon it in both plan and details.

Though the decorative details upon this temple are spare, they are vigorous and expressive. They are suited to their position, and are not so crowded and meaningless as in later buildings. The great latticed windows in the north and south sides are very chaste and effective, introduced, as they are, into otherwise severely plain walling, which greatly accentuates them. In the west, or back, and front walls, are pairs of circular windows, set in square frames, in which are radiating fish, forming, as it were, the spokes of a wheel. The same fish design is found in the ceiling of Cave II at Bādāmi. The most decorated part of the temple is the front porch, the pillars of which have life-sized images upon them in high and bold relief. On the extreme south pillar of the façade is a female figure standing upon a tortoise, intended to represent Yamunā. Probably upon the corresponding pillar at the north end will be found Gaṅgā on her Makara, but this has been obscured by the wall of an adjacent house. Between the pillars is a low parapet wall with a seat running round the inside. The outside of this wall is panelled and decorated with ornamental waterpots and a complicated knotted design. The ceilings are very plain. In the central bay of the hall ceiling is a small Nāga figure, with his tail rolled twice around him.

The pillars are, perhaps, the most characteristic feature of the temple. One is struck by their great massiveness, the shafts being in single heavy square blocks without bases from floor to bracket capital, which last is a separate piece. The central four pillar shafts, without the bracket capitals, are single stones, each 9′ 7″ by 2′ 5″ square. The roll brackets are thoroughly cave-like in character.

A remarkable feature is the absence of any tower or *śikhara*, or of any intention to have one. This, again, points to the cave prototype, where it was impossible to have one. Over the central bay of the hall ceiling and roof rises a small plain square shrine facing the east, and the roof of this shrine, again, is covered with flat slabs and does not appear to have had a *śikhara* over it. Even if it had, it would not have been over the principal shrine below, and would have had no connection with it, as it ought to have had according to the canons which directed the construction of later temples.

As to the dedication of the original temple, I think there can be no doubt. Upon the dedicatory block, over the shrine door, is Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishṇu. The doorway is flanked upon either side by a two-armed *dvārapāla* with a club. Upon the three sides of the small shrine upon the roof we find figures, two of which are but partly executed. On the north side is a female under a tree, on the south side is a four-armed Vishṇu with his *chakra*, *śaṅkha*, and *mālā*, while on the west or back is Sūrya. This last points to the probability of this small shrine having been dedicated

to him, being placed upon the roof so that the rays of the rising sun could penetrate his cell, unimpeded by the intervening houses of the village. The temple, therefore, was Vaishṇava. We know that all the early kings of the Western Chalukya dynasty were of the Vaishṇava cult, or favoured that religion, since mostly all o their grants open with an invocation to Vishṇu, and they have his boar upon their seals. Within the shrine has been placed, in later times, a *liṅga*, and before it, in the centre of the hall is a large *Nandi*.

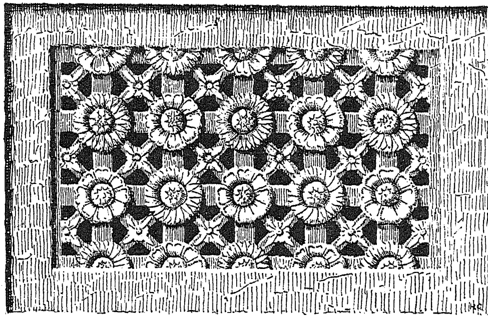
It will be seen, then, that Lāḍ Khān's temple illustrates the first step from the cave—*vihāra* to mediæval work, as the Durgā temple does the transition from the cave—*chaitya*.

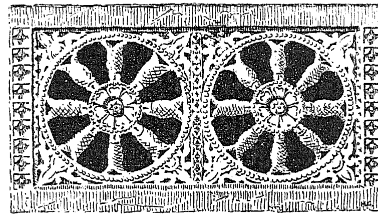
The name Lāḍ Khān, by which this temple is known, is merely the name of a Musalman, who, not long ago, occupied the building as a residence. In the same way other old deserted temples in the town are known merely by the names of the parties who have been lately living in them. They have been so long in disuse as shrines that the very names of the deities, to which they were dedicated, have been forgotten. Most have been appropriated by the Liṅgāyats, who have introduced the *liṅga* and *Nandi;* but even these have been deserted, and no one knows to the worship of which -*īśvara* they were then converted. The occupants of most of these have but lately been ejected, under the orders of the late Collector, Mr. K. R. Bomanji, I believe, and they now belong to Government. Proposals for their cleaning up and conservation are being submitted.

To return to our description of these, three other temples may be taken next as being of the same type as that just described, namely, the Kont-guḍi group, comprising the Kont-guḍi itself with two adjacent temples, all desecrated, dirty, and neglected.

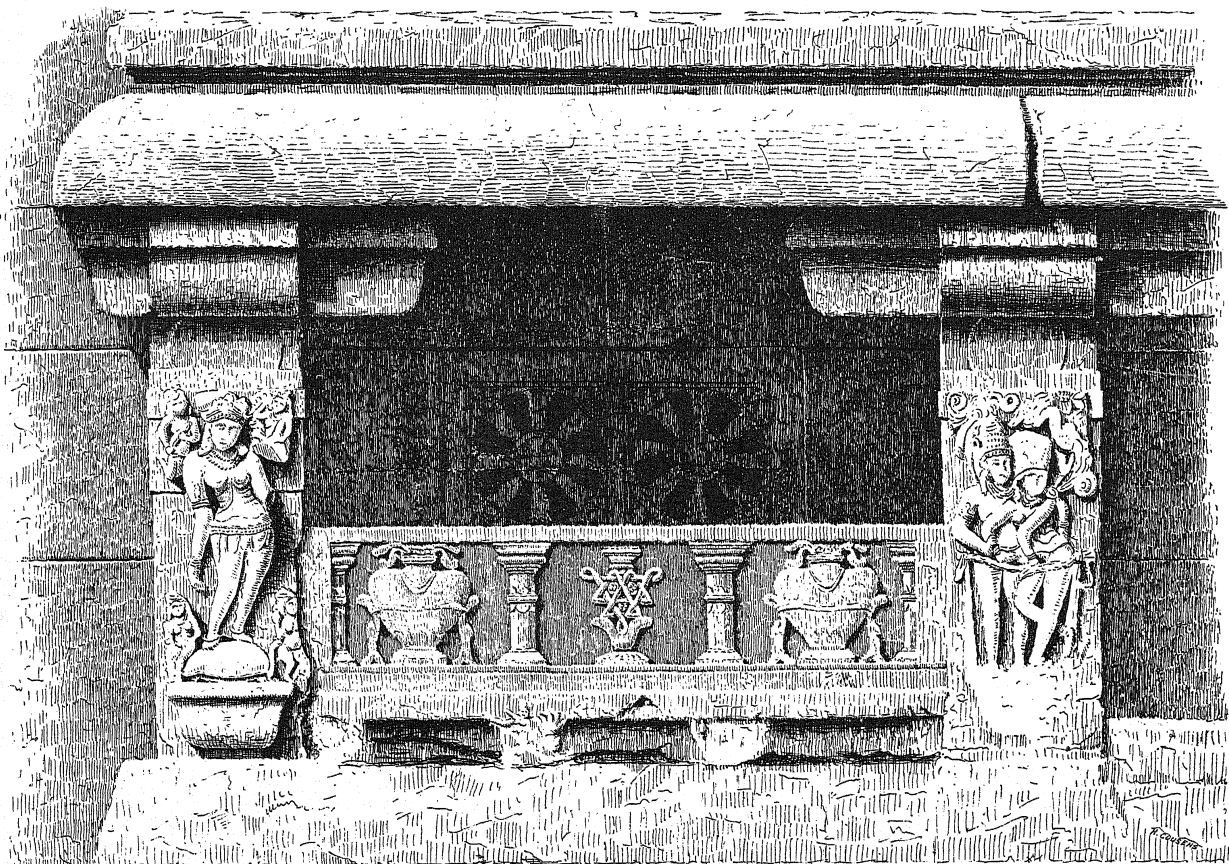
Kont-guḍi, again, is not a name of the temple itself, but is now given to it since the last occupant of the building, as a residence, was the man whose privilege it was to carry the *konta* or *triśūla* of Śiva to the village boundary at the time of the annual *Dasarā* festival. It is in the same state as he left it, the walls and pillars within being thickly coated with cowdung plaster which has covered up all the surface carving; and it is thick with soot, grime and cobwebs. It is a smaller building, and simpler in plan than Lāḍ Khān's, but except for the pillars, it is hardly less massive in construction. It is a square building with four central pillars. Between the two east pillars and the back wall has been built the shrine. Over the four pillars, in the middle, the roof is flat, and it slopes away from this square space all around to the four walls. The shrine is, therefore, as at Lāḍ Khān's, under the sloping side roof. In this case the shrine door faces the west. Above the flat central bay of the roof rises the square base of a tower or *śikhara*. It is about five feet high, decorated all around with mouldings, and having a figure niche in the middle of each side. These niches contain, on the north, what seems to be the *tāṇḍava* of Śiva, but it is much corroded; on the west, Varāha, the boar *avatāra* of Vishṇu; on the south, Bhairava; while on the east is the Vāmana *avatāra*. Vaishṇava sculptures occupying the east and west niches, together with Garuḍa presiding over the shrine door, point to the temple being originally *Vaishṇava*. A close examination of this upper walling on the roofs shews very clearly that it is the commencement of an early Chalukyan *śikhara*,

ANCIENT TEMPLES OF AIHOLE.





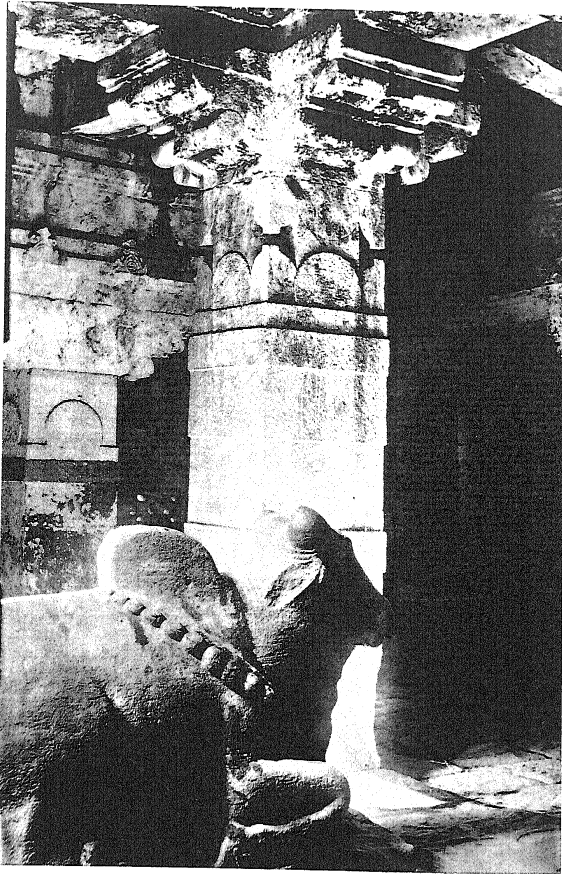
STONE WINDOWS

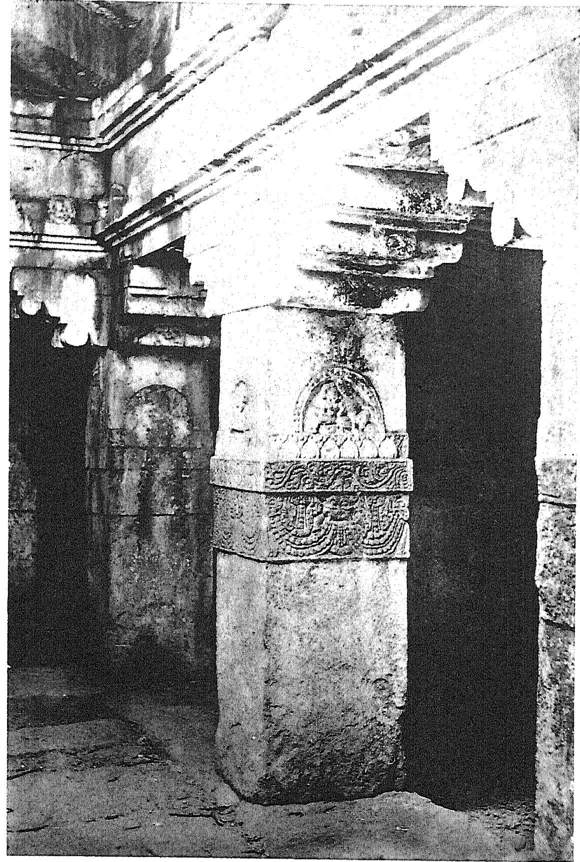


SCALE OF 1 2 3 4 5 6 FEET

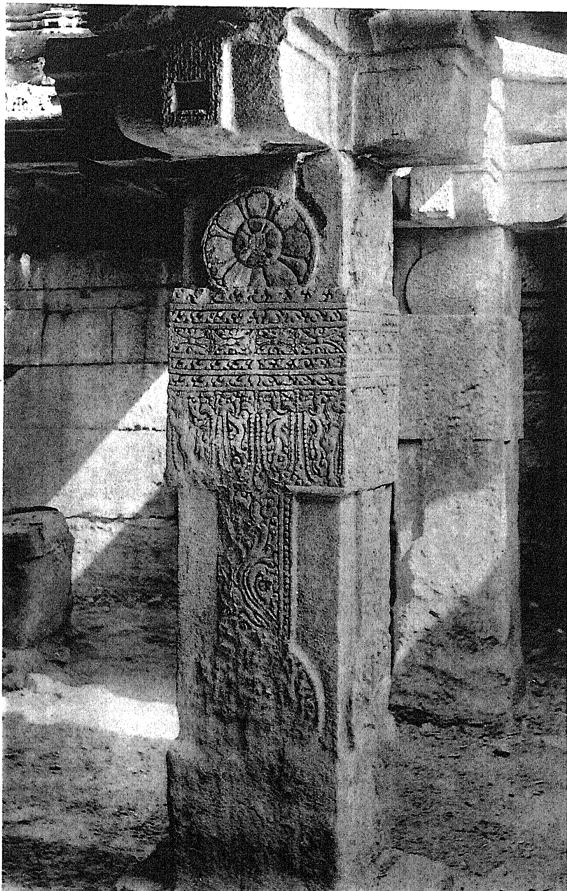
HALF OF THE FAÇADE OF THE FRONT PORCH

TEMPLE OF LAD KHAN.





a. b. PILLARS IN LAD KHAN'S TEMPLE.



c. PILLAR IN TEMPLE ON WEST OF KONT-GUDI.



d. SHRINE DOORWAY OF TEMPLE ON S.W. OF KONT-GUDI.

started, perhaps, in the 10th or 11th century, and no part of the original temple, which was, undoubtedly, flat on the top. Compare it with the tower of the shrine on the east side of the triple-shrined Jaina temple in front of Virūpāksha's temple. It was not intended for an upper shrine like that of Lāḍ K͟hān's, for no doorway had been left, the centre of each of the four sides having an image niche as already described. When this tower was commenced, there is little doubt but that the *ashṭadikpāla* ceiling was added to this central space inside the temple. This was a very favourite design of ceiling in later Chalukyan temples, and does not accord with the heavy massive architecture of the temple. This is a flat ceiling divided into nine panels, in the centre one of which is Brahmā, while the others each contain one of the regents of the eight points of the compass.[1] It was very likely that the stone ladder was placed against the wall on the north side, giving access to the roof, for the workmen, and was left, where it remains to this day, when the work was interrupted and abandoned.

The four pillars in the temple are of one pattern, and shew a distinct advance on those of Lāḍ K͟hān's, but are not so far advanced as those in Cave III at Bādāmi. The shafts are of the same type as those in the former temple, being without bases, and square all the way up ; but they are provided with a round squat cushion capital between the shaft and the brackets above. These are a little clumsy, and have not the more attenuated and elegant proportions of those in the cave.[2] They are much nearer Lāḍ K͟hān's in point of time, I should say, than the latter. The surface decoration on the bands round them, of bead festoons and lozenge-shaped ornament, has been executed with a firmer and much more certain touch than on those of Lāḍ K͟hān's, where the prentice hand is apparent. There appears to have been no figure sculpture on the original building.

Within the temple, placed against a pillar, is an inscribed slab containing a record of Chāmuṇḍa II (A. D. 1169), one of the Sinda Chiefs. It is much worn, and little can be deciphered, but it begins with an invocation to Śiva. This must have been engraved just about the time of Basavā, the founder of the Lingāyat sect, and possibly is connected with the conversion to their peculiar use of some old temples here.[3]

Beside Kont-guḍi, on the west, is another of these very early temples, with the same unusual arrangement of the shrine. The building is more like a long open verandah, with three rows of columns in its depth. The shrine is inserted behind and between the central pair of columns in the back row, the back wall forming the back of the shrine. The pillars here are of the same type as those at Lāḍ K͟hān's, being, if anything, a trifle simpler. In the three central bays of the ceiling, before the shrine, are three finely carved slabs, bearing images of Vishṇu on Śēsha Śiva, and Brahmā, in this order from north to south, the temple facing east. These sculptures are found in several of the old temples here, forming ceiling panels. Over the door of the shrine, which is now empty, presides Garuḍa.

Kont-guḍi and this temple are linked together by an intervening porch, which may or may not be coeval with the temples. Its masonry is disconnected with that of the temples, and it is not placed on the centre line of either the one temple

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1 See one of these ceilings in the Technical Art series for 1886, plate I.

2 See plate XXV of the First Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India (Burgess).

3 *Indian Antiquary*. IX, p. 96.

or the other. Moreover, there is no entrance into Kont-guḍi from it; and, as the two temples are not upon the same centre line, it shows that they were independently erected without reference to each other's position.

A few yards to the south of the last temple is another, rather smaller, of the same open verandah plan. As in the last, the shrine is built against the back wall, and over its doorway is Garuḍa. This doorway is the most elaborate of those in these four old temples, as may be seen from the accompanying illustration. The figures are rather clumsy, and the lines of the flowing arabesque work round the door frame have not the same precise set curves of later work. They show rudimentary endeavour rather than feeble decadence. In the latter case the work, though bad, would be on the lines of earlier work, especially with regard to the figures, but this is not so here. There is more of the workman's individuality expressed. The *dvārapālas* below, with their clubs, are four-armed, and hold, on the left, Vishṇu's, and on the right, Śiva's symbols, beside them being female *chauri* bearers. Beyond these, on either side in the corner, sits a squat fat figure such as are seen at the bottom of one of the doorways at Kailāśa, Elura,[1] the one on the left holds a *śaṅkha*, while that on the right seems to have a lotus in his hand. As in the Kailāśa doorway, this has *Gaja-Lakshmī*, not on the dedicatory block, which holds Garuḍa, but away, high up above, on the beam. Both doorways have the heavy roll cornice, which is of an early and not a late type, heavier and deeper in this Aihoḷe doorway.

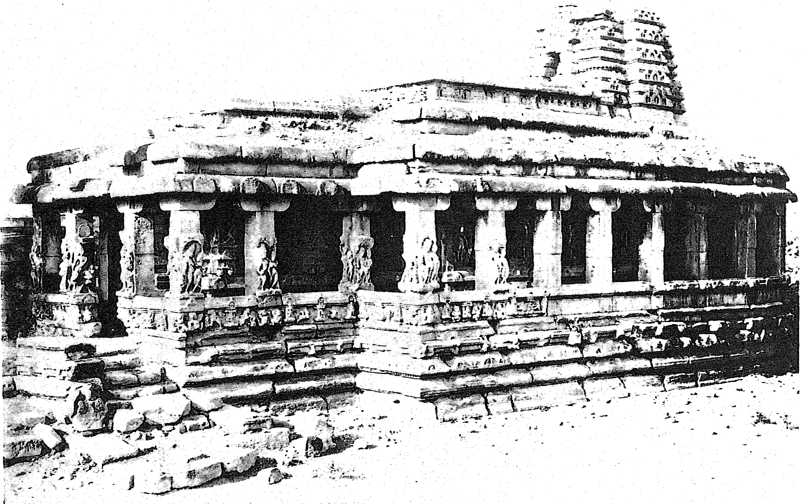
These four early temples seem to stand apart by themselves, as regards age and type, and we come now to temples in which the shrine is surmounted by a *śikhara* or tower, but which is placed within the body of the building, towards the end of the great hall, and insulated from the back wall, thereby allowing of a passage around it. Among these are the Durgā, Meguti and Huchchimalli-guḍi temples, probably in this order of sequence after Lāḍ Khān's.

The Durgā temple is, without doubt, the finest and most imposing temple at Aihoḷe; and it is one of the most unique in India, in that the plan follows the lines of the apsidal cave *chaitya* of the Buddhists, the place of the shrine occupying that of the *dagoba*. And, like its prototype, two rows of columns separate the body of the hall into a centre nave and two side aisles. Stone, as the building material, at a time when constructive arching was unknown, determined that the roof should be flat and not arched, but sufficient likeness to the *chaitya* was obtained by making the central roof lofty and that of the side aisles low and sloping, the slope being the nearest approach to the half vault of the *chaitya*. The deep entablature, sculptured with friezes of figures, foliage, and arabesque, reminds one forcibly of the same as seen in the cave *chaityas*, above the pillars, such as that in Cave XXVI at Ajanṭā.[2]

There is an added outside verandah, all round the central hall. A description of this temple is given in the First Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India, so I need only supplement that account here. That the temple is Vaishṇava there is no doubt; the sculptures, and Garuḍa over the door lintel, proclaim that fact sufficiently. The central flat roof has collapsed and the columns and superstructure

[1] See the *Elura Cave Temples* (Burgess), Plate XXV, fig. 1.
[2] See *Buddhist Cave Temples* (Burgess), Plate XXXVI.

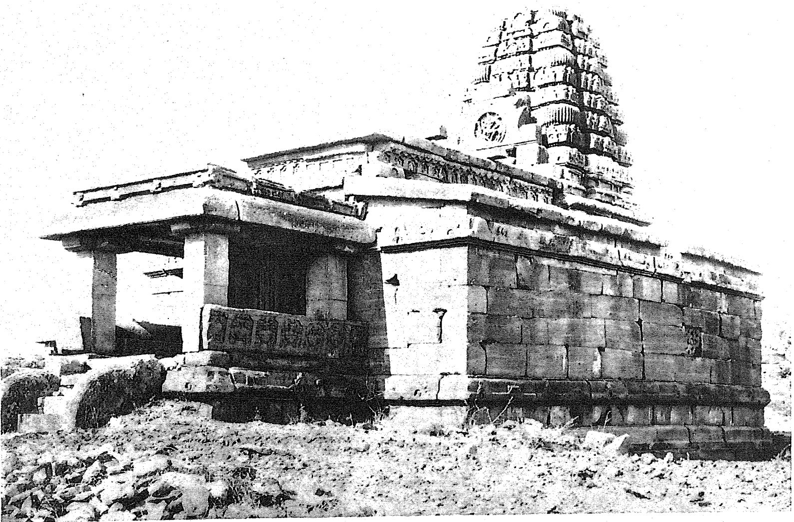
ANCIENT TEMPLES OF AIHOLE.



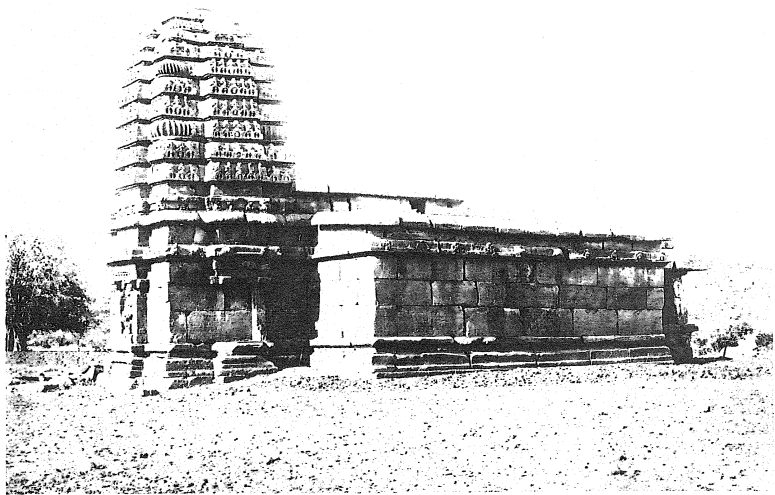
a. THE DURGA TEMPLE.



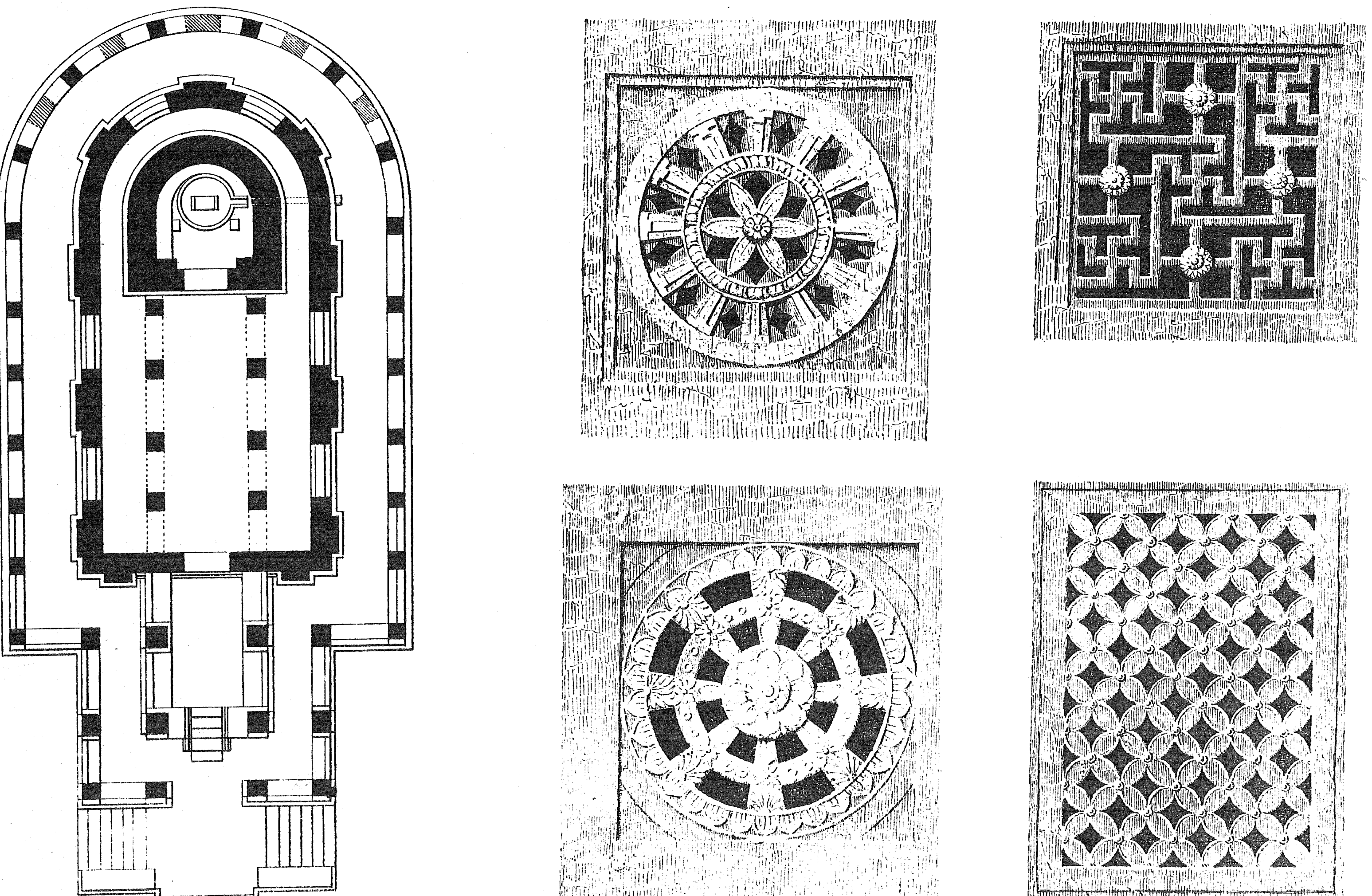
b. MEGUTI TEMPLE.



c. HUCHCHI MALLI GUDI.



d. TEMPLE IN SURVEY NO. 270.



DURGA TEMPLE.

are shattered. The accompanying illustrations, together with those already published, will give a good idea of the building as it stands to-day.

As to its age, Dr. Burgess says "the style of the interior is so closely allied to that of Cave III at Bādāmi that it was evident that it must be placed within a century after the cave". But I would not place it so late as this. Rather, would I say, within a century before the cave. There is no departure here, as in the cave, from the plain square column, with no capital between the shaft and the brackets above. At the same time, the columns are a great deal less massive than in Lāḍ K͟hān's. One would rather expect to find a forward development in style taking place, first and more readily, in a structural building than an excavated one, where the nature of the construction lends itself more readily to a change to more elaborate forms; and certainly the cave, with its varied types of pillars, shows a very great advance upon the Lāḍ K͟hān type.

Taking the Meguti temple next in point of sequence, we find the plan and the pillars, within, shew a further advance upon the general style of the Durgā temple. This building is fortunately dated in *Śaka* 556 (A.D. 634) in a long well-engraved inscription of the time of Pulikēśi II, built into its wall on the east. It is situated upon the top of the hill, overlooking the village, within a walled enclosure, and not in the village as stated in Dr. Burgess' account.

The Meguti Temple consists of a square, which is the shrine, within a larger square, thus giving a passage all around the shrine, lighted dimly by small perforated stone windows in the walls. In front of this the rest of the building narrows considerably, and contains a small antechamber and an outer hall, which appears to have been originally open all around. It has been converted to use at some time, when the open spaces between the pillars were filled with rubble walling, which also helped to support sundry broken beams.

The temple faces the north, the Jainas being indifferent, apparently, to any particular direction for their buildings. The temple of Virūpāksha, now in use in the village as a Liṅgāyat shrine, faces the south, and, though I found no definite proof of its having been so, I strongly suspect it was originally a Jaina shrine. The image on the dedicatory block over the shrine door has been damaged, plastered and painted beyond recognition. The old deserted Jaina temple across the road, in front of this temple, a triple-shrined one, faces the east; another beside the Charanti Maṭha faces the north, while the *maṭha* itself, now used as a residence, but which appears to have been a temple, faces the south.

The interior of Meguti is very dark, and is full of bats, and their filth. Within the shrine, seated on his throne against the back wall, is a colossal Jina, while, lying in the passage round the shrine, on the west side, is a huge slab containing the image of a *dēvī*. The passage, where it goes round the back of the shrine, has been closed off from the rest with doors, probably to form a couple of store rooms in which to keep the temple valuables. The shrine doorway, as well as those of the antechamber, is very plain, having simple vertical mouldings up the sides, and a row of small *chaitya*-window ornaments along over the top.

The exterior walls will be seen to be composed of much smaller blocks of masonry than in the temples we have been considering; and we are here introduced to a mode

of decorating the walls by narrow pilasters at intervals with little bracket capitals. A similar adornment of the walls occurs on the old Buddhist brick *chaitya* discovered at Ter in the Nizām's dominions.[1]

The wall surfaces were not intended to be left devoid of figure sculpture and as bare as Lāḍ Khān's, for there are, on each of the three sides, four panels provided for that purpose. The two central ones are sunk in order to receive separately carved image slabs, and two such, which, from their measurements, fit these, are lying near the temple.[2]

The other two on each face have the stone left in rough block, projecting from the wall, on which to carve images or arabesque, on completion of the walls. This not having been done, shews that the temple has been left unfinished.

The inner shrine walls are carried up through the roof to form the walls of an upper shrine, but whether this was surmounted by a *śikhara* or not is uncertain. My own impression is that it was intended to carry one, which would have been of the early Dravidian type and perfectly simple, somewhat like those depicted on Plate LXIX.

The next five temples, which I am about to describe, though taken up after Meguti, are, I am inclined to think, rather older. I judge from the general style and, especially, from the cyclopean masonry. Meguti is so important, as being the earliest dated temple, that it somehow gets on one's mind that it is also the earliest temple, and one is almost afraid, in the face of its undoubted hoary antiquity, to presume to think that any other building here could possibly take precedence. Yet it requires but a glance at the walls of the Huchchimalli-guḍi, situated in the fields a short distance to the north of the town, to feel convinced that it can claim, on the score of its massive simplicity, a somewhat earlier date.

Here, again, in the Huchchimalli-guḍi, the shrine is contained within the main body or hall of the temple, being placed towards its east end, so that a passage or *pradakshiṇā* is left around it. This arrangement of the shrine within the hall is found at the Elephanta Caves and in the Dumar Lēṇā at Elura. From the shrine to the entrance doorway extend two rows of pillars with three in each row. Across, between the middle pair, has been inserted a screen with a door through it, thus forming an incipient antechamber, which, however, is not closed at the sides. A plain square porch on four pillars, with heavy roll cornice, stands out before the entrance, and the outside of the dwarf walls of this is decorated with panels containing the vase or waterpot ornament, which we have already noticed in Lāḍ Khān's.

As in the case of the Durgā temple, the shrine of Huchchimalli-guḍi is surmounted by a *śikhara* of the northern type, yet not so simple in design as might have been expected for so early a type of temple. But since we find them the same on all these old temples, not only at Aihoḷe, but at Paṭṭadkal as well, we must accept them as part of the original design. I am not, however, prepared to accept the frontal decoration, at the base of the tower, within the arch of which is a group representing the *tāṇḍava* of Śiva, as original. Whatever sculpture was there at first, has, without doubt, been removed to make room for the present slab, probably

[1] See *A. S. R.*, 1902-03 Plate XXIX.

[2] On one are two standing figures, a man and a woman. The man holds an offering like a pot and the woman is on his right. The other is a similar sculpture, but the woman is on the man's left, evidently so arranged that the poses should be symmetrical as regards the centre of the walling.

when the temple was appropriated by the Liṅgāyats to their use, and the *liṅga* was set up in the shrine. The dedicatory block over the door tells a different tale, for on it is found Garuḍa. The shrine doorway is elaborately carved, but in the postures of some of its little figures there is a suggestion of indelicacy.

It is interesting to compare with this temple that of Paraśurāmēśvara at Bhuvanēśvara in Orissa.[1] There is a very great similarity, the latter, however, being much more decorated. Fergusson was inclined to place it at A.D. 450. The outline of the tower has a slightly older look than that of the Aihoḷe temple, but, at the same time, its " sculptures of the most elaborate character " tend to give its walls a later appearance. But, in judging the age of these temples, locality has to be taken into account as well as time.

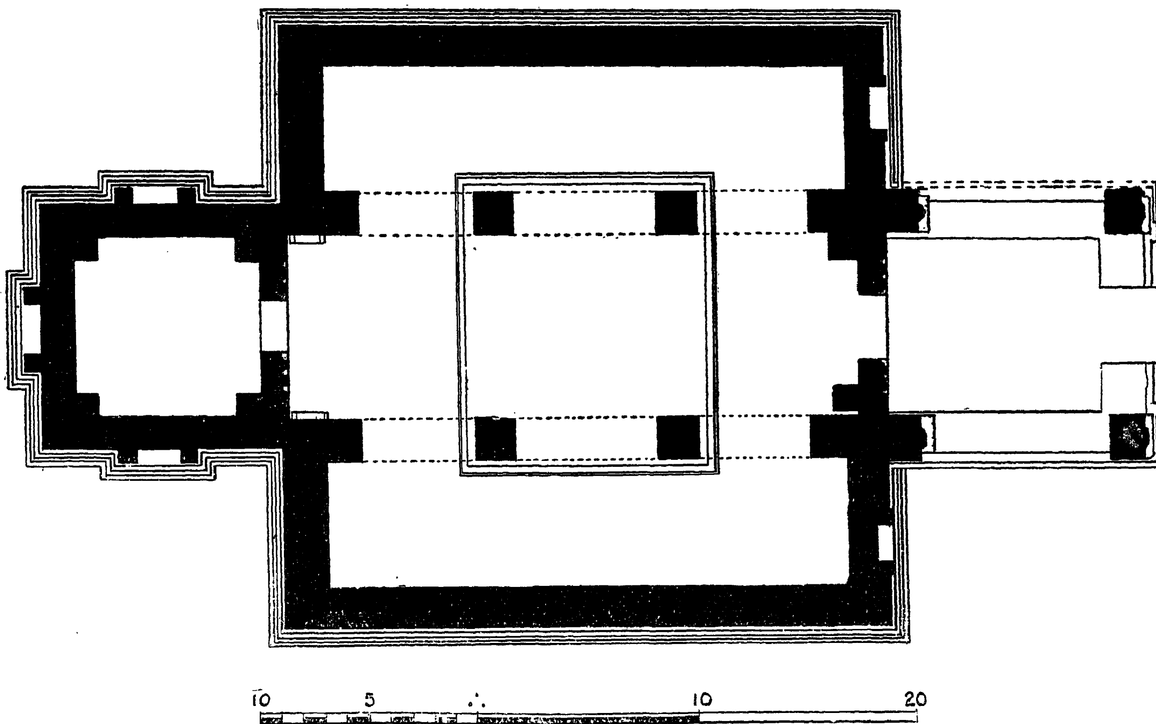


Fig. 1.

In the field No. 270 to the south-west of the village of Aihoḷe, stands another ol temple of this same heavy massive style, but it has its shrine as a separate compartment from the hall, and in this respect follows the usual plan of mediæval temples (fig. 1). Otherwise the general characteristics are the same. The outer walls of this are very similar to those of the last, having the same mouldings and the same plain surface between the plinth and the cornice. The *śikhara*, however, takes more of the older curve of the Bhuvanēśvara temple, that of Huchchimalli-guḍi being considerably straighter in outline. There is only one temple at Aihoḷe which still preserves its old northern style of *śikhara* entire, the others having had their finials or *kalaśas* thrown down. It stands close to Lāḍ Khān's on the south. The curves of its outline come between that of the last described temple and the one now under notice. The *kalaśa*, in this complete spire, seems to be very small for the body of the *śikhara*, and, at first sight, looks as if it were an odd one mounted at some later period to take the place of

[1] *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (Fergusson), First edition, p. 418.

the original destroyed. But this is not so. An examination of these spires shows that they were all surmounted with these undersized finials. The rules of construction, however, have not been transgressed, as a reference to the diagram on Plate LXXVIII, will show. The upward curved lines of a *śikhara* should touch the *āmalsāri*, or ribbed melon shaped member, and meet at the topmost point. Therefore, the longer or higher the neck, the smaller must be the *āmalsāri*. The higher neck and smaller *āmalsāri* was certainly not quite so pleasing as a lower neck and broader *āmalsāri*, and this the architects discovered for themselves, as will be seen in later and mediæval buildings. In the present case the long neck lifts the crowning members too far from the body of the spire, and produces a disjointed effect, which is not apparent in later work.

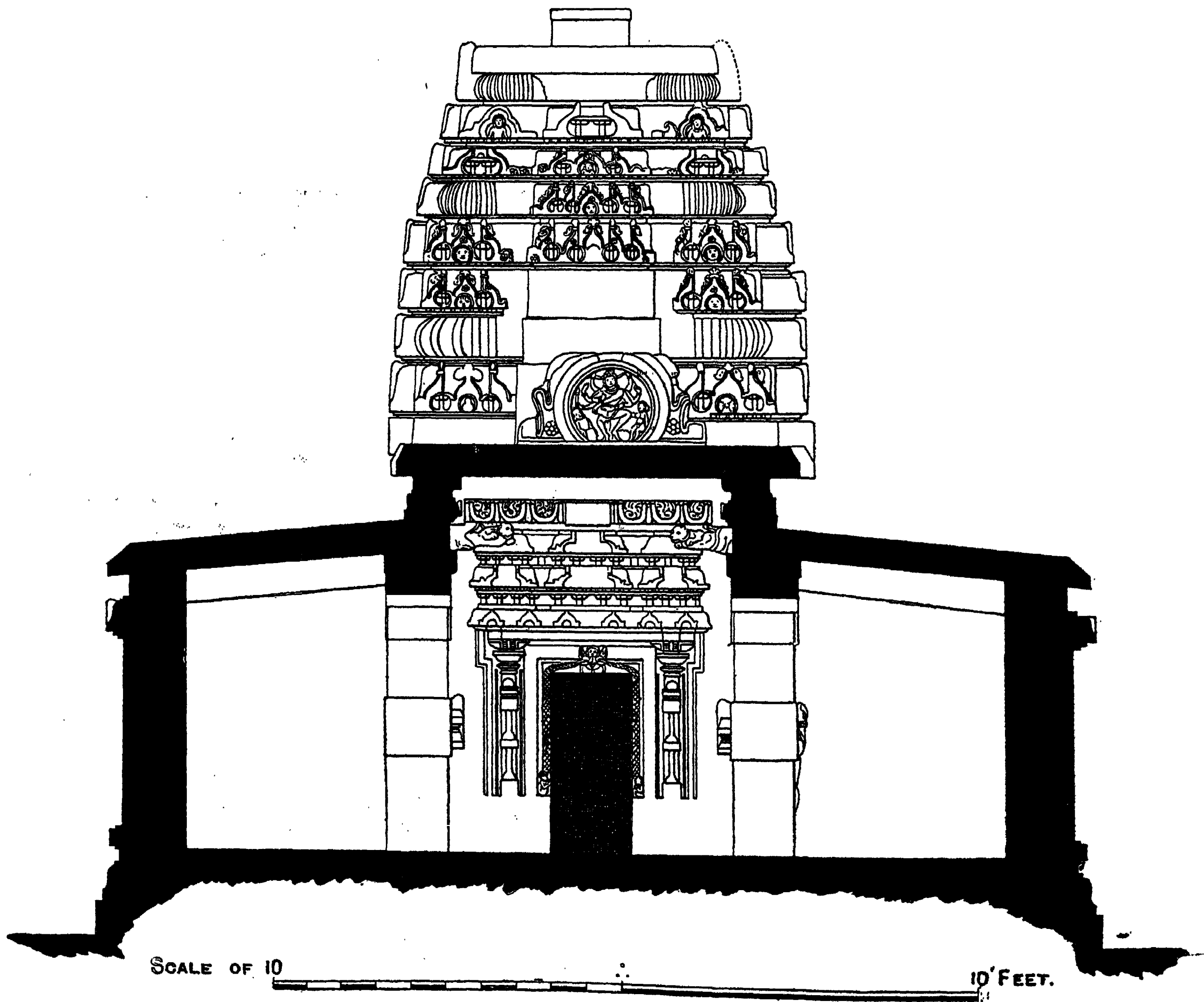
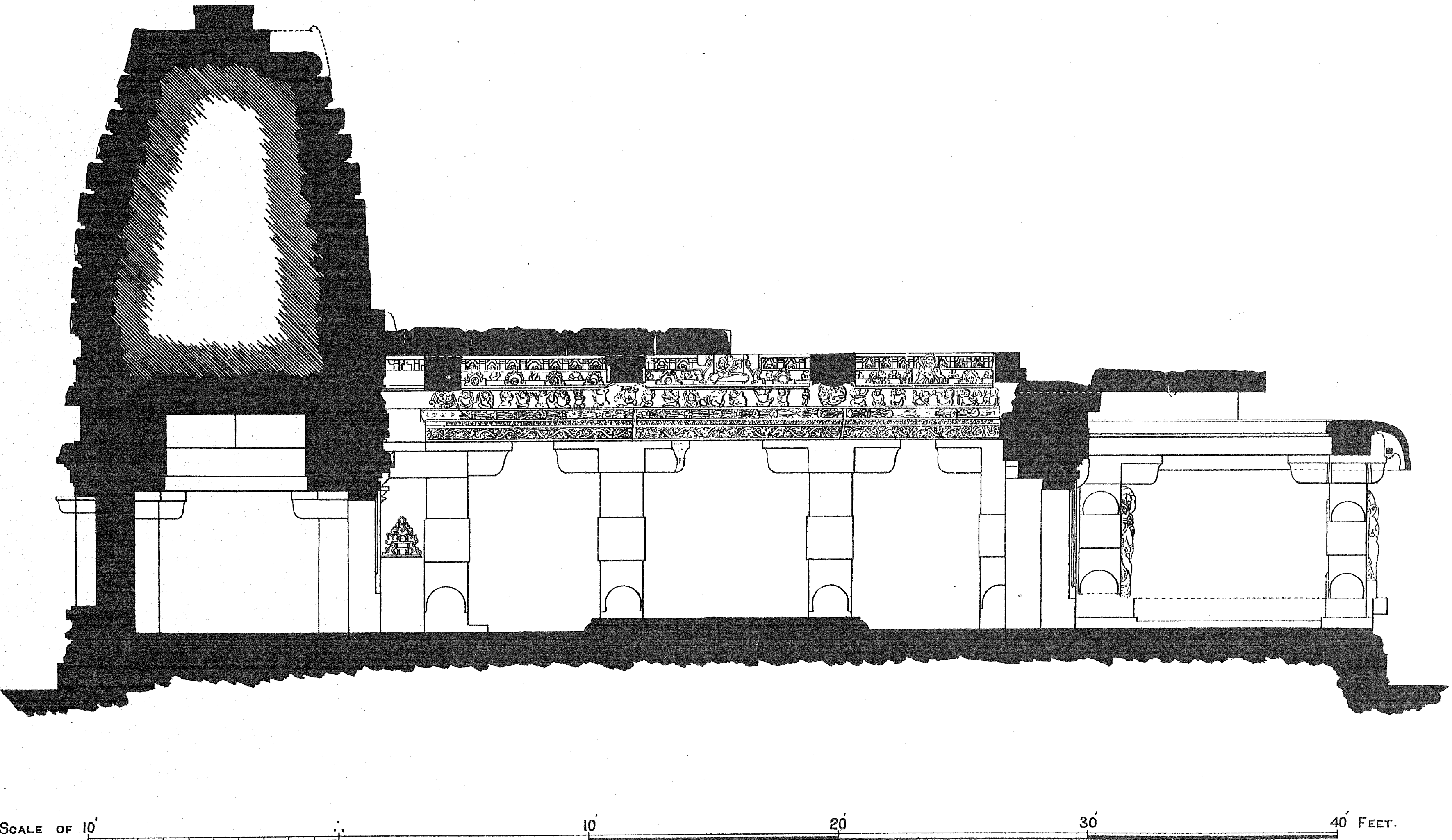


Fig. 2

To return to our temple. Another development will be observed in the figure niches round the shrine walls, one on each face. These contain the Vaishṇava sculpture, Narasiṁha, in the back or principal niche, and the Śaiva image of Bhairava in the north niche. The image from the south niche has been removed. The temple faces the east, at which end is the entrance porch supported upon four massive square pillars adorned with pairs of figures in high relief, as on the porch.



LONG SECTION OF TEMPLE IN SURVEY NO. 270.

of Lāḍ K͟hān's. On a slab, in the ceiling of the porch, is a group representing the *tāṇḍava* of Śiva, but I feel convinced that this has been placed there at a later time when the temple was converted to Śaiva worship. Similarly, the slab bearing Kārtikēya on his peacock, in the porch of Huchchimalli-guḍi, may have been put there when the *tāṇḍava* sculpture was added to the front of the tower. On the front of this tower, also, there has been placed a similar sculpture, but the slab has just been laid against it on the roof, and does not appear ever to have been fixed in position. This *tāṇḍava* sculpture, in the roof of the porch, is an altogether inferior piece of work (fig. 2).

The eaves of the porch are formed of great heavy roll mouldings, quite a quadrant in section, the underneath side of which is ribbed like the eaves of the Indra Sabhā and Kailāśa at the Elura caves;[1] and, like the latter, the centre and corners are decorated with rich flowing arabesque in low relief.

The hall of the temple is divided, longitudinally, into a central nave and two side aisles, as in the Durgā temple, the central roof being raised, by a deep sculptured entablature, considerably above the lower sloping roofs of the sides. There are two free-standing pillars on either side, which, with the adjacent pilasters, support the running architrave. Cross slabs, laid over from one entablature to the other, close in the roof, and the under sides of these have been carved. But the three slabs which occupied the three middle bays, one in each, are missing, and the remainder have been pushed up together towards the shrine end.

In my *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, under "Dhārwār", I have entered "Four massive slabs bearing sculptures of Śiva (2 slabs), Brahmā, and Vishṇu on Śēsha. In 1885 they were found lying in the garden of Mr. Fletcher's house. On enquiries being made, in February 1893, it was found they had been built into the porch and verandah of the house then in the occupancy of Mr. J. Campbell, Agent, Southern Maratha Railway. The slabs are supposed to have been brought from Bādāmi some 25 years ago by Mr. William Frere, formerly District Judge of Dhārwār, who then occupied the house". In 1885 I had these slabs photographed and drawn, and I now find that three of them, illustrated in Plate LXXVI, are the missing slabs from this temple. When at Aihoḷe, I measured the gaps as well as I could, now that the remaining slabs have been displaced, and the whole structure slightly shifted by subsidence, and found them to be, in width, 4′ 4″, 4′ 6″ and 3′ 9″. Looking up the measurements of the Dhārwār slabs, on return to head-quarters, I find they are 4′ 2½″, 4′ 3″, and 3′ 6½″, which are close enough, allowing for an inch or so of play between the joints where the roughness of their edges prevented them coming together quite flush. The length of each slab, between the outside edges of the arabesque bands, is the same in each, and corresponds exactly to the span of the roof from the inside edge of one entablature to that of the other. The stone beyond this on each side, has been cut away to reduce the weight for easier transport. In two other old temples, of the same type, at Aihoḷe, there are similar sculptures, in which Brahmā is placed in the ceiling bay next the shrine and Śiva in the central one.

[1] *Elura cave temples* (Burgess), p. 27.

This then was probably the order here, and Vishṇu on Śēsha, the narrowest slab, occupied the narrowest gap nearest the entrance doorway.

On the face of the entablature and cross beams separating the three bays from one another, are small sculptures. Those in the first bay from the door represent, generally, the *avatāras* of Vishṇu, while those in the central bay, around the great Śiva slab, shew the *ashṭadikpālas*, or Regents of the eight points of the compass, of which two, Varuṇa and Nirṛiti are missing, the beam being broken off; Agni and Kuvēra have interchanged their usual places. There are no such sculptures in the bay nearest the shrine; this was probably never finished.

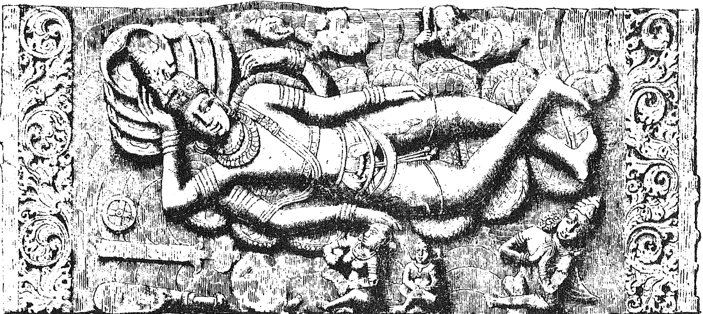
On the entablatures, on either side, are running bands of richly carved arabesque and lotus designs, the latter reminding one very strongly of such decoration on the Sānchi gates. There is a refreshing feeling about its unconventional simplicity, the soft vegetable forms of the stalks, leaves, and flowers being so well shewn and so unlike the harder metallic forms of mediæval work. Above these bands runs a frieze of little distorted dwarf figures, in all sorts of eccentric attitudes, amongst them some very dirty little rascals. But all are possessed of nerve and go, and have not the stereotyped stiffness of later work.

The pillars are of a more simple and severe outline than those of Lāḍ Khān's, and are just a single step in advance of the perfectly plain square ones in the Tin Thāl cave at Elura, with their square slab-like bracket capitals (fig. 3). The square lower edge of the bracket is rounded, and a plain broad band is left round the middle of the shaft, with a raised plain lunette on each face at the bottom. The very bald simplicity of these accentuates and acts as a foil to the rich carving of the entablature.

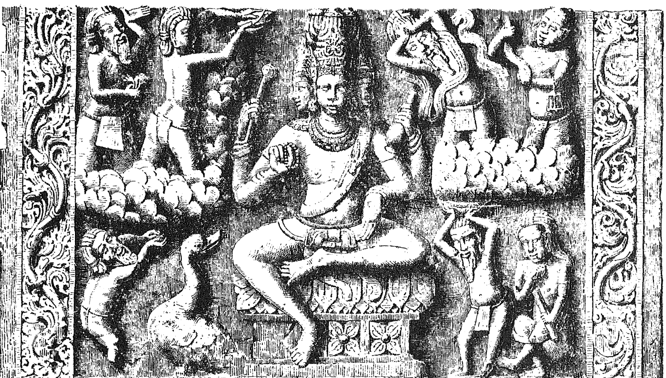


Fig. 3.

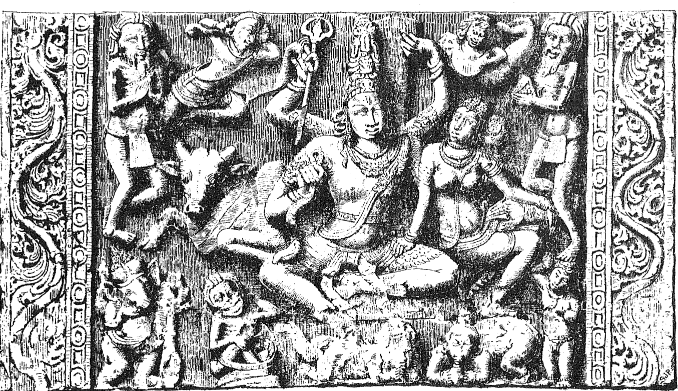
On the dedicatory block, over the shrine door, is Garuḍa, holding the tails of two *Nāga* figures, which run down the door mouldings to the bottom of the door on each side, where they reverse upward in human bodies, each canopied with a three-hooded snake. This, with the Vaishṇava image of Narasiṁha in the niche on the back wall of the shrine shows that the temple was originally dedicated to Vishṇu. There is a great block of stone still lying in the otherwise empty shrine which



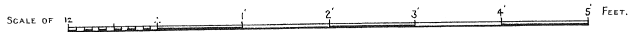
VISHNU.



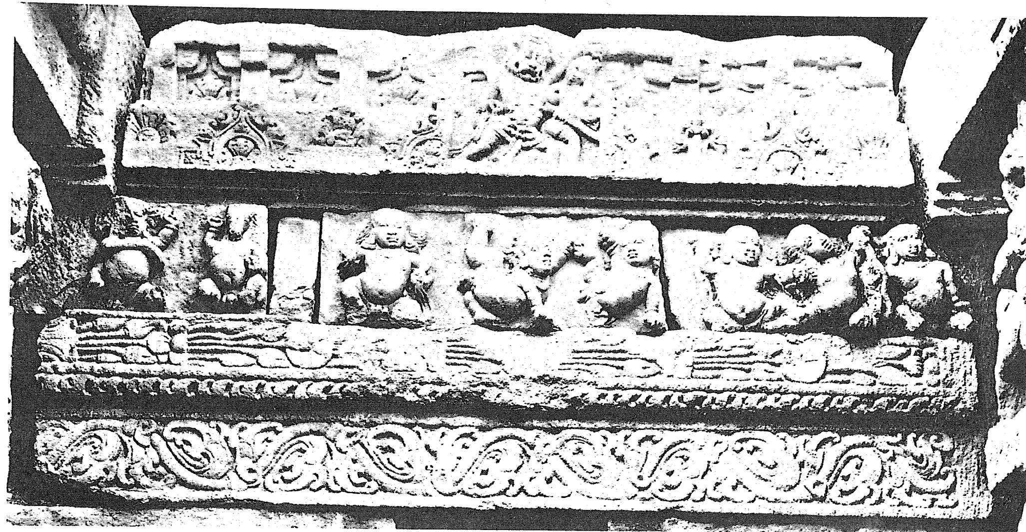
BRAHMA.

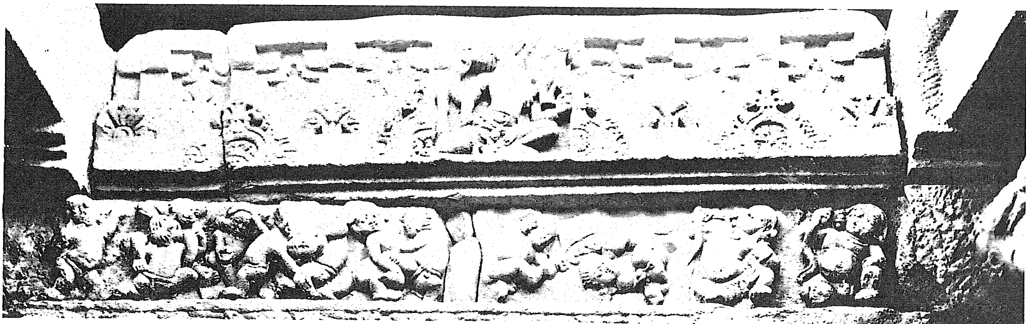


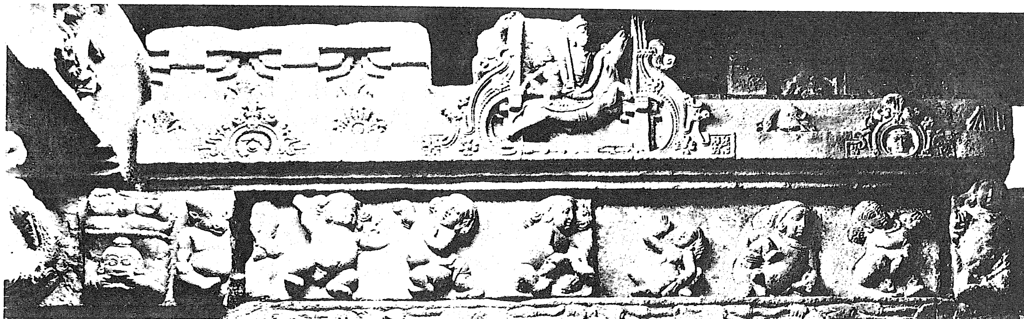
SIVA.

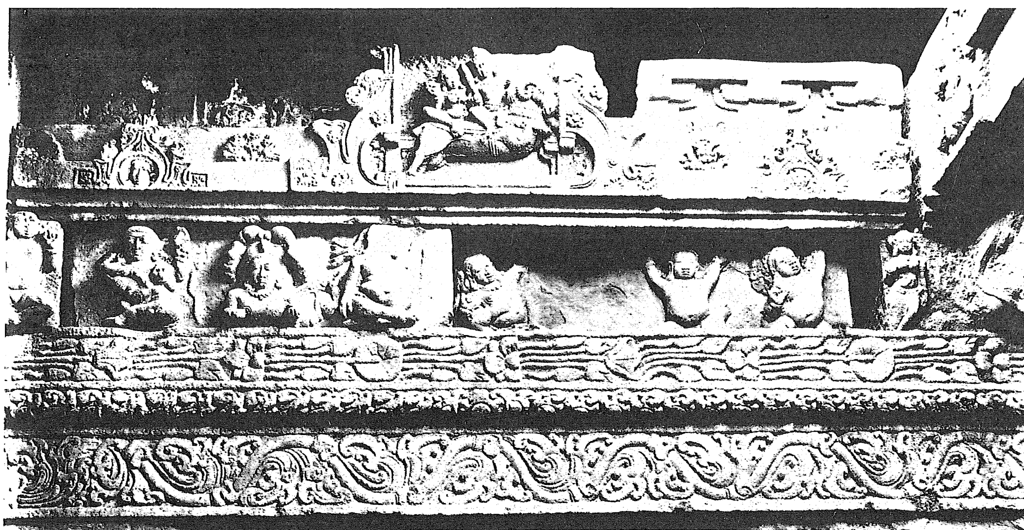


SCULPTURES FROM DHARWAR.



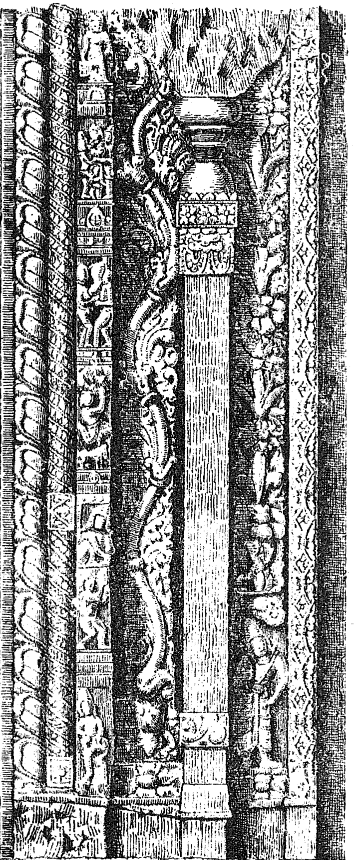


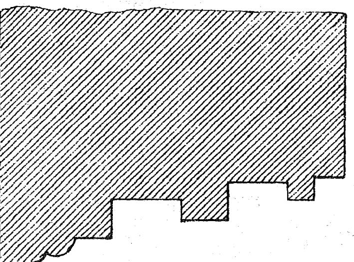


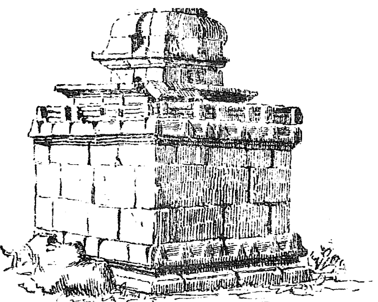


SECTIONS OF FRIEZE ON ENTABLATURE IN TEMPLE IN SURVEY NO. 270.

ANCIENT TEMPLES OF AIHOLE.







FROM THE GALAGANATHA GROUP

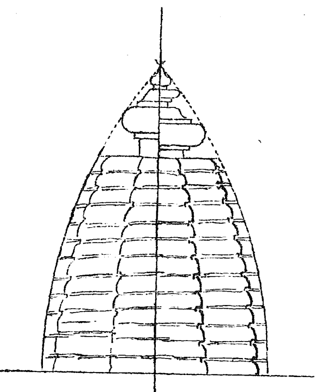
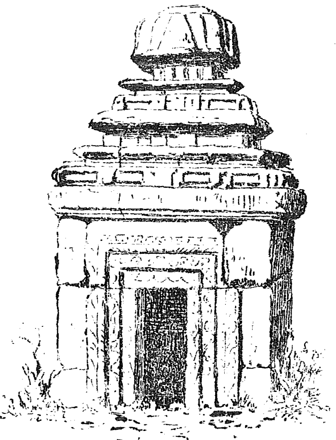
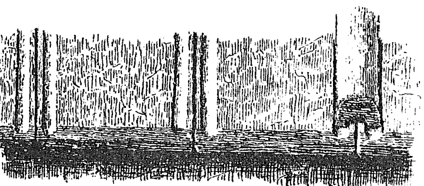


DIAGRAM OF ŚIKHARA



FROM THE S.W. OF THE VILLAGE



ROOFING SLABS



DOOR JAMB IN TWO STOREYED CAVE TEMPLE BELOW MEGUTI, AND DETAILS.

has the appearance of being part of the square altar on which an image was placed; it is certainly not part of a *liṅga.*

The method of roofing these temples is worth a passing notice. The central nave is covered over by great flat slabs stretching from side to side, and the side aisles are covered by similar slabs, which, however, slope downward to the outer wall. As the stones are not so closely dressed as to make the joints watertight, narrow channels are cut along each side of each slab, leaving narrow raised ridges at the edges. When the slabs are placed close up, side by side, the joint is between these ridges. Covering these joints, and fitting into the channels are long stones concave on the under surface. The idea is that of ordinary roofing tiles, the upper one being reversed in order to cover and protect the joint below, and divert the rain water down the channels. See Plate LXXVIII.

Another old temple of the same style and plan as this, except that it has three pillars on each side of the nave, is situated in survey No. 268, near the temple of



Fig. 4.

Galagnātha. The *śikhara* or tower, however, is totally different, being far more archaic looking and clumsy. It gives one the idea of an early stage in the evolution of the northern style of tower; but this cannot be, since the rest of the building is so similar to the last that they must be practically contemporaneous, and it would not be likely that a crude attempt would be erected side by side with the perfected article. The alternative is that it was added at a very late period where none had previously existed. But this idea is hardly tenable, for forms became more complex and more ornate, and outlines more graceful, until decadence set in at a very late period, far too late to account for the ancient look and weather-worn condition of the stone. The builders would hardly have elaborated the interior, and have added the great group sculptures of the ceiling, while the tower was incomplete. It was either a whim, or the finished northern tower was introduced into Aihoḷe by some architect, summoned to the work from elsewhere, between the building of this temple and the last (fig. 4).

The ceiling had, no doubt, the same group of sculptures upon its slabs, but the only one now remaining is that of Brahmā, next to the shrine. He is represented seated cross-legged upon the back of his peacock, and the bird crouches sideways. The sculpture is very weather-worn. The rest have been removed.

The pillars are simple square shafts with roll bracket capitals. There are, as on Lāḍ Khān's, raised plain broad flat bands round them, surmounted by lunettes, which it was probably intended to carve into ornament, such as bead festoons and arabesque in low relief, as on the one or two, so commenced, in the hall of that temple. The roll mouldings of the bracket capitals, here, are not quite so graceful; the bundle of rolls, bound by a broad fillet, are very simple, and their significance is obvious. The pillars have no bases (fig. 5).

On either side of the shrine door, below, are Gaṅgâ and Yamunā accompanied each by two pairs of figures.

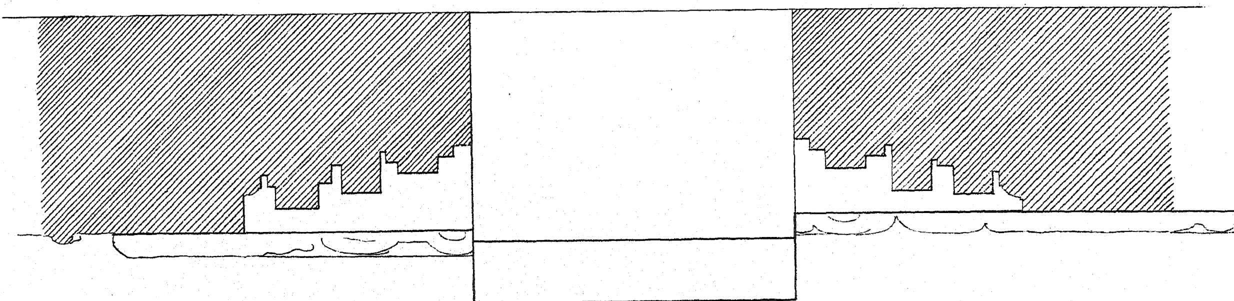
Built against, but not into, the front of the temple is a porch of very late workmanship, the pillars of which are of the round lathe-turned type of the 12th or 13th century. The whole structure is falling outwards and away from the temple and is in a very dangerous state.



Fig. 5.

Two other buildings of the same class—a temple and a *maṭha*—must close the description of these very old temples, though there are others at Aihoḷe fully deserving of study, passing from these very old examples to those of the later "Chalukyan" style. These are of the same style as the last two described, but, while the temple has a shrine, the other has none. A description of the pillars, entablature and other parts would be but a repetition of what I have already said about these features in the temples described. The ceiling slabs, with the groups, are here entire. There is Brahmā on his peacock, sitting astride it, with the bird full to the front and wings outspread, nearest the shrine. In the middle bay is Śiva. The bay nearest the door, however, has, instead of the usual Vishṇu, a figure seated, with a five-hooded snake canopying him (fig. 6). In one of his four hands, the left upper, he holds Vishṇu's *śaṅkha*, and, in the right upper, the *chakra*. But there is no doubt that this is really Vishṇu seated upon the rolls of Śesha's body, and

ANCIENT TEMPLES OF AIHOLE.



OF 12" 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 FEET

OUTER DOORWAY OF A SMALL TEMPLE TO SOUTH-WEST OF VILLAGE.

is merely another pose of the same subject shewn in Plate LXXV where Vishṇu is lying upon Śésha.

In the hall, as in the last temple described, there are three pillars on either side of the nave. Garuḍa presides above the shrine doorway ; and, on the pilasters, on each side, are pairs of amatory figures. Similar pairs of figures adorn the pilasters outside on the front of the temple, one pair being distinctly indecent.

The shrine has no *śikhara*, but there appears to be the lower course of such a one as surmounts the shrine of the last temple. Figure niches are placed on the outside walls of the shrine, one on each, but these are partly broken down and the images are absent. Little *chaitya*-window ornaments further adorn the walls, on either side of each niche.

This temple, like most of the others, has been converted to Śaiva use, a *liṅga* has been installed in the shrine, and a great *Nandi* placed in the middle of the



Fig. 6.

hall ; but there is no regular worship carried on now, and the place is very dirty. The building at the back of this, composed of a hall and porch, of the same heavy masonry, appears to have been built as a *maṭha* or religious hall, there being no shrine. There is a conspicuous absence of decorative sculpture and images ; everything is severely plain. Gaja-Lakshmī presides over the entrance doorway, and this is the earliest temple I know of, in the Chalukyan districts, with her representation on the dedicatory block, though we find her, with her elephants, among the ornamental details in the Sānchi gates and elsewhere. The whole roof is flat, and has no *śikhara*. In the middle of the inner hall is a single plain lotus rosette.

Cunningham has already noticed certain peculiarities in connection with the old temple at Tigowā, in the Central Provinces, which, as I have shewn, occur in these older Aihoḷe buildings, and considers them characteristics of Gupta temples. Among these are flat roofs, without spires, where the two adjoining edges of the

roof slabs are channelled, and are covered by a long stone grooved to fit exactly over the joint, and statues of the rivers Ganges and Jumna guarding the entrance door. He says[1] " when the architect, whose work had hitherto been confined to the erection of porticoes in front of caves, was first called upon to build the temple itself as well as the portico, he naturally copied this only prototype, and thus reproduced in a structural form the exact facsimile of a rock-hewn cave." As to his estimated date of the Tigowā temple, he says, " The original temple undoubtedly belongs to the Gupta period, and cannot, therefore, be later than the fifth century A.D. ; but it is more probably as old as the third century. " In considering the age of Lāḍ Khān's, I had not then remembered what Cunningham said about this Tigowā temple, nor had I at the moment remembered it, so that my guess was made independently. I am at present not prepared, however, to ascribe the Aihoḷe temples to an earlier date than the fifth century ; and, comparing these with Tigowā I would consider them older, but we must take into consideration the fact that they were not erected under Gupta influence, and make allowance for locally developed features. A further study of them is desirable.

This article is by no means exhaustive ; it has been written up rather hurriedly and, to bring it within the compass of a contribution to the Annual, very much has had to be left out, both of descriptive matter and illustration. There is a good deal more that might be said with regard to the details of these temples, and there are many more of them which are not described at all, some of which illustrate the transition of the older styles into the later " Chalukyan. " My principal aim has been to bring these older and more peculiar ones to notice, and to explain their most salient points.

HENRY COUSENS.

[1] Archæological Survey of India Reports, Vol. IX. p. 42.

CHAUMUKH TEMPLE AT RĀṆPUR.

RĀṆPUR is in the Desūrī district of the Goḍvāḍ province, Jodhpur State. It is six miles south of Sādaḍī, the largest town in the district, and is now a deserted village. It is situated in a valley piercing the western flank of Āḍābalā[1] (Aravalli), and a more lovely spot is not to be found in the whole of Mārwār. Here is a group of fanes, the most celebrated of which is the *Chaumukh* temple of Ādinātha, the first *tīrthaṁkara*. It is on account of this temple that Rāṇpur is looked upon by the Jainas as one of the *pañchatīrtha* or five sacred places in Mārwār. In fact, the temple is held in so much veneration, that it is identified with the place itself, and is called Rāṇpurjī. Not a day passes without its stream of pilgrims pouring in. Most of these come from Gujarāt and Western Rājputānā, but instances are not wanting of persons coming from so remote a country as the Panjāb.

Formerly all Jaina temples in Śatruñjaya, Rāṇpur, and elsewhere were looked after and repaired by Hemābhāī Haṭhesing. When he became reduced in circumstances, the temples at Rāṇpur came under the supervision of the *mahājanas* of Sādaḍī. But mismanagement reigned supreme, and they had to be entrusted to the care of Ānandjī Kulliāṇjī. This last is a name coined by the Jaina conference held in Ahmedābād to signify the managing committee of the representatives of the Jainas of India. One agent of Ānandjī Kulliāṇjī stays at Sādaḍī, and is styled Munim, Rāṇpurjī *Kārkhānā*. The work of this *Kārkhānā* includes the supervision and maintenance of the Jaina temples not only at Rāṇpur but also at Sādaḍī, Māddā, and Rājpurā. When I was at Rāṇpur last, the agent came to see me. He took me over the various parts of the *Chaumukh* temple where lintels, etc., had been cracked. He asked me what should be done to strengthen them. I showed him and his Sompurā[2] a copy of our

[1] The range of mountains that separates Mewār from Mārwār is locally known as Āḍābalā. It is this name that was transcribed Aravalli by Tod. Tod's Aravalli with the diacritical marks is really Āṛāvalli, almost exactly the same as Āḍābalā. But as no diacritical marks were used, the name has now come to be pronounced Aravlī. This wrong pronunciation is in vogue not only in other countries where Tod's books are read but, strange to say, also in Rājputānā, where the English-knowing natives of the country even while speaking in their vernacular call this range Aravlī, and do not, as a rule, know that the name is, in reality, Āḍābalā. Āḍābalā is a compound name formed of the two words *āḍā*, a bar and *vaḷā* or *vaḷī*, a mountain, meaning a mountain which acts, as it were, as a bar preventing the people of Mārwār from going into Mewār or *vice versâ* (*Prog. Report Archæol. Survey, Western Circle*, for 1907-1908, pp. 47-48).

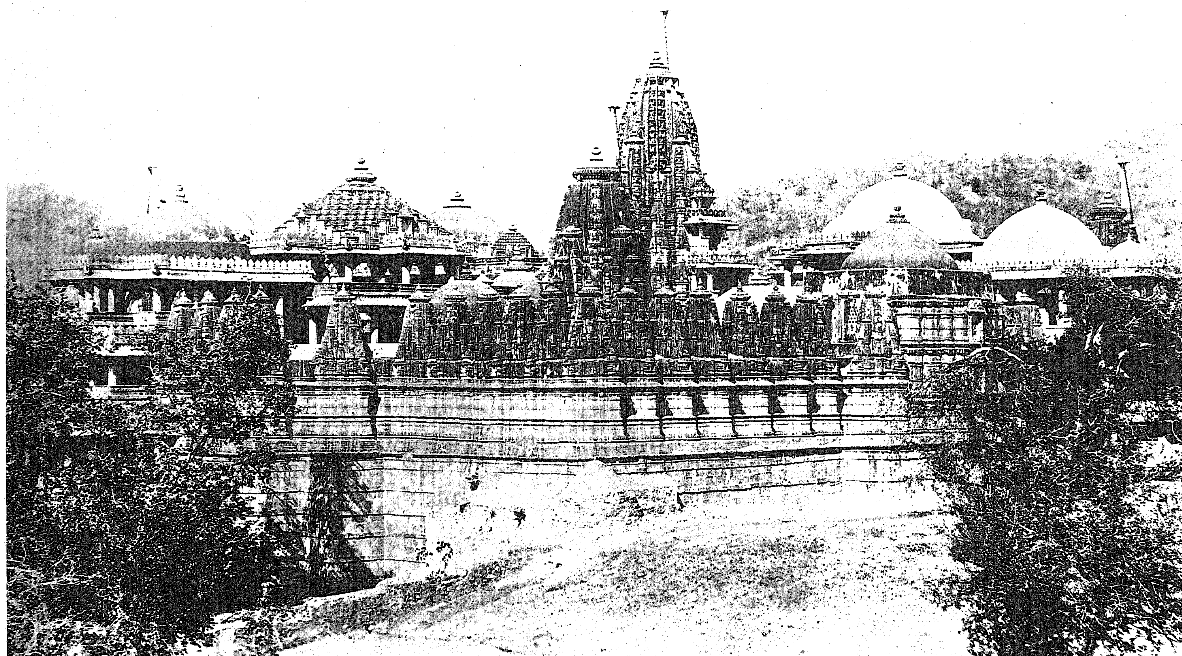
[2] Sompurās are a Brāhmaṇa caste but following the occupation of *salāṭs*. They are so called because their progenitor, it is said, was brought into existence for the construction of the temple of Somanātha-Mahādeva (Prabhās-Pāṭaṇ) and on the *Somvār* day, *i.e.* Monday. According to their tradition, they were brought by Siddharāja-Jayasiṁha into Gujarāt, where temples were being built in numbers. From there they were taken

Progress Report for 1906, containing an account of the devices that might be used for supporting broken beams. But this satisfied neither, and they both said that as no less than Rs. 20,000 had been sanctioned by Ānandjī Kulliāṇjī for repairs at Rāṇpur alone, it was better to renew the lintels than to strengthen them with angle iron or other such means.

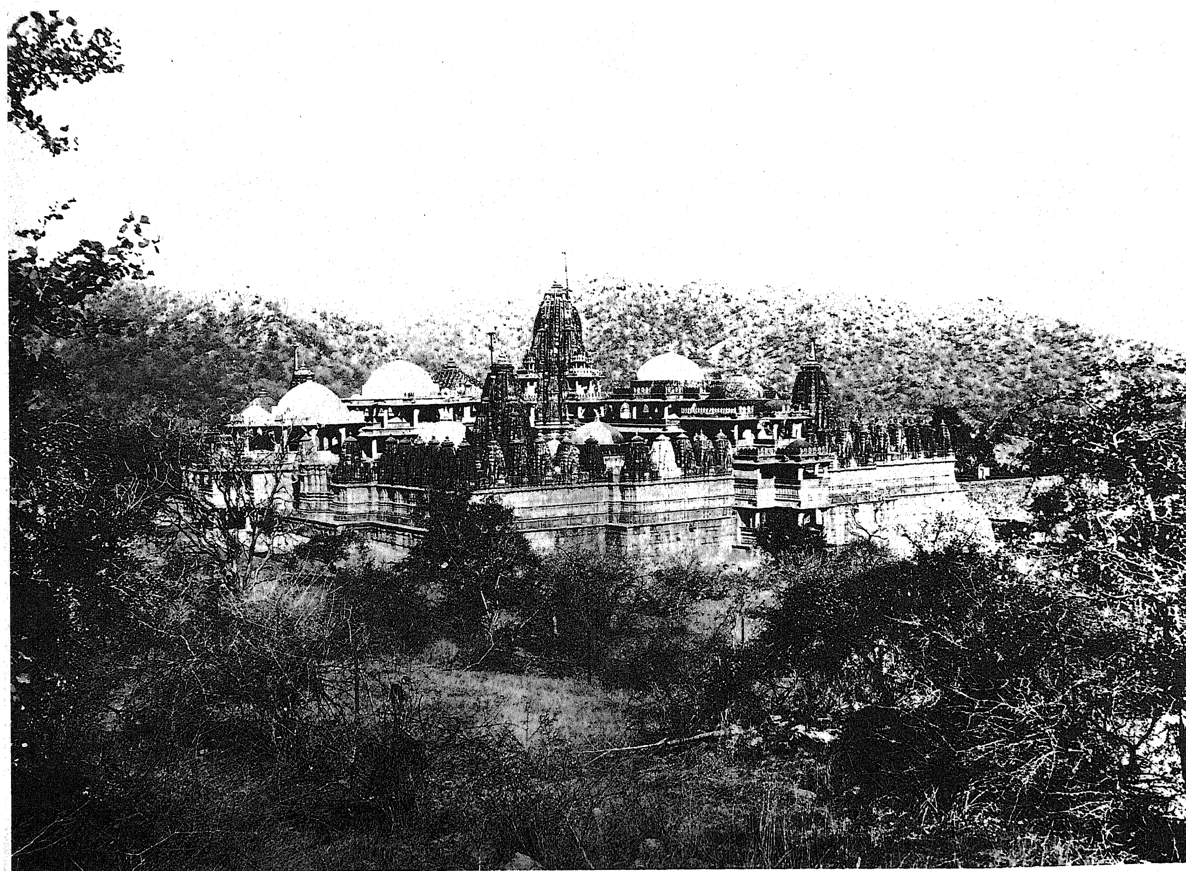
The following is a local account that is given of the builder of the temple and the manner in which it came to be erected. Dhannā and Ratnā were two brothers, of the Porvāḍ caste and residents of Nandiyā in the Sirohī State. The son of a certain Muhammadan emperor, at enmity with his father, was passing through Rājputānā. The two brothers succeeded in pacifying his anger, and induced him to return to his father's capital. The emperor was so pleased that he retained both the brothers in his court. Soon after, however, slander was at work, and they were put into prison The emperor took coins of eighty-four kinds as a fine[1] and released them. The brothers returned to their country, but quitted their old place Nandiya and settled themselves at Mālgaḍ, which was situated to the south of Rāṇpur high up on the hill. They erected a temple at Mādaḍī, which came to be known as Rāṇpur, because all the space occupied by the temple was bought by them from Rāṇā Kumbha. The land was sold on condition that it should bear his name. The first component of the name, *viz.*, Rāṇ, is the same as Rāṇā, the royal title of Kumbha; the second, *viz.*, Pur, being an abbreviated form of Porvāḍ, their caste name. One night at Mālgaḍ, Dhannā saw a celestial car in his dream He called numerous Sompuras, gave a description of it, and asked them to produce plans thereof. All were rejected except that of the Sompurā called Dīpā, a native of Muṇḍāḍā. His plan was approved of, because it was exactly of the type of the celestial car he saw in his dream. When Mādaḍī was desolated, its people went and settled themselves at Sādaḍī, six miles to its north. Dhannā, his brother Ratnā, and the latter's family also left Mālgaḍ and stayed at Sādaḍī, from where they soon went to Ghāṇerāv. In Ghāṇerāv I was lucky enough to meet one Nāth Mallajī Śāh, who looks upon himself as a descendant of Ratnā and as fourteen generations removed from him. There is no descendant of Dhannā, because he died without a son. Nāth Mallajī told me that the edifice at Rāṇpur was originally intended to have seven storeys, of which four only were completed, including the subterranean vault. This non-completion of the building as originally intended is put forth as the reason why no descendant of Ratnā, not excluding even children, now shaves his head with a razor. Of the present descendants of Ratnā, those at Ghāṇerāv are supposed to be the most important. These last are twelve families, which enjoy the privilege of applying saffron and ointment, waving

to Mount Ābū for erecting temples there, and from Ābū they have spread themselves in Gōḍvāḍ. Sompurās are the only caste I have met with in Rājputānā, the people of which possess Mss. dealing with ancient architecture or iconography and know something of their contents. Two of these I have found to be most intelligent. One is Nannā-Khummā, the Sompurā whom I saw at Rāṇpur and who is entrusted with the repairs of the temple there; and the other is Kevalrām, an old Sompurā highly respected for his learning. The latter is a native of Kosilāv in the Bālī district, but I met him at Ahor in the Jālor district, where he had been taken by the banias for reconstructing their temples.

[1] This shows that Dhannā and Ratnā were Śāhs. *Śāh* is, of course, the same as *sādhu*. And either of these we find, in later inscriptions, conjoined to the names of wealthy merchants (*e.g.* Vimala Śāh, Sādhu Guṇarāja, and so forth). Monier-Williams' dictionary gives for *sādhu* also the sense "a merchant, money-lender, usurer", which suits here excellently. *Sādhu* and *Śāh* again are the same as Śāhukār. According to the popular belief, a merchant is called a *Śāh* or *Śāhukār*, only when he possesses numerous coins of eighty-four kinds at least.



a. VIEW FROM SOUTH-WEST.



b. VIEW FROM BACK.

lights, and renewing the flag cloth of the flag staff on the 10th of the dark half of Chaitra, when a great fair is held at Rāṇpur. This privilege is exercised by the families in turn, and even widows in families, where there are no adults, maintain this right, by paying off the necessary expenses and requesting males of other families to do it for them. Another day, on which a similar fair is held, is the 13th of the bright half of Āśvina, when also the whole of the ceremony is gone through except that of raising the flag.

Let us now see what we can gather from the inscriptions themselves, which have been engraved in the temple. The longest and most important of these is that incised on a slab of white marble measuring 1′1″ broad by 3′ 3″ high and containing forty-seven lines of Sanskrit prose. It is built up in a pillar close beside the entrance of the main shrine on its proper right. The transcript of the whole of the inscription is given in Appendix I. It is important in many respects; *e.g.* it is one of the very few records of the Udaipur dynasty which give a regular list of the princes that flourished since the time of Bappa, their reputed founder. But what we are solely concerned with here is the account that is supplied of the temple itself and its builder. The very first line of this inscription tells us to what god the temple is dedicated. It offers obeisance to the Jina Yugādīśvara, who is also called *Chaturmukha* (lit. with four faces). Yugādīśvara is another name for Ṛishabhanātha, the first *tīrthaṁkara*, and the expression *Chaturmukha* means that it was not a single, but a quadruple, image of the god that had been enshrined in the temple. It was thus, to use a popular phrase, a *chaumukh* temple, and dedicated to Ṛishabhanātha. The next twenty-nine lines set forth the genealogy of the prince, during whose reign the temple was built. But this account may be passed over here excepting the name of the prince himself, who is the celebrated Rāṇā Śrī-Kumbhakarṇa, or, as the people call him, Rāṇā Kumbho. In the remaining lines we are informed that the temple was built by one Dharaṇāka. He is called *paramārhata*, *i.e.* a devout worshipper of the Arhats, *i.e.* the *tīrthaṁkaras*. This shows that he was a Jaina by religion. It is worthy of note that he is also styled *saṁ°*, which is an abbreviated form of *saṁghapati*, the leader of a *saṁgha*, *i.e.* a company of Jaina pilgrims. It is looked upon by popular Jainism as one of the most pious acts on the part of its lay followers to start a *saṁgha*,[1] take it to the sacred places, and pay off all the expenses that may be so incurred; and glowing descriptions are met with in Jaina works of such *saṁghas* inaugurated by wealthy merchants and bankers. Dharaṇāka was thus not a mere Jaina by persuasion, but an active and keen adherent of that faith. Again, he is spoken of as an ornament of the Prāgvāṭa *vaṁśa* or family. In other words, it means that he was a Porvāḍ bania. Further details of his family are specified. His grand-father was Māṁgaṇa, and his father Kurapāla. His mother's name is also given, *viz.*, Kāmale-de. Both his father and grand-father are called *saṁghapatis*. Dharaṇāka thus appears not to have been the first to originate a *saṁgha*, but to have rather been one who kept up the tradition of his family. Lines 32-34 show that he had been aided in the performance of this religious deed by another Jaina banker called Guṇarāja. But it was not in merely organising a *saṁgha* that his fame for piety lay. He is also said to have erected new, and renovated old, temples at such places as Ajāharī, Piṁḍaravāṭaka and Sālera. Lines 39-40 inform us that even in erecting the *Chaumukh* temple at

[1] For the description of a *saṁgha*, see *Prog. Report Archæol. Survey, West. Circ.*, for 1907-1908, p. 55.

Rāṇpur, he had been joined by other members of his family. Those that are mentioned are his elder brother and his nephews. The name of the former was Ratnā. He had by his wife Ratnā-de, four sons, *viz.*, Lākhā, Majā, Sonā, and Sāliga. Those, who are mentioned next, are the sons of Dharaṇāka himself, who, from his wife Dhārala-de, had at least two sons. They were Jājñā, and Jāvaḍa. We are then informed of the genesis of the name Rāṇpur. Lines 41-42 distinctly speak of the city of Rāṇapura as having been founded and called after his name by Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa. The temple appears to have been built here in accordance with the orders of this Guhila king. It was generally known, we are further told, as *chaturmukha-yugādīśvara-vihāra*, *i.e.* a *Chaumukh* temple of Ṛishabhanātha, as stated above, but was called by the particular name of *trailokya-dīpaka*, *i.e.* the light of the three worlds. In line 46, we are told that it was erected by the *sūtradhāra* Depāka.

If we now compare the two accounts—the local and the epigraphic—we shall find that they agree in many respects. First the names of the builders, according to the local account, are Dhannā and Ratnā. The former is doubtless the popular form of Dharaṇāka occurring in the inscription, whereas Ratnā is mentioned therein by this very name. Again, the tradition says that Dhannā was the younger brother of Ratnā. This is also borne out by the epigraphic record. But the tradition has it that they were originally natives of Nandiā in Sirohī. This is neither corroborated nor controverted by the inscription. The latter, however, furnishes an indication which confirms it. Dharaṇāka (Dhannā) is spoken of as having rebuilt temples at such places as Ajāharī, Piṁḍaravāṭaka and Sālera. Ajāharī and Sālera have still preserved their names in these unaltered forms, and Piṁḍaravāṭaka is doubtless Piṇḍwāḍā. All these places are in the Sirohī State and not far removed from Nandiā. It is, therefore, not improbable that Nandiā was the native place of both Dharaṇāka and Ratnā. The local account says that they were both Porvāḍs, and Porvāḍ is only the Prakrit form of Prāgvāṭa, to which caste, according to the inscription, they belonged. The tradition again says that the architect, whose design was approved of by Dhannā, was named Dīpā, which is but the abbreviated form of Depāka, the name of the *sūtradhāra* given by the inscription. There is, however, one discrepancy in the two accounts. According to tradition, Dhannā died without any issue, but the inscription mentions no less than two of his sons, *viz.* Jājñā and Jāvaḍa. In all other respects the accounts agree.

The only European, who visited and described the temple, was Sir James Fergusson. It is, indeed, strange that Tod did not visit it. He, however, gives a short account of it in his description of Rāṇā Kumbha in the "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan." 'Besides these monuments of his genius,' he says, 'two consecrated to religion have survived; that of "Koombho Sham" on Aboo, which, though worthy to attract notice elsewhere, is here eclipsed by a crowd of more interesting objects. The other, one of the largest edifices existing, cost upwards of a million sterling, towards which Koombho contributed eighty thousand pounds. It is erected in the Sadri pass leading from the western descent of the highlands of Mewar, and is dedicated to Rishub-deva. Its secluded position has preserved it from bigoted fury, and its only visitants now are the wild beasts who take shelter in its sanctuary.'[1] To this descrip-

[1] Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 268 (edited in 1894 by Lahiri & Co., Calcutta).

tion he adds the following foot-note: "The Rana's minister of the Jain faith, and of the tribe Porwar (one of the twelve and a half divisions) laid the foundation of this temple in A. D. 1438. It was completed by subscription. It consists of three stories and is supported by numerous columns of granite, upwards of forty feet in height. The interior is inlaid with mosaics of cornelian and agate. The statues of the Jaina saints are in its subterranean vaults. We could not expect much elegance at a period when the arts had long been declining, but it would doubtless afford a fair specimen of them, and enable us to trace their gradual descent in the scale of refinement. This temple is an additional proof of the early existence of the art of inlaying. That I did not see it, is now to me one of the many vain regrets which I might have avoided." Tod's account, though on the whole correct, is faulty in some respects. In the first place, the person, who built the temple, was no doubt a Porvāḍ by caste, as he says, but we have no proof to assert that he was a minister of Rāṇā Kumbha. Secondly, it is not clear what Tod means by saying that the temple was completed by subscription. He actually states the cost of the edifice to have been upwards of a million sterling, out of which eighty thousand pounds were contributed by the Rāṇā. This statement is confirmed neither by any local tradition nor by inscriptions. Thirdly, Tod is not quite correct in saying that the secluded position of the temple saved it from the iconoclastic fury of the Muhammadans. According to one local story Aurangzeb in one of his expeditions of conquest in Rājputānā, visited this temple and commenced the work of breaking idols in the shrine. The broken *parikaras* and *toraṇas* in the sanctum are still pointed out by the people as the result of this bigotry. But on the very same night of the day when this work of destruction began, both he and one of his Begums fell ill. The Begum saw in her dream the *tīrthaṁkara* Ṛishabhanātha, to whom the temple is dedicated, and the latter ordered her to compel her husband to stop the work of destruction and wave lights before his images the next day. The behests were duly fulfilled, and Aurangzeb, who had become panic-stricken, also worshipped the images. A figure is shown on a pillar in the eastern *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, above an inscription, which is said to be of this Muhammadan emperor (Fig. 1). The figure has its hands reverentially folded, and this, it is believed, represents the worshipful attitude assumed by him when he came to do homage. Now, though the broken sculptures in the shrine and elsewhere are an undoubted indication of the Muhammadan pollution, the story about such a bigoted and obstinate Muhammadan as Aurangzeb relenting and worshipping the idols is anything but credible. In this connection it is worthy of note that three small miniature *idgahs* are noticeable in this temple, two at the very



Fig. 1.

entrance, one on each side, and the other on the second storey. And it is said, according to another story which is also current, that they were built in a single night to prevent Aurangzeb from doing further damage to the edifice. Whether Aurangzeb, as a matter of fact, visited the temple or not is uncertain, but certain it is

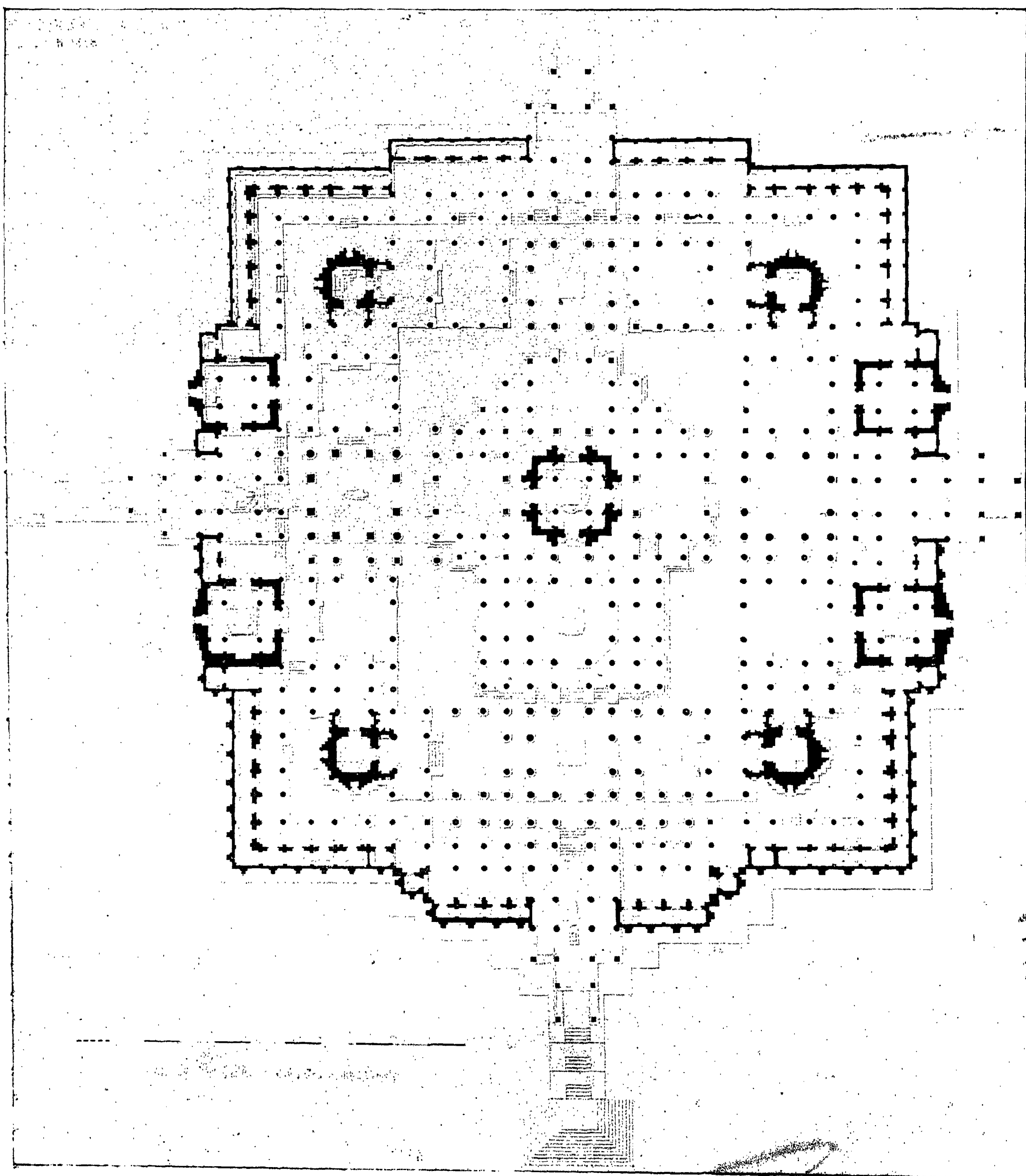


Fig. 2.

that the work of destruction had been commenced by the Muhammadans as is evidenced by the broken *parikaras* and *toraṇas* in the shrine and the shattered domes of the southern *sabhāmaṇḍapa;* and, in order to put a stop to this molestation, the people had no recourse but to erect these *idgahs,*—a ruse too frequently practised in Rājputānā to require any proof. Thirdly, the figure on the pillar is anything but that

of a Muhammadan, and is, in all likelihood, of one of the two bania brothers of Usamāpura, who, as the inscription engraved below tells us, repaired the east *sabhāmaṇḍapa*.[1]

The temple, as has been mentioned at the outset, is a *chaumukh* temple. A *chaumukh* is a group of four images, either of one *tīrthaṁkara* or of four different *tīrthaṁkaras*, placed on a pedestal back to back so as to face the four cardinal directions. The shrine is thus occupied by a quadruple image, and is consequently open on the four sides, each facing an image. The images are of white marble, and are, in the present instance, all of one *tīrthaṁkara*, *viz.*, of Ṛishabha, the first of them. The upper storey also contains a similar shrine, accessible by four doors opening from the terraced roofs of the building. The lower and principal shrine has no *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* or closed hall in front of each door, as is very often the case with Jaina temples, but only a small porch called *mukhamaṇḍapa*. Further, on a lower level, is a *sabhāmaṇḍapa* or open assembly hall, on each side, approached by a *nāḷ* or flight of stairs (Fig. 2). Outside this flight of stairs is an open porch, and above, a closed one popularly known as *nāḷ-maṇḍap*. Each one of the open porches is accessible by another flight of stairs, but of the latter, that facing the west, contains far more stairs than the others, and consequently the entrance on the west is considered to be the principal one. Facing the sides of each of the *mukhamaṇḍapas* of the principal or *chaumukh* shrine is a *mādar* or larger subsidiary shrine; and facing each *sabhāmaṇḍapa* is a smaller subsidiary shrine, or *khūṇṭ-rā mandar*, so called because they stand exactly on the *nāsaks* or angles formed by lines drawn through the centres of the *sabhāmaṇḍapas*. Around these four shrines are four groups of domes, resting on about 420 columns. The central ones of each group—four in number—are three storeys high and tower over the others of the same group. And one of these central domes —that facing the principal entrance—is double, having a second dome over the inner, and supported by the very unusual number of sixteen columns. The sides of the temple between the *mādars* and the entrances are occupied by *bhāmtīs* or ranges of cells for images, each with a pyramidal roof of its own but without any partitioning walls.[2] They contain inscriptions belonging to the first half of the 16th century and recording the erection of *devakulikās* or cells by Jaina devotees, most of whom were Osvāls, hailing from Pāṭṇā, Çambay and other places.

As regards the general internal and external effect produced on the mind by the Rāṇpur temple, I cannot do better than quote the following words of Sir James Fergusson:

"The internal effect of this forest of columns may be gathered from the view (Woodcut No. 134) taken across one of its courts; but it is impossible that any view can reproduce the endless variety of perspective and the play of light and shade which results from the disposition of the pillars, and of the domes, and from the mode, in which the light is introduced. A wonderful effect also results from the number of cells, most of them containing images of the Tirthankar, which everywhere meet the view. Besides the twelve in the central sikras there are eighty-six cells of very varied form and size surrounding the interior, and all their façades more or less adorned with sculpture.

[1] *Vide* Appendix No. 2 below.

[2] The plan given by Fergusson on p. 240 of his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* is not free from inaccuracies and consequently is not quite reliable. The plan herewith published is the only one that is correct and accurate.

"The general external effect of the Sadri Temple may be judged of by Woodcut No. 135; owing to its lofty basement, and the greater elevation of the principal domes, it gives a more favourable impression of a Jaina temple than is usually the case, the greatest defect of these buildings as architectural designs being the want of ornament on their exterior faces; this, however, is more generally the case in the older than in the more modern temples [1].

"The immense number of parts in the building, and their general smallness, pre-

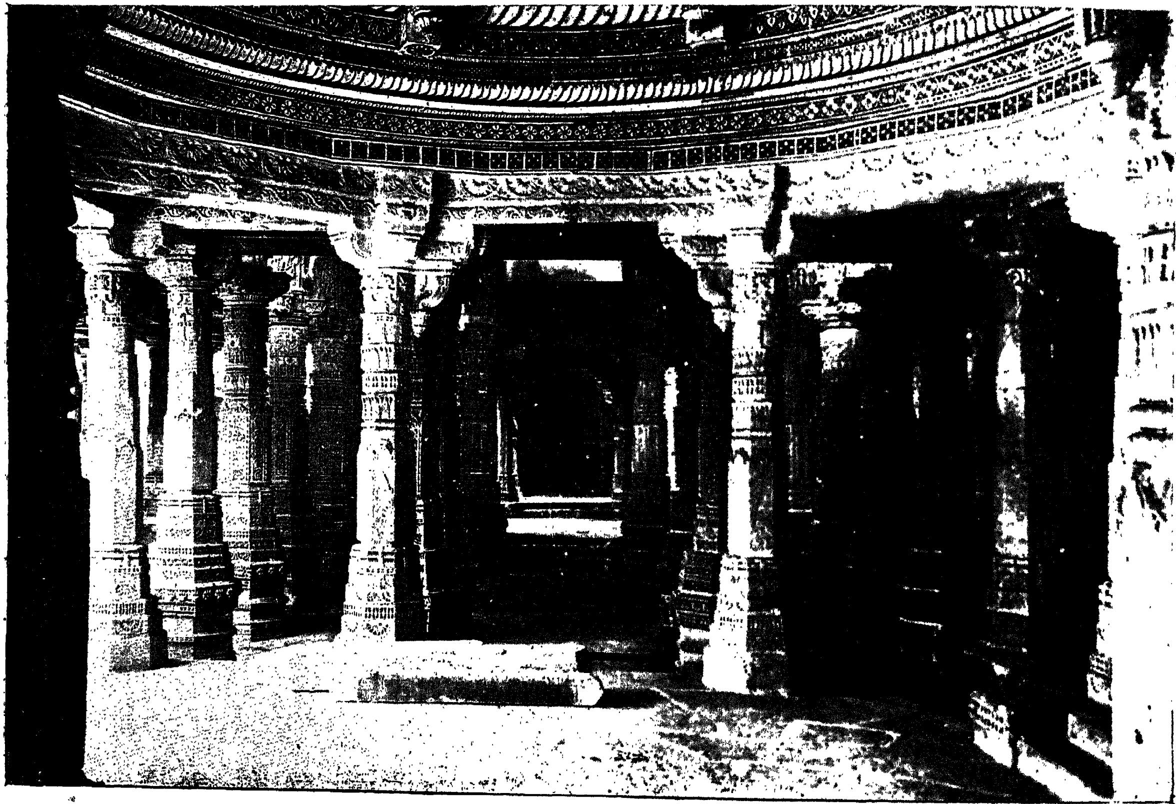


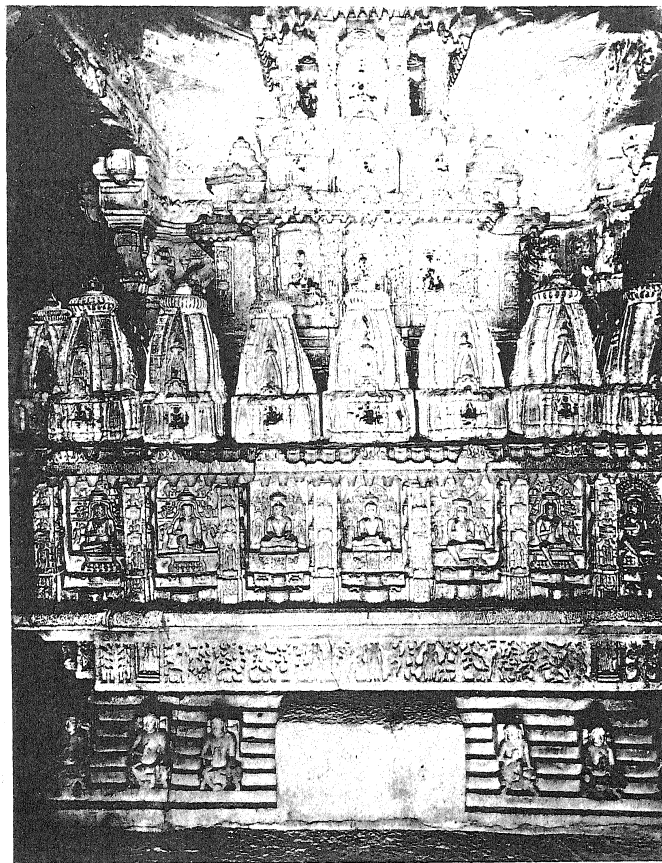
Fig. 3.

vents its laying claim to anything like architectural grandeur; but their variety, their beauty of detail—no two pillars in the whole building being exactly alike—the grace with which they are arranged, the tasteful admixture of domes of different heights with flat ceilings, and the mode in which the light is introduced, combine to produce an excellent effect. Indeed, I know of no other building in India, of the same class, that leaves so pleasing an impression, or affords so many hints for the graceful arrangement of columns in an interior[2].

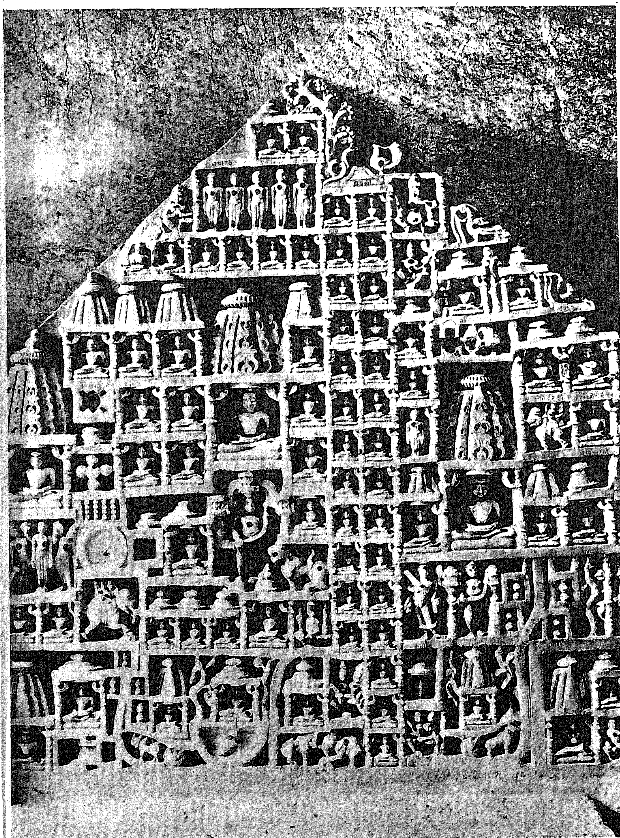
"Besides its merits of design, its dimensions are by no means to be despised; it covers altogether about 48,000 sq. ft. or nearly as much as one of our ordinary mediæval cathedrals and, taking the basement into account, is nearly of equal bulk; while in amount of labour and of sculptural decorations it far surpasses any."[3]

The exterior of the temple is built of two different kinds of stone. That of the basement is popularly known as the Sevāḍī stone and that of the walls the Sonāṇā stone. The latter kind has been used for the whole of the interior work except for

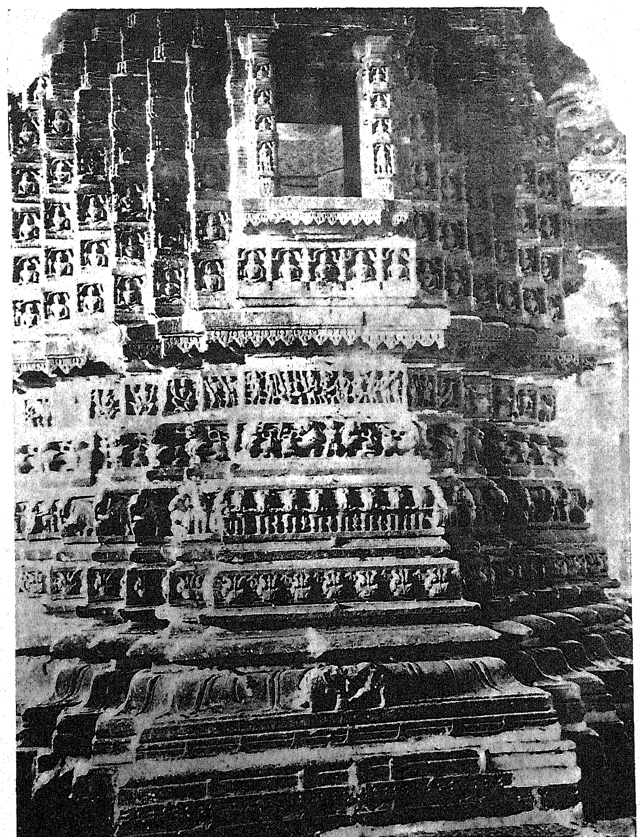
[1] See plate (*a*) & (*b*).
[2] See fig. 3.
[3] *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 241-2.



a. SAMMETA SIKHARA SCULPTURE.



b. A SLAB REPRESENTING GIRNAR AND SATRUNJAYA HILLS.



c. A SAHASRAKUTA SCULPTURE.

images in the shrine. The *śikhara* or spire is built of bricks. As repairs were going on in the interior of the temple when I was there, stone from Sonāṇā had been brought at the rate of annas 5 per cart. The Jahāgirdār of Sonāṇā, who is a *chāraṇ* by caste, seeing that this stone was being exported in large quantities, suddenly increased the price of the stone to Rs. 1-4-0 per cart. And the Agent of the Ānandjī Kulliāṇjī was, therefore, compelled for some time to discontinue bringing stone from there.

From the iconographic point of view also the *chaumukh* temple at Rāṇpur is interesting. In the *mādar* or larger subsidiary shrine towards the north-west of the main shrine is a sculpture of a *Saṁmetaśikhara* [Pl. LXXXI (a)], and, in the *mādar* just opposite to it, is another of an *Ashṭāpada* but left in an unfinished condition. Just outside the former but on its proper right is a slab representing the sacred hills of Girnār and Śatruñjaya [Pl. LXXXI(*b*)]. On its proper left, *i.e.* in the *nāl-maṇḍap* on the north stands a sculpture of *sahasrakūṭa* [Pl. LXXXI (*c*)]. Outside the second *mādar* just referred to but near it is a curious piece depicting Pārśvanātha, the 23rd *tīrthaṁkara*, canopied by the hoods of a cobra, the manifold and complex coilings of whose tails have been elegantly sculptured (Fig. 4). But the stone is said to have been brought from outside and not to have been originally in the temple. It seems to have been broken into three, the pieces being afterwards joined by mortar. Below, is engraved a small inscription with the date Saṁvat 1903 (A.D. 1846) and containing the name of Kakkasūri of the Kevala *gachchha*.[1] All these sculptures except the last are very important, and require each a separate detailed description, which must, however, be reserved for a future occasion.

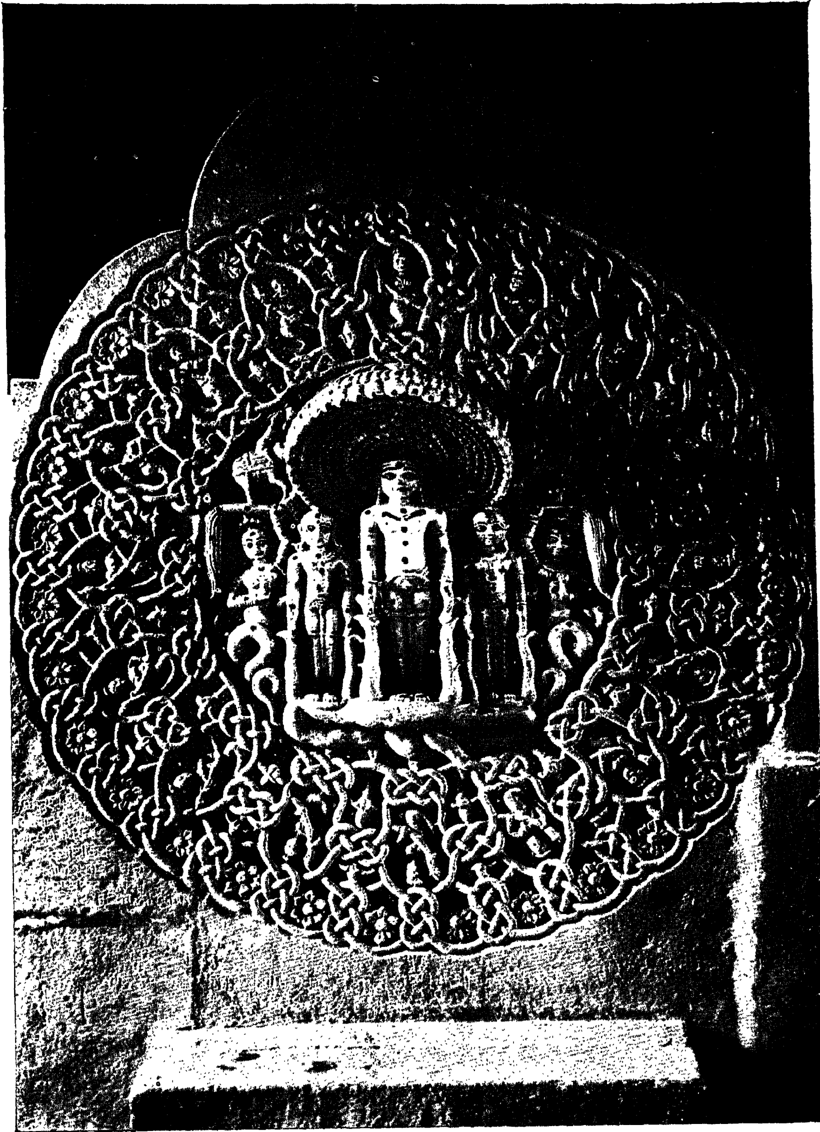


Fig. 4.

[1] *Vide* Appendix, No. 3 below.

Translation.

A bow to the illustrious Jina, the lord of the beginning of the world, and having four faces. In the year numbering 1496 after Vikrama, the supreme ruler of Śrī-Medapāṭa Śrī-Bappa, 1; Śrī-Guhila, 2; Bhoja, 3; Śīla, 4; Kālabhoja, 5; Bhartṛi-bhaṭa, 6; Siṁha, 7; Mahāyaka, 8; Śrī-Khummāṇa, the weigher of the weight in gold of himself with his son and wife, 9; the famous Allaṭa, 10; Naravāhana, 11; Śaktikumāra, 12; Śuchivarman, 13; Kīrtivarman, 14; Yogarāja, 15; Varaṭa, 16; Vaṁśapāla, 17; Vairisiṁha, 18; Vīrasiṁha, 19; Śrī-Arisiṁha, 20; Choḍasiṁha, 21; Vikramasiṁha, 22; Raṇasiṁha, 23; Khemasiṁha, 24; Sāmaṁtasiṁha, 25; Kumāra-siṁha, 26; Mathanasiṁha, 27; Padmasiṁha, 28; Jaitrasiṁha, 29; Tejasvisiṁha, 30; Samarasiṁha, 31; Śrī-Bhuvanasiṁha, a descendant of Bappa and the conqueror of Śrī-Allāvaddīna Sultan and of the Chāhumāna king Śrī-Kītūka,[1] 32; (his) son Śrī-Jayasiṁha, 33; Lakshmasiṁha, the vanquisher of Gogādeva,[2] the king of Mālava, 34; (his) son Śrī-Ajayasiṁha, 35; (his) brother Śrī-Arisiṁha, 36; Śrī-Hammīra, 37; Śrī-Khetasiṁha, 38; the incomparable king named Śrī-Laksha, 39; (his) son king Śrī-Mokala, who was Indra's garden of repose to the celestial trees, *viz.*, the excellent qualities such as liberality consisting of *suvarṇa-tulā* and so forth, righteousness, beneficence, etc., 40; the lion of the forest, *viz.*, (his) family, the king Rāṇā Śrī-Kuṁbhakarṇa, 41; who had demonstrated the pride of the effulgence of a conqueror by seizing, in mere play, the several great fortresses (such as those) of the very inaccessible and impregnable Sāraṁgapura, Nāgapura, Gāgaraṇa, Narāṇaka, Ajaya-meru, Maṇḍora, Maṇḍalakara, Būṁdī, Khāṭū, Chāṭasū, Jānā, and others;[3] who was like the lord of elephants, being exalted by his own *bhuja* (arms or trunk) and having acquired many *bhadras* (auspicious qualities, or elephants of a particular class); who was the lord of birds, *i.e.* Garuḍa, in having destroyed hoards of snake-like Mlechchha kings, whose foot-lotus was caressed by the rows of the foreheads of the kings of various countries, whose obstinate resistence was baffled by his terrible staff-like arm; who was a Govinda for his amorous dalliance with the faithful and lovely Lakshmī (goddess of sovereignty or the goddess Lakshmī); by the spreading of whose valour, which acted like wild fire to burn the thicket of bad polity, droves of beasts, *viz.*, all the powerful hostile kings, were fleeing away; whose title as the Hindu Sultan was pro-claimed by the umbrella of royalty given (him) by the Sultans protecting Gurjaratrā and the territory of Ḍhillī which were occupied by his great exploits; (who was) the asylum of the sacrifice of gold; who was the supporter of the duties (enjoined) in the six systems of philosophy; who was the ocean to the river, *viz.*, his quadripartite

[1] He is probably Kītū, son of the Sonagrā Māladeva, and brother of Vaṇavīra, for whom we have an inscription dated V. E. 1394.

[2] Gogādeva (Kokadeo) is also mentioned in the *Tawārikh Farishtāh* as having been conquered by Alā-ud-din.

[3] The forts may be identified as follows: Sāraṁgapura is Sārangpur in Scindia's territory, Mālwā; Nāgapura is Nāgaur, the principal town of the district of the same name, Jodhpur State; Gāgaraṇa is Gāgron in the Koṭā State; Narāṇaka is Narāṇā, in the Jaipur territory, celebrated for being the place of the pontiff of the Dādupanthīs; Ajayameru is, of course, Ajmer; Maṁḍora is Maṇḍor, six miles to the north of Jodhpur; Maṇḍalakara is probably Māṇḍalgaḍh, the principal town of the district of the same name, Mewār; Būṁdī is obviously Bundi; Khāṭū is either the place of that name in the Nāgaur district, Mārwār, or in Śekhāvāṭī, Jaipur; Chāṭasū is Chāṭsū also called Chākshū, in the Jaipur State, a railway station on the Jaipur-Sawai-Madhopur line. Jānā is unidentifiable.

army; who imitated Śrī-Rāma, Yudhishṭhira, and other kings by his fame, virtue, protection of his subjects, truthfulness and other qualities;—in the victorious reign of this paramount sovereign; by his favourite, the *Saṁghapati* Dharaṇāka, the most devout worshipper of the Arhats—the son of Kāmalade, wife of *Saṁghapati* Kurapāla, son of *Saṁghapati* Māṁgaṇa, who was the crest-jewel of the Prāgvāṭa caste;—whose body shone with ornaments studded with the gems of modesty, discrimination, fortitude, generosity, auspicious deeds, spotless disposition and other wonderful qualities; who had made pilgrimages to the Śrī-Śatruñjaya and other holy places, preceded by the pageant of wonder-inspiring temples and so forth and accompanied by *sādhu* Guṇarāja,[1] the leader of a Saṁgha, who had secured the *farman* of the illustrious Ahammada, the Sultan; whose ship, *viz.*, the human life, was able to cross the ocean, *viz.*, the worldly existence, being filled with rich wares, *viz.*, countless merits, such as respect for the (Jaina) community and beneficent acts of various kinds (consisting of the opening) of alms-houses in hard times, the installation of the foot-marks (of the Jaina gods), the repairs of old and (the erection of) new Jaina temples at Ajāharī Piṇḍaravāṭaka, Sālera,[2] and many other places; together with (his) increasing progeny consisting of the *saṁghapatis* Jāñjā, Jāvaḍā and others, (his) sons by his wife Dhāralade, and his (Dharāṇaka's) eldest brother Ratnā, his wife Ratnāde, and (their) sons Lākhā, Majā, Sonā, Sāliga; in Rāṇapura founded in his own name, by the king Rāṇā Śrī-Kuṁbhakarṇa through his favour and order, the temple of (Ṛishabhanātha) the lord of the beginning of the world (in the form) of Chaumukh (having a quadruple face), called Trailokya-dīpaka, was constructed. And it was consecrated by Śrī-Śomasundarasūri of Śrī-Bṛihattapāgachchha, who was the controller of the well-established Purandaragachchha, a great Guru, and the sun of the pontific seat of the illustrious Śrī-Devasundarasūri, (and) who was in the line of Śrī-Jagachchandrasūri and Śrī-Devendrasūri.[3] This was made by the architect Depāka. And may this Śrī-Chaturmukha-vihāra prosper till the sun and the moon endure! May happiness attend it!

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[1] For Guṇarāja, Sultan Ahammada, and the *farman*, see my paper on "Chitorgaḍh *praśasti*," contributed to the *Jour. Bom. As. Soc.* Vol., XXIII., p. 42 ff.

[2] For the identification of these places see the remarks above. *Vide* also Prog. Report Archæol. Survey, West. Circle, for 1905-06, pp. 48-49.

[3] For the list of these Jaina pontiffs, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, pp. 254-56.

No. 2.

On pillar in east *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, ground floor.

1 ॥६०॥ संवत् १६११ वर्षे वैशाखशु-
2 (॥)दि १३ दिने पातसाहि श्रीअकब्बरप्र-
3 (॥)दत्तजगद्गुरुबिरुदधा[र]कपरमगु-
4 (॥)रुतपागछा(च्छा)धिराजभट्टारकश्री ६ ही-
5 (॥)रविजयसूरीणामुपदेशेन श्रीराण-
6 (॥)पुरनगरे चतुमु(र्मु)खश्रीधरणविहारश्री-
7 (॥)मदम्हदावादनगरनिकटवत्यु(र्त्यु)सम्मा-
8 (॥)पुरवास्तव्यप्राग्व(ग्वा)टज्ञातीयसा० रायम-
9 (॥)लभार्यावरजूभार्यासुरूपदे तत्पुत्र[सा०]
10 (॥)खेता सा०नायकाभ्यां भावरधादिकुटुं-
11 (॥)बयुताभ्यां पूर्वदिगग्र(वप्र)तोल्या मेघनादाभि(भि)-
12 (॥)धो मंडप(पः) कारित: स्वश्रेयोर्थं ॥ सूत्रधा-
13 (॥)रसमलमंडपरिवनादविरचित(तः)[॥*]

No. 3.

(*a*) On left side of Pārśvanātha Sculpture.

1 ॥संव्वत् १८०३
2 वर्षे वैशाख सुद ११
3 गुरौ दिने पूज्यपरमपू-
4 ज्यभट्टारकश्रीश्रीकक्क-
5 सूरिभि: गण २१ सहिता यात्रा
6 सफलीकृता श्रीकवलगच्छे ।
7 लि । पं । शिवसुंदरमुनिना । श्रीरस्तु ॥

(*b*) Below same.

॥संवत् १८०३ वर्षे वैशाखसुद ११ श्रीजिनेश्वराणां चरणेषु । पं । सिवसुंद[रः] समागतः

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

THE LATE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAMES TOD.

WHO has not dipped into "Tod" and revelled in his delightful accounts of the old world's doings in that ancient home of chivalry—the land of the Rajputs; and who, when once deep in his recital of its ancient lore, has not resented the unwelcome interruption that has rudely recalled him to the ordinary humdrum duties of life!

Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod, late Political Agent to the Western Rajput States, lived in those early days of British rule in India when British officers, cut off from their own home land for long years together, identified themselves more thoroughly with their surroundings in their new country of adoption; and when they settled down long enough in their respective districts and provinces to become intimate with the people of the land, and to make whole-hearted and lifelong friendships among them. His two voluminous works, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* and *Travels in Western India*, testify to the unflagging interest he took in all their doings, their works and their history, and the untiring zeal with which he unravelled the tangled skeins of their chronicles, and ferretted out the invaluable information which is contained, so closely packed, within the covers of those works.

Here and there, in these volumes, he gives us passing glimpses into his own daily life and methods of work, which show how he ever subordinated personal comfort to interest in this fascinating pursuit. "From the earliest period of my official connection with this interesting country, I applied myself to collect and explore its early historical records, with a view of throwing some light upon a people scarcely yet known in Europe, and whose political connection with England appeared to me to be capable of undergoing a material change, with benefit to both parties. It would be wearisome to the reader to be minutely informed of the process I adopted to collect the scattered relics of Rajpoot history into the form and substance in which he now sees them.

"For a period of ten years, I was employed, with the aid of a learned Jain, in ransacking every work which could contribute any facts or incidents to the history of the Rajpoots, or diffuse any light upon their manners and character. Extracts and versions of all such passages were made by my Jain assistant into the more familiar dialects which are formed from the Sanskrit of these tribes, in whose language my long

residence amongst them enabled me to converse with facility. At much expense, and during many wearisome hours, to support which required no ordinary degree of enthusiasm, I endeavoured to possess myself not merely of their history, but of their religious notions, their familiar opinions, and their characteristic manners, by association with their Chiefs and bardic chroniclers, and by listening to their traditionary tales and allegorical poems. I might ultimately, as the circle of my enquiries enlarged, have materially augmented my knowledge of these subjects; but ill-health compelled me to relinquish this pleasing though toilsome pursuit, and forced me to revisit my native land just as I had obtained permission to look across the threshold of the Hindu Minerva; whence, however, I brought some relics, the examination of which I now consign to other hands ".



Tod's industry was unbounded. After spending the day and half the night patiently listening to "dismal tales of sterile fields, exhausted funds, exiles unreturned, and the depredations of the wild mountain Bhil ", he seizes the first opportunity of release, even at that late hour, to continue his journal and to write up a lengthy account of the day's visitors. Even sickness, so long as he had possession of his reason and

strength enough to write or travel, never deterred him from these self-imposed duties. "The last four months of our residence at Kotah was a continued struggle against cholera and deadly fever: never in the memory of man was such a season known. This is not a state of mind or body fit for recording passing events; and although the period of the last six months—from my arrival at Kotah in February last, to my leaving it this morning—has been one of the most eventful of my life, it has left fewer traces of these events upon my mind for notice in my journal than if I had been less occupied ....To try back for the less important events which furnish the thread of the Personal Narrative would be vain, suffering, whilst this journal is written, under fever and ague, and all my friends and servants in a similar plight. Though we more than once changed our ground of encampment, sickness still followed us". Then later, "My journalizing had nearly terminated yesterday. Duncan and Cary being still confined to their beds, my relative, Captain Waugh, sat down with me to dinner, but fever and ague having destroyed all appetite on my part, I was a mere spectator". He then describes an attack that followed, characterised by all the symptoms of irritant poisoning, until his head seemed to expand to such an enormous size as if it alone would have filled the tent. Fortunately he rallied, else we should probably never have heard of him or his work.

Towards the end of his journal he says "Fourteen years have elapsed since I first put my foot in Mewar, as a subaltern of the Resident's escort, when it passed through Rasmy. Since that period, my whole thoughts have been occupied with her history and that of her neighbour."

The thorough abandon with which Tod let himself go, when in the presence of the past, is well seen in the following passage: "My heart beat high as I approached the ancient capital of the Seesodias (Chitorgarh) teeming with reminiscences of glory, which every stone in her giant-like *kangras* (battlements) attested. It was from this side that the imperial hosts under Alla and Akbar advanced to force the descendant of Rama to do homage to their power. How the summons was answered, the deeds of Ranas Ursi and Pertap have already told........... Here I got out of my Palki, and ventured the ascent, not through one, but five gates, upon the same faithless elephant; but with this difference, that I had no howda to encase me and prevent my sliding off, if I found any impediment; nevertheless in passing under each successive portal I felt an involuntary tendency to stoop, though there was a superfluity of room over head. I hastened to my *bechoba*, pitched upon the margin of the *Suryacoond*, or 'fountain of the Sun,' and with the wrecks of ages around me, I abandoned myself to contemplation. I gazed until the sun's last beam fell upon 'The ringlet of Cheetore,' illuminating its gray and grief-worn aspect, like a lambent gleam lighting up the face of sorrow. Who could look on this lonely, this majestic column, which tells, in language more easy of interpretation than the tablets within, of

'————deeds which should not pass away.
And names that must not wither,'

and without a sigh for its departed glories? But in vain I dipped my pen to embody my thoughts in language; for wherever the eye fell, it filled the mind with images of the past, and ideas rushed too tumultuously to be recorded. In this mood I continued for some time, gazing listlessly, until the shades of evening gradually enshrouded the

temples, columns, and palaces; and as I folded up my paper till the morrow, the words of the prophetic bard of Israel came forcibly to my recollection: 'How doth the City sit solitary that was full of people! how is she become a widow! she that was great among the nations, and princess among provinces, how is she become tributary!'"

With this introduction I call the reader's attention to the accompanying illustration unearthed by Mr. D. R. Bhāndārkar during his last season's tour in Rājputānā. It is from a photograph in the possession of a Jāghīrdār at Ajmir, taken from a painting which is now in the possession of a person in the Udaipur State. This interesting picture, which bears the stamp of genuineness, depicts Colonel Tod at his favourite occupation, assisted by his Śastri or paṇḍit, whose pedantry, unfortunately, led the Colonel into not a few errors, especially in connection with the translation of inscriptions. It is possible that the paṇḍit here portrayed is the learned Yati Gyānchandra of whom he speaks in the opening chapter of the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.* He was a Jaina Yati whom he met at Jaipur, of the Kharataragachchha sub-division of the Jains, and was always in attendance upon him. Bhīm Siṁha, Mahārānā of Udaipur, granted this Yati several *bighas* of land near Mandal, close to Bhilwārā.

The artist, who drew the original picture, may have been "Ghassi," whom Tod frequently mentions in his personal narrative as preparing his illustrations for him. Soon after the Colonel left India he wrote: "The hand of genius which has illustrated this work, and which will, I trust, perpetuate his own name with the monuments time has spared of Hindu art, is now cold in death."

HENRY COUSENS.

EPIGRAPHY.

THE number of inscriptions copied during the year totals 882, distributed as follows :—129 in the Northern Circle, 20 in the Eastern Circle, 84 in the Western Circle, 628 in the Southern Circle, and 21 in Burma. In the Eastern Circle, Dr. Bloch has examined several inscriptions without apparently taking impressions of them, and in the Frontier Province three inscribed stones have been acquired for the Peshawar Museum.

Three parts of the *Epigraphia Indica* were issued during the year, *viz.*, Part VIII of Volume VIII, and Parts II and III, of Volume IX. Among the more important inscriptions published are those on the Mathurā Lion Capital now preserved in the Buddhist Room at the British Museum which have been re-edited by Mr. F. W. Thomas. They are in the Kharōshṭhī alphabet and the Prākṛit language. The latter is distinguished by its closeness to Sanskṛit. One of the records registers the deposit of a Buddhist relic by Nandasi-Akasā, chief queen of the Satrap Rājūla, *i.e.*, Rañjubula (about 110 B. C.) whose son Kharaōsta is also mentioned. The stupa and the monastery [at Mathurā] are declared to be for the acceptance of the universal *saṅgha* of the Sarvāstivādins. Another refers to Śuḍāsa, son of Rājūla; a third to the Satraps Kusūlaka Pādika and Mevaki Miyika; and a fourth to the satrap Khardaa.

Another Prākṛit record is a grant of the Śālaṅkāyana king Vijaya-Dēvavarman published by Professor Hultzsch. The orthography of the Prākṛit portion of this inscription agrees to a certain extent with that of the literary Prākṛit and of the British Museum plates of Chārudēvī, while the language is more archaic in one important point, *viz.*, that single consonants between vowels generally remain unchanged. The charter of Vijaya-Dēvavarman agrees with the British Museum plates of Chārudēvī in another point. Both contain imprecatory verses in Sanskṛit at the end. Though the find spot of the former is unknown, the two show when taken with the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman, the Koṇḍamudi plates of Jayavarman and the Amarāvatī inscriptions, that Prākṛit was the court language in the Telugu country in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Professor Kielhorn contributes an article on the Chāhamānas of Naddūla and a note on two inscriptions of Mahēndrapāla based on impressions prepared by the

Assistant Superintendent of the Southern Circle. The original plates were lent to the latter by Mr. Sarabhai Tulsi Das, Curator of the Junāgaḍh Museum, for taking impressions. Professor Hultzsch edits the Maliyapūṇḍi grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II. and the Talamañchi plates of the Western Chalukya Vikramāditya I. A transcript and translation of each of these two grants were printed in the volume of Nellore inscriptions by Messrs. Butterworth, I.C.S., and Venugopaul Chetty, I.C.S. Of the Eastern Chalukya Amma II., a fresh grant found at Vandram in the Kistna District is also published by Professor Hultzsch. Dr. Konow writes an article on a grant of the Eastern Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III. The Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya is an early record in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet belonging to the period of Pāṇḍya ascendency in Southern India. Mr. Hira Lal contributes a paper on the Kanker epigraph of Bhānudēva and Pandit Dayaram Sahni on the Benares inscription of Pantha.

Of the three inscribed stones acquired for the Peshawar Museum, two are in the Kharōshṭhī alphabet, but they are historically unimportant. Perhaps the earliest Brāhmī inscriptions discovered during the year are from Southern India, where they have been found in natural caves with beds cut into the rock. Two such caves were examined by the Assistant Superintendent, one at Varichchiyūr near Madura and the other at Mēṭṭuppaṭṭi, about 11 miles from the Ammayanayakanur Station on the South-Indian Railway. It has not been possible to make out any of them satisfactorily. In the last *Annual* Dr. Konow stated that the language of these South Indian records might be Dravidian. But, in one of the inscriptions now brought to light can be traced case terminations which generally occur in Pāli.

Another Brāhmī inscription was discovered at the village of Garikapāḍu-Agrahāra in the Sattenapalle tāluka of the Guntur District. Though it is not historically important, it shows that the mound near which the stone was found may contain more such inscriptions and therefore deserves to be carefully examined.

As remarked by Dr. Vogel, the year 1907-08, has been fruitful in epigraphical discoveries in the Northern Circle. At Mathurā, fresh Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kushaṇa period have come to light. These are interesting on account of the sculptures on which they occur. At the Kaṭrā was found a statuette which the Brāhmaṇa owner was worshipping as the sage Viśvāmitra. The two flywhisk-bearers and the two flower-showering celestials of the group were taken by him for Rāma, Lakshmaṇa Bharata, and Śatrughna. The inscription engraved on the pedestal makes it clear that the statuette is a Bōdhisattva set up in a *vihāra* founded by a lady called Amōhā-āsī, the mother of Budharakhita (Sanskrit Buddharakshita).

A similar case of worshipping an image under a mistaken identity has been observed at Chhargaon, 5 miles due south of Mathurā. The villagers of Chhargaon were worshipping a life-size statue believing it to represent Dāujī *alias* Balarāma, the brother of the god Kṛishṇa. The back of the statue bears a well-preserved inscription in six lines dated in the 40th year and in the reign of Huvishka. The image is here described as "the lord Nāga" (*bhagavā Nāgo*). It was erected in connection with the construction of a tank (*pukharani*). Dr. Vogel remarks the statue affords additional proof that these so-called snake-gods are not human-shaped reptiles, far less deified heroes, but water-spirits propitiated in their alternately beneficial and

destructive nature. The mention of the Nāga king Dadhikarṇa in another Mathurā inscription coupled with the fact that personal names derivable from the word *nāga* are common in records of the Scythian period may be taken to show that side by side with Buddhism there flourished in Mathurā cults of the deified elements of nature. The dedicatory inscriptions on some of the pillars of the railing at Bodh-Gaya have now for the first time become legible. "They prove" observes Dr. Bloch "that the term 'Aśōka railing' which has been given to the stone at Bodh-Gaya, cannot any longer be upheld." There is reason to suppose that the railing was put up about a century subsequent to the reign of Aśōka by the queens of Indramitra and Brahmamitra mentioned in the dedicatory epigraphs. This date of the railing might already have been inferred from the characters of the inscriptions of "the noble lady Kurangi" who had her name cut on the stones of the railing presented by her. The kings Indramitra and Brahmamitra whose consorts are said to have put up the railing must have been contemporaries of the Śuṅga dynasty which flourished in the second and first centuries B. C. The Bodh-Gaya railing is accordingly synchronous with the railings around the stupas at Bharahat and Sāñchi. If Aśōka really erected any structures in connection with the shrines at Bodh-Gaya, no traces have been found of them so far.

At Koḍavalu in the Piṭhāpuram Zamīndārī of the Godavari District has been found a rock-cut inscription of the Andhra king Vāsiṭhīputa Chadasāta. This is the only lithic record hitherto discovered of this Andhra king who is known from a number of coins found in the Kistna and Godavari districts.

A hoard of 359 silver coins was found near the village of Kazad in the Indāpur tāluka of the Poona District. The coins have been examined by the Rev. H. R. Scott, who contributes a paper on them to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII. Three hundred and fifty of the hoard belong to the Traikūṭaka king Dahragaṇa, son of Indradatta; 3 to Dahrasēna, son of Indradatta; and 4 to Vyāghragaṇa, son of Dahragaṇa. The remaining two had been hammered out of all recognition. From the Pārḍī copper-plates we know that Dahrasēna was reigning in A. D. 456.

Two inscriptions of the Gupta period deserve special notice. The earlier of the two is engraved on a *liṅga* discovered at Bharadi Dih near the village of Karamḍāṇḍe, Faizābād District. It is dated in the 117th year of the Gupta era=A. D. 436 and is the record of a certain Pṛithivīshēṇa, who was councillor and minister of the Crown-prince (*mantrī-kumārāmātya*) and afterwards general (*mahābalādhikṛita*) under Kumāragupta I. Pṛithivishēṇa's father Śikharasvāmin was in the service of Kumāragupta's father Chandragupta II. Vikramāditya. The other inscription of the Gupta period is cut on a large irregular piece of sandstone found at the foot of a spur running into the Talai plain in the Wano District. The stone is mutilated and the right half of each line is incomplete. The alphabet is of the Gupta period and most closely agrees with that used in Nepalese inscriptions from the Harsha year 45 etc. The record consists of seven lines and a second epigraph of two lines has been incised across the stone on the left side. The letters are very much defaced. The main inscription on the stone is dated in the *Vijayasamvatsara* 40+8 'in the victorious year 48', which, according to Dr. Konow, must refer to the Harsha era. In this case, the date

would be A.D. 653. The record mentions the son of a Maharaja, whose name ends in Mihira, the son's name beginning with Tossana.

At Broach, Mr. Bhāndārkar examined a set of copper-plates discovered in a field in the village of Hānsoṭ (Broach Collectorate), and found that the inscription was the grant referred to by the late Professor Kielhorn in his paper on the Chāhamānas of Naddūla. It is dated in the year 813, which, if referred to the Vikrama era, would correspond to A. D. 756. The donor Bhartṛivaḍḍa II, of whom more will be said in the sequel, belonged to the Chāhamāna family and was the feudatory of Nāgāvalōka. The dynasty to which the latter belonged is not stated. Perhaps he was a Rāshṭrakūṭa and might be identical with his namesake mentioned in the Harsha inscription as the overlord of the Chāhamāna Gūvaka I. Another copper-plate record brought to light in the Western Circle was found at Daulatābād in the Nizam's Dominions. It registers a grant made by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Śaṅkaragaṇa, cousin of Dhruva, in Śaka-Saṁvat 715=A.D. 793.

In an inscription at Bhaḍuṇḍ (Jodhpur), the Paramāra prince Pūrṇapāla is said to be holding the Arbuda-maṇḍala, *i.e.*, the territory round about Mount Ābū. The inscription is dated in Saṁvat 1102 corresponding to A.D. 1044-5. In the Vasantgaḍh epigraph, dated in A. D. 1042, Pūrṇapāla is said to be ruling *bhū-maṇḍalam Arbudasya*.[1] In all probability, Pūrṇapāla was the elder brother of the Paramāra king Kṛishṇarāja, whose dates are Vikrama-Saṁvat 1117 (=A.D. 1060) and V. E. 1123 (=A.D. 1066). What happened to the Paramāras subsequently is not known.[2] Mr. Bhāndārkar thinks they must have been supplanted by the Chōhāns of Nāḍol and Jālor. The earliest Chōhān inscription found in this tract of country is dated in V. E. 1147(=A.D. 1090) *i.e.*, 24 years subsequent to the latest known date of Kṛishṇarāja.

The Paramāras of Chandrāvatī are represented by a weather-worn inscription found at Nāṇā. It is dated Saṁvat 1290 and refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Sōmasiṁhadēva. Here we are told that Nāṇaka (Nāṇā in the Jodhpur State) was in the possession of a favourite of the heir-apparent Kānhaḍadēva. Both Sōmasiṁha and his son Kānhaḍadēva (or Kṛishṇarājadēva) are mentioned in two inscritpions from Mount Ābū, one of which tells us that Sōmasiṁha remitted the taxes of Brāhmaṇas.[3]

The Chaulukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka are represented by several inscriptions. One of them is a copper-plate charter found at Bālerā in the Sānchor District of the Jodhpur State. It is dated in Saṁvat 1051 (A. D. 993-4) during the reign of Mūlarāja and shows that Chaulukya dominion had been established in the southern portion of Mārwār. Two of the stone inscriptions belong to the reign of Jayasiṁha-Siddharāja, one found at Bhinmāl and the other at Bālī. The former is dated in V. E. 1186 and the latter in V. E. 1200. The Bālī epigraph mentions the king's feudatory, the *Mahārāja* Śrī-Āśvāka, probably identical with the Chōhān chieftain Aśvarāja who will be mentioned in the sequel. Three records of Kumārapāla have been found; one at Pālī, dated V. E. 1209; another at Bhāṭuṇḍ, dated V. E. 1210; and the third at Bālī, dated in V. E. 1216. The two latter mention a *daṇḍanāyaka* named Śrī-Vaijāka or

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[1] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX., p. 11.

[2] In V. E. 1237 we have Jāḍaṇa, who is described as a Paramāra Rājpūt.

[3] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII., p. 203.

Vayajaladēva as being in charge of the district of Nāḍol. The *daṇḍanāyaka* Vaïjā is also referred to in a Sēvāḍī inscription of V. E. 1213. The *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vaijalladēva, who figures as the donor in a copper-plate grant, dated V. E. 1231, during the reign of the Chaulukya king Ajayapāla published by Dr. Fleet,[1] is probably identical with this Vaïja, Śrī-Vaijāka or Vayajaladēva. A Mārwārī inscription in the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha-Mahādēva at Nāṇā (in Jodhpur) speaks of its having been repaired in Saṁvat 1283 when Bhyivadēva (Bhīmadēva), son of Ajayapāladēva, was paramount sovereign at Aṇahilanagara.

Three important copper-plate grants of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj have been brought to light in the Northern Circle during the period under review. One of them is the Chandrāvatī plate dated in Saṁvat 1148 (=A.D. 1090) during the reign of king Chandradēva, the founder of the dynasty. The Chandrāvatī plate is the earliest known record of the family. In fact according to Mr. V. A. Smith, Chandradēva founded the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty about A.D. 1090.[2] One of the finds during the excavations at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh is a copper-plate of Gōvindachandra dated in Saṁvat 1186 (=A. D. 1128). It records the grant of six villages to " the community of Buddhist friars, of which Buddhabhaṭṭāraka is the chief and foremost, residing in the great convent of Holy Jētavana." The grant was found in an earthenware case in a cell of the large monastery which occupied the south-west corner of the mound and had been partially excavated by Dr. Hoey. Dr. Vogel remarks[3] that this copper-plate inscription establishes the identity of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh with Śrāvastī and adds that this identification is of vital importance to the millions of Buddhists who regard the favourite abode of their lord as one of the most hallowed spots on the face of the earth.

The third copper-plate inscription brought to light in the Northern Circle was found in a famine work at Machhlishahr in the Jaunpur District. It is dated in Saṁvat 1253 (A.D. 1195-96) and belongs to the reign of Hariśchandra, son of Jayachchandra. At Belkhara, 12 miles to the south-east of Chunar, is a stone pillar containing a damaged Gāhaḍavāla inscription. The name of the king is not preserved, but the date is Saṁvat 1253[4] and is apparently a few months earlier than the Machhlishahr record. The former is one of the very few stone inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavālas. One of the Kamauli plates (T.) belonging to the reign of Jayachchandra (Saṁvat 1232) records a gift made by the king at Kāśi (Benares) on the occasion of the *jātakarman* (*i.e.*, birth ceremony, when the navel string is cut) of the king's son Hariśchandradēva.[5] The date of this inscription corresponds to the 10th August 1175. Apparently that was the day on which Hariśchandra was born. Accordingly, he must have been about 21 years old at the time of the Machhlishahr plates. In A.D. 1193 Jayachchandra was defeated and killed and the city of Kanauj was completely devastated by Shihāb-ud-dīn, and the accession of Hariśchandra may be presumed to have taken place subsequent to A.D. 1193. His territory must have been very limited and his connection with Kanauj was perhaps merely nominal. It is

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, p. 81.
[2] J. R. A. S. July 1908, p. 791.
[3] J. R. A. S. October 1908, p. 974.
[4] Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XI, p. 128.
[5] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 126.

also possible that he acknowledged himself a tributary of the Sultan at Delhi and was allowed to reign in a portion of his ancestral dominions.[1]

Before closing the section dealing with the Gāhaḍavālas, it is necessary to refer to a damaged and incomplete inscription of the dynasty found as far south as Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-chōḷapuram, the ancient Chōḷa capital, in the Trichinopoly District of the Madras Presidency. The inscription forms part of a record of the 41st year of the reign of the Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga I, corresponding to A.D. 1110-11 and thus belongs to the interval between the latest known date of Madanapāla and the earliest of Gōvindachandra. It looks as if some member of the Gāhaḍavāla family proposed to make a grant to the temple in the Chōḷa capital. For some reason or other, either the proposed grant was not made, or it was not engraved in full on the stone. But what is actually found on the stone may be taken to show that some sort of relationship or connection existed between the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj and the Chōḷas of Tanjore. There is also some reason to suppose that the Gāhaḍavālas might have introduced the worship of the Sun into the Chōḷa country.

Mr. Bhāndārkar's tour in Rājputānā has been fruitful in bringing to light a number of Chāhamāna inscriptions. Some of these refer to the reigns of kings for whom no inscriptions had been discovered. The antiquity of the family is carried into the 7th century[2] by the Hānsoṭ plates which have been already referred to and which mention six generations of Chāhamāna princes ending with Bhartṛivaḍḍa II, who was apparently the feudatory of a king named Nāgāvalōka about the middle of the 8th century A. D. As I have already remarked, Nāgāvalōka seems also to have been the overlord of another Chāhamāna chief named Gūvaka I of Śākambharī. From inscriptions engraved on two of the pillars in the temple of Jāgēśvara at Sādaḍī, it appears that they belonged originally to the temple of Lakshmaṇasvāmin or Lokhaṇadēva at Naḍūla, *i.e.*, Nāḍol. From the name of the temple Mr. Bhāndārkar argues that it must have been built by Lakshmaṇa, the founder of the Mārwār branch of the Chōhān family. For this chief a Nāḍol inscription furnishes the date V. E. 1039=A.D. 982.

Of Jōjala two inscriptions were found, dated in V. E. 1147=A.D. 1090. For his younger brother Aśvarāja, also known as Āśārāja, we have the date V. E. 1167 (=A.D. 1109-10) and A.D. 1143 for the latter's son Kaṭukarāja, hitherto unknown from other records. The dates of Rāyapāla range from V. E. 1189 to V. E. 1202 (corresponding, respectively, to A.D. 1131-32 to 1144-45). Next in point of time comes the *daṇḍanāyaka* Vaijā (also called Śrī-Vaijāka or Vayajaladēva)[3] already mentioned as a feudatory of the Chaulukya kings Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla with dates ranging from V. E. 1210 to 1231. Contemporary with the last chief was the Nāḍol Chōhān Kēlhaṇadēva, for whom we have the date Saṁvat 1224 (=A.D. 1166-7).

[1] As Hariśchandra's copper-plate has been found in the Jaunpur District, it is not unlikely that his capital was situated somewhere in that district. Ẓafarābād, 4 miles south-east of Jaunpur, is said to be the site of a palace of the later rulers of Kanauj (Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XI, p. 104). In A. D. 1219-20 the king of Kanauj (*Gādhipurādhipa*) was Gōpāla, who was succeeded by Madana (*Ind. Ant.* Vol.XVII, p 61).

[2] The Chāhamānas of the Sapādalaksha country claim a higher antiquity according to a manuscript of Rājaśēkhara's *Prabandhakōśa* found in a private library at Tanjore. For the earliest king of this branch named Vāsudēva, the date assigned is Saṁvat 608=A.D. 550-51; see Dr. Hultzsch's *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India*, No. III, p. 114.

[3] This name does not occur in the geneology on p. 83 of *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX.

Mahārājādhirāja Jayatsīghadēva's[1] dates range from V. E. 1239 (A.D. 1181-2) to 1251 (A.D. 1193-4) and Udayasiṁhadēva's from V. E. 1274 (=A.D. 1217) to V. E. 1306 (=A.D. 1249). Contemporary with the latter was Dhāndhaladēva, son of Vīsadhavala who seems to have been a Chāhamāna and whose dates are V. E 1265 and V. E. 1283. The son of Udayasiṁha was Chāchigadēva, whose inscriptions bear the dates V. E. 1328, 1333 and 1334, corresponding to A. D. 1271, 1276 and 1277, respectively. His son was the *Mahārājakula* Sāṁvatasiṁha (or Sāmantasiṁha) for whom the Bhinmāl inscriptions furnish dates ranging from V. E. 1339 to 1345=A.D. 1282 to 1288. He is also mentioned in a Hāthuṇḍī epigraph of the latter date as ruling over the district of Naḍūla. The inscribed pillar in the prison room of the *kacheri* at Sānchor is dated in the same year and belongs to the reign of the Chōhān king Sāṁvatasiṁhadēva. A century later came Pratāpasiṁha who was reigning at Satyapura or Sānchor.

Of the southern dynasties, the Eastern Chalukyas of Vēṅgī are represented by two copper-plate grants, one belonging to the reign of the founder of the dynasty, *viz.*, Vishṇuvardhana I. Vishamasiddhi and issued from the capital (*vāsaka*) Pishṭapura, the modern Piṭhāpuram in the Godavari District. The other copper-plate grant is incomplete, but seems to be a charter of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja, whose *biruda* Śrī-Vijayasiddhi is cut on the seal.

Early Pāṇḍya history receives further elucidation from a copper-plate inscription in the Grantha and Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabets, the original of which has not been traced. But several impressions of it are available. The tentative genealogy of the early Pāṇḍyas given in the last *Annual Report* of the Assistant Superintendent is improved upon. An important event mentioned in the copper-plate under reference is the Kaḷabhra occupation of the Pāṇḍya country sometime after the reign of king Palyāga-Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḻudi. This Pāṇḍya king is already known to us from early Tamil literature, where he is called Palyāgaśālai-Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḻudi. The period of his reign as well as that of the Kaḷabhra occupation are not known. The latter may possibly refer to the Karṇāṭaka occupation of the Pāṇḍya country, reminiscences of which are preserved to us in the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam*. Tradition has it that the town of Madura was once destroyed by a tidal wave and that the god Śiva created afresh all castes and nations just as before. The copper-plate grant under reference seems to mention this tidal wave when it talks of the deluge and reports that a Pāṇḍya king survived it.

In spite of recent researches, early Pāṇḍya chronology is not free from difficulties. But diligent search for ancient Vaṭṭeḻuttu records in the Pāṇḍya country comprising the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly may be expected to clear up most of the doubtful points and help us to carry the authentic history of Dravidian civilization to the period of early Tamil literature. Indigenous religious history is also intimately connected with the rise and fall of the Tamil dynasties. The history of the Vaishṇava cult, for instance, is sure to unravel itself as we get to the earlier period of Pāṇḍya history. Early Pāṇḍya records which have been examined so far make it clear that the Pāṇḍya dynasty was in the ascendant for a pretty long time prior

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[1] This name does not figure in the genealogical table published by Prof. Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, p. 83.

to the rise of the Chōḷas of Tanjore about the end of the 9th century A.D. and that the Pāṇḍyas were the chief enemies of Pallava expansion in the 7th and 8th centuries when the Chōḷas had sunk into a very low position. In the 13th century again, the Pāṇḍyas became supreme while the Chōḷas again sank down. The Muḥammadan historian Rashid-ud-din, writing about A. D. 1300, speaks of M'abar, which was apparently another name for the Pāṇḍya country, as extending from Kūlam (Quilon) to Nellore. This statement had been corroborated several years ago by an inscription of the Pāṇḍya king Sundara Pāṇḍya found in the town of Nellore. Further confirmation is afforded by a number of Tamil records discovered in the southern portion of the modern Cuddapah District.

Another interesting fact revealed by these and other Tamil records found in the Telugu and the Kanarese country is that the Tamil language has receded in comparatively recent times. During the period of Chōḷa ascendency in Southern India in the 10th and 11th centuries, the Tamil language seems to have somehow or other prevailed in the provinces conquered by the Chōḷas. In later times, the language gradually receded. This recession has been noticed so far in the Nellore, North Arcot and Cuddapah districts of the Madras Presidency as well as in the Mysore, Kolar and Bangalore districts of the Mysore State.

As regards Chōḷa history, a date has been found in a stone inscription for a king named Parakēsarivarman, whose other name is damaged on the original. There is, however, some reason to suppose that the missing name is Uttama-Chōḷa. If this be the case, it is possible to ascertain the date of his accession. The date given in the inscription is Kaliyuga 4083, which corresponds to A.D. 981-82, and this is said to have been the 13th year of Parakēsarivarman's reign. Accordingly, his accession must have taken place in A.D. 969-70. Assuming this to be the initial date of the Chōḷa king Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōḷa, the latest known year of his reign, *viz.*, the 16th, would correspond roughly with the date of accession of his successor Rājarāja I.

About A.D. 948-9[1] the battle of Takkōlam was fought and the Chōḷa prince Rājāditya was killed by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, who apparently undertook a second expedition against the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, *i.e.*, the ancient Pallava territory. In A.D. 959 he was encamped with his victorious army at Mēlpāṭī (*i.e.*, Mēlpāḍi in the North Arcot District of the Madras Presidency) for establishing his followers in the Southern Provinces.[2]

Records of Kṛishṇa III have been found in the Tamil country down to the 28th year of his reign corresponding to about 967-8. Thus it appears that Uttama-Chōḷa's accession took place immediately after the death of Kṛishṇa III. If it be borne in mind that Uttama-Chōḷa was himself a usurper, it is easy to understand how the interval of 37 years between the latest known date of Parāntaka I. and the accession of Rājarāja I was occupied by the reigns of no less than six Chōḷa kings.

From an inscription found at Kumbhakōṇam it appears that the Chōḷa king Rājādhirāja I. (A.D. 1018 to at least 1053) was also known as Vijayarājēndradēva and that he reigned not less than 36 years. An epigraph found at Pedda-Tippasamu-

[1] It seems to me that in the Śōḷapuram inscription published by Dr. Hultzsch (*Ep. Ind*, Vol. VII, p. 195), the year "two" does not refer to the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājāditya, who was probably dead at the time, but to the second year after the conquest of the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam by the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III.

[2] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 281. This seems to imply a revolt against Rāshṭrakūṭa rule in the Tamil country.

dram shows that Rājādhirāja reigned until A.D. 1057-8. In a Sanskrit epigraph at Tribhuvanam in the Tanjore District, Kulōttuṅga III. (A.D. 1178-1217) claims to have built the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of Sabhāpati and the *gōpura* of the shrine of the goddess Girīndrajā and the enclosing verandah (*prākāra-harmya*). These evidently refer to the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram in the South Arcot District, where the king must have built the *mukhamaṇḍapa*, the *gōpura* of the shrine of the goddess Śivakāmi-Ammaṉ and the verandah enclosing the central shrine. The same king is credited with having built the beautiful temple of Ēkāmrēsvara (at Conjeevaram); the temple of Hālāhalāsya at Madhurā; the temple at Madhyārjuna (*i.e.*, Tiruviḍaimaruḍūr in the Tanjore District); the temple of the Śrī-Rājarājīśvara; the temple of Valmīkēśvara (at Tiruvārūr in the Tanjore District); the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and the big *gōpura* of Valmīkādhipati (*i.e.*, the temple at Tiruvārūr). As these are all old temples, the king's boast probably means that he either repaired them or made some substantial additions to the old shrines. Kulōttuṅga III also built the Tribhuvanavīrēśvara temple (*i.e.*, the modern Kampaharēśvara temple at Tribhuvanam) which was evidently called after his title *Tribhuvanavīra*. The consecration ceremony at this temple was performed by the king's *guru* Sōmēśvara, who was the son of Śrīkaṇṭha-Śaṁbhu and bore the surname Īśvara-śiva. Sōmēśvara was well versed in the *Śaiva-darśana* and the eighteen *vidyā*, and had expounded the greatness of Śiva taught in the Upanishads. He was also the author of a work entitled *Siddhāntaratnākara*. Īśvaraśiva is probably identical with Īśānaśiva, who wrote the *Siddhāntasāra*. In the same line of teachers there was also a Śrīkaṇṭha. Both Īśānaśiva and Śrīkaṇṭha are mentioned by the Śaiva teacher Vēdajñāna in his *Ātmārtha-pūjāpaddhati*. Śrīkaṇṭha-Śaṁbhu is probably identical with Svāmidēvar-Śrīkaṇṭha-śiva, who was a contemporary of the Chōḷa king Vikrama-Chōḷa.

The Airāvatēśvara temple at Dārāśuram near Kumbhakōṇam is called Śrī-Rājarājīśvara in its inscriptions and is built in the style of the Kampaharēśvara temple at Tribhuvanam. Both of them seem to have been copied from the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tanjore which is also called Śrī-Rājarājīsvara in its epigraphical records. Perhaps the Dārāśuram temple was also built by Kulōttuṅga III, during whose reign the Tribhuvanam temple came into existence as mentioned in the last paragraph. The former is of unique interest to students of Tamil literature. The north, west and south walls of the central shrine bear a belt of sculptures representing scenes from the lives of the Tamil devotees of Śiva. A large number of these sculptures are accompanied by labels in characters belonging roughly to the 13th century A.D.

Coming to the Vijayanagara period we find that the underground temple at Vijayanagara was called Prasanna-Virūpāksha in ancient times. The inscribed stone found in it is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1435, the cyclic year Śrīmukha, corresponding to A.D. 1513-4 and records a gift made by the Vijayanagara king Kṛishṇarāya on the occasion of his coronation. Kṛishṇarāya's remission of some taxes in favour of certain Śiva and Vishṇu temples is registered in an inscription at Tiruviśalūr in the Tanjore District. The revenue remitted amounted to 10,000 *varāhas*. Four other copies of this order of the king were discovered in previous years.

Among the feudatory families, the Telugu Chōḍas and the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs deserve to be noticed. Interesting information about the former has been obtained

mainly from inscriptions examined at Nandalūr in the Cuddapah District; and Pottappi, the place with which the Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs are associated, has been identified with a village of the same name in the Cuddapah District. Koḍumbāḷūr or Koḍumbai is an ancient village in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. In an early Tamil poem, the village and its tank are mentioned as being in the Pāṇḍya country and on the road to Madura from Uṟaiyūr (at present a suburb of Trichinopoly). The tank at Koḍumbāḷūr is still an important feature of the village. The chiefs of Koḍumbāḷūr claim to have defeated the Chalukyas, Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas. One of them boasts of having conquered Vātāpi. They seem to have been on friendly terms with the Chōḷas and, accordingly, a number of inscriptions of the family have been found in the Trichinopoly District. The Mūvarkōvil (*i.e.*, the temple of the three) at Koḍumbāḷūr is popularly ascribed to the Chēra, Chōḷa, and Pāṇḍya kings. But the Grantha inscription found on its walls informs us that the three shrines were built by the Koḍumbāḷūr chief Bhūti-Vikramakēsarin, who probably lived during the first half of the 10th century A.D.

In the National Museum at Copenhagen are preserved two Kanarese inscriptions from Mysore and a Buddhist image with the creed engraved on its pedestal in North Indian characters of about the 9th or 10th century. Impressions of the former and a plaster cast of the latter were sent to the Assistant Superintendent, Southern Circle, for examination. Of the Kanarese inscriptions, one is a *vīragal, i.e.*, a memorial tablet describing the death of a hero in battle and belongs to the Hoysaḷa period. It was apparently a battle in which the brothers Vīra-Narasiṁhadēva III. and Rāmanātha were interested, and may be referred to the second half of the 13th century A.D. The other Kanarese epigraph refers to the military operations of a certain Sāḷaveya who is described as the general of the Sēuṇas. If this general is identical with Sāḷuva-Tikkamadēva, who was a military officer of the Yādava king Rāmachandra, the record would belong to the 3rd quarter of the 13th century A.D.

In Burma impressions were prepared of 21 inscriptions. The earliest of them is dated in A.D. 1288 and the latest in 1881 A.D., when king Thibaw, the last of the Alaungpaya dynasty, started building diminutive shrines about 15 feet high at each of the ancient capitals of Burma, in order to prolong his reign. The majority of the inscriptions relate to the construction of religious edifices, such as pagodas, temples, monasteries and ordination halls, and the dedication, for their maintenance, of endowments. With the single exception of an inscription found in the Kyauksè District, which is Talaing, the language of these lithic records is either Burmese or Pali or a mixture of both.

Reference is made in the *Report* of the Burma Circle to two Chinese inscriptions found in Central Asia. One of them has been attributed to A.D. 158. "But its internal evidence," remarks Mr. Taw Sein Ko, "shows that it was set up in the 7th century A.D., as a tombstone to the memory of Liu P'ing Kuo, the Chinese general, who invaded the Kokonor region, was defeated by the Tibetans and died in captivity." The second epigraph appears to be a legend inscribed on the gateway of a Buddhist monastery. Neither its date nor locality is mentioned. But the calligraphy appears to belong to the T'ang dynasty (A. D. 618-905).

Mr. Taw Sein Ko reverts to the history of Buddhism in Burma and says he

has discovered architectural evidence to support his theory of the derivation of Burmese Buddhism from China. This he finds in the symbolism of the component parts of some of the notable pagodas of Pagan which is inexplicable to the Burmese of the present day, but is accounted for by the Chinese.

As regards the Burmese alphabet, its origin and development can be satisfactorily worked out only when more epigraphical records become accessible, especially the older ones. Mr. Taw Sein Ko states that the two Maunggun gold plates, published by Maung Tun Nyein (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. V, p. 101), are engraved in the Eastern Chalukya script of the 7th or 10th century. These plates are certainly older than the 10th century A.D. At Buitenzorg in Java are two stone inscriptions mentioning a king named Pūrṇavarman[1], who had evidently occupied the island. The language of these inscriptions is Sanskṛit, while the alphabet is Indian. One of them may belong to about the 6th century A.D. and the other must be later. Thus there is undoubted evidence of the island of Java having been occupied about the 6th century A. D. by a king, who, if he was not an Indian, must have been influenced by Indian culture either directly or indirectly.[2] Further, we know from Tamil literature that trade relations existed in ancient times between Southern India and Kāḻagam (*i.e.*, Kaḍāram in Burma).[3] It is thus not difficult to imagine how Burma became subject to Indian influences. But the exact process can be determined only when authentic documents bearing on the subject become available.

The history of Indian religion and mythology deserve in conclusion a brief notice. The Lakulīśa-Pāśupata is a Śaiva sect whose history has been specially investigated by Mr. Bhāndārkar. He carries the antiquity of the sect to a very early period. During the field season of 1907-08 he visited Kārvāṇ which is the reputed centre of the sect and secured a copy of the local *māhātmya*. Here the god is called Lakuṭapāṇi, *i.e.*, the god who bears a staff in his (left) hand. He is said to hold a citron (*bījapūraka*) in his right hand. At Kārvāṇ is a temple dedicated to Naklēśvar which is evidently the popular form of the name Lakulīśvara. The god is generally represented with two arms and a club in his left hand and is often taken for the god Śiva in the form of a yōgin. Mr. Bhāndārkar has found the ruins of a shrine of Lakulīśa near the temple of Nīlkaṇṭha-Mahādēva at Nāṇā in the Jodhpur State. Dr. Bloch has been studying the subject of the *avatāras* of the god Vishṇu. Students of Indian mythology will be eagerly looking forward to the article which he proposes to publish in the next *Annual*. He observes that Bodh-Gaya was the place where the ninth or Bauddha *avatāra* of Vishṇu first came into existence. Dr. Bloch considers it beyond doubt that the desire of the Brahmins to get a share of the Buddhist cult led them to create it. "Perhaps the 10th century A.D." he adds "was the time when the Bauddha *avatāra* of Vishṇu became officially recognized." At Tegowa, in the Jubbulpore District, is a neat little specimen of Gupta architecture of the 5th or 6th century A.D. which

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, pp. 355-8. A king of this name is said to have restored the Bōdhi tree at Bōdh-Gaya about A. D. 620 after it had been cut down by king Śaśāṅka.

[2] If Pūrṇavarman was not an Indian king, he was, as Dr. Vogel suggests, probably a ruler of Cambodia. It is well known that a number of Sanskṛit inscriptions have been found in Cambodia.

[3] A king of Kaṭāha or Kiḍāram (in Burma) built a Buddhist *vihāra* at Negapatam in the Tanjore District. The Chōḻa king Rājēndra-Chōla claims to have defeated a king of Kiḍāram. There is, however, no reference to the Chōḻa king having set up a pillar of victory in Burma as stated by Mr. Taw Sein Ko in paragraph 25 of his *Annual Report*.

now goes by the name of Kankālīdēvī. Among the carvings of this temple the most interesting is a slab with a standing figure of the god Vishṇu in the centre and small representations of the nine *avatāras* of Vishṇu around, *viz.* (1) the *Matsya* on the top; (2) *Kūrma*, *Vāmana*, *Krishṇa* and *Nṛisiṁha* to the left, from below; and (3) *Varāha*, *Rāma*, *Paraśurāma* and *Kalki* to the right, from above. In the last or *Kalki-avatāra*, only a horse is figured without the male figure riding on it as we find in later representations. The order in which the *avatāras* follow indicates that at that time they were not generally grouped together according to the strict chronological arrangement of later days. But the most important point is the omission of the ninth or Bauddha *avatāra*, the total number thus being nine instead of ten. When the carving was made in the 5th or 6th century, the Bauddha *avatāra* had evidently not become recognized.

Some light is thrown on the Kāḷamukha sect by a Grantha inscription on stone found at Koḍumbāḷūr which has already been mentioned. We are introduced to a certain Mallikārjuna of Madhurā (Madura) who belonged to the Ātrēya-*gōtra* and was the disciple of two teachers named Vidyārāśi and Tapōrāśi. The Koḍumbāḷūr chief Vikramakēsarin is said to have presented a big *maṭha* (*brihan-maṭham*) to Mallikārjuna who was the chief ascetic of the Kāḷamukha (sect), with eleven villages for feeding fifty ascetics of the same sect (here called *asita-vaktra*). There is thus no doubt that Koḍumbāḷūr was a centre of the Kāḷamukha sect, though Mallikārjuna and his preceptors are unknown from other records. The stronghold of the sect in later times was apparently the Kanarese country. The later preceptors of the sect were in The service of the temple of Dakshiṇa-Kēdārēśvara at Balagāṁve in the Mysore State. The origin and history of the sect will have to be determined by future researches. The Chaunsāṭh Jōginī temple at Bheraghat in the Jubbulpore District is an interesting collection of images which have been already described by Cunningham. But their present arrangement differs considerably from the old one. Dr. Bloch states that during the last thirty years the statues have been shifted a good deal. The date of the statues can be determined by an inscription placed to the proper left of the door leading into the temple, which stands in the centre of the court. It refers the erection of the temple to the time of Vijayasiṁha and Ajayasiṁha, two princes of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, who ruled over portions of Central India in the 12th century A. D. The alphabet of the labels engraved on the pedestals of the statues points to the same period. Dr. Bloch adds: "Another general consideration also shows that the 12th century A. D. fits in very well with the setting up of this remarkable series of images of female deities. For it is just towards this period that we observe a general tendency in India to worship the divine nature in the shape of a woman."

V. VENKAYYA.

THE FIRST VIJAYANAGARA DYNASTY; ITS VICEROYS AND MINISTERS.

It is well-known that the touch between the ruler and the ruled was not very close in ancient Indian kingdoms. Even the worst despot had, therefore, to depend largely on feudatories. Indian History is mainly the story of feudatory families rising into power when the time was opportune. The last Hindu kingdom of Southern India illustrates this point both in its origin and in its downfall. In the sequel this aspect of the first Vijayanagara dynasty will be explained in the light of the available materials, and only so much of the general history of the dynasty will be introduced as is necessary for a proper appreciation of the theme.

The Hoysaḷa kingdom, which had extended over almost the whole of Southern India about the end of the 13th Century [1], received a severe blow from the invasion of Malik Kafur in A.D. 1310. Ballāḷa III, the then ruling king, was first captured and subsequently released. But in A.D. 1327 Muhammad Tughlak appears to have made another attempt to annex the Hoysaḷa dominions. The Hoysaḷa power, in consequence, became much enfeebled and practically came to a close with the demolition of the capital Dhōrasamudra[2] by the Muhammadans in that year.[3] Ballāḷa III is, however, known to have ruled until A.D. 1342-43.[4] In the latter part of

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[1] In a record of the time of Narasiṁha II (A.D. 1224 and 1234), the Hoysaḷa empire is said to have extended up to Naṅgili on the east, Koṅgu (Salem and Coimbatore) on the south, Aḷvakhēḍa (South-Canara) on the west, and Heddore (Krishṇā) on the north. A general of Vīra-Sōmēśvara, son of Narasiṁha II, conquered Kāṇa-nāḍu in the Pudukkōṭṭai State during the reign of Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II (A.D. 1239 to 1251) and Sōmēśvara's southern capital was Kaṇṇanūr near Jambukēśvaram. Narasiṁha III and Vīra-Rāmanātha, the two claimants to the throne after Sōmēśvara, became divided, the former apparently ruling the ancestral dominions, including Dhōrasamudra, and the latter the southern portion of the Hoysaḷa empire. But Narasiṁha III appears to have supplanted or survived his half-brother Vīra-Rāmanātha. Practically therefore Narasiṁha bequeathed to his successor Ballāḷa III a united empire, which about that period extended almost over the whole of Southern India. See also Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 44.

[2] Two other forms Dōrasamudra and Dvārasamudra also occur in inscriptions. The derivation of the name is not clear. Mr. Rice would connect it with Dēvarapuri mentioned in a legend which traces the Hoysaḷas to the mythical person Saḷa. As, however, village names ending in *samudra* are often called after their founders or donors, I believe that the Hoysaḷa capital also must have been so named after its founder who was called either Dhōra or Dōra. The modern name Haḷēbīḍu which means 'the old capital' was perhaps applied to it after the seat of Government was transferred thence to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, by Ballāḷa III.

[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 509-10.

[4] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906-7, paragraph 51.

his reign, Ballāḷa changed his capital to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in the South-Arcot District.[1] His son, Ballāḷa IV [2] is known to us only from one or two stray records in the Mysore State. It is doubtful if ever he ruled as an independent sovereign. Perhaps the change of capital by Ballāḷa III from Dhōrasamudra to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai was due not only to the fear of the Muhammadans, but also to the rising power of his feudatory chiefs Harihara I and Bukka I. It is not ascertained as yet from epigraphical records what definite position these two chiefs held under the Hoysaḷas; but that they were powerful enough to exercise much influence in the Hoysaḷa kingdom long before they could declare their independence, is proved by certain known facts. Ibn Batuta (A. D. 1333 to 1342) [3] speaks of a Muhammadan Chief of Honore (Honavar) on the western coast who was subject to "Haraīb or Harīb," *i.e.*, Hariyappa (Harihara I). The fort at Bādāmi was built by a subordinate of Harihara I in A. D., 1340.[4] Mr. Sturrock in his South-Canara *Manual* (Vol. I, p. 55) says that by A.D. 1336—the traditionary date of the foundation of Vijayanagara—the Bairasu Wodears of the West Coast had been forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Vijayanagara, and that a fort had been built at Bārukūru by Harihara I (*ibid.*, p. 65). In an inscription assigned by Mr. Rice to about the same period [Bīra]-Bukkaṇṇa-Voḍeya (or his son) is represented as attacking a town in the Shimoga district which was within the Hoysaḷa country.[5] The fact that Siṅgaya-Daṇṇāyaka, one of the Hoysaḷa feudatories at Daṇāyakankōṭṭai, acknowledges the suzerainty of Ballāḷa III in a record of A. D. 1340, but figures as a semi-independent ruler in A. D. 1346-47,[6] also shows that the Hoysaḷa power had declined by that time and was passing into other hands in the interval. Subsequent to the destruction of Dhōrasamudra by the Muhammadans, Harihara I and Bukka I perhaps began slowly to grow in power, and about A.D. 1340 they had acquired sufficient importance to build forts and attract the notice of foreign travellers, though they were not still in a position to assume the titles of independent sovereignty. In fact there is strong reason to believe that prior to A.D. 1346, by which time, perhaps, Ballāḷa had died, there was no attempt made by Harihara and his brothers to declare their independence.

In Śaka-Saṁvat 1268=A.D. 1346—47 the five brothers Vīra-Hariyappoḍeya, Kampaṇṇoḍeya, Bukkaṇṇoḍeya, Mārappoḍeya and Muddappoḍeya, their son-in-law (*aḷiya*) Ballappa-Daṇṇāyaka and prince Sōvaṇṇa-Voḍeya, together with other members of the family, jointly made a grant to the forty Brāhmaṇas whom they had employed at Śṛiṅgēri to render service to the teacher Bhāratītīrtha-Śrīpāda and his pupils, in order that these latter might continue to perform their penances at that place. The record [7] that supplies this interesting information also states that Harihara I had by that time (*i.e.*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1268) brought under his control the whole country between the Eastern and the Western Oceans. This grant made to the teacher at

[1] *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 342.

[2] The full name of this prince, Vīra-Virūpāksha-Ballāḷa (IV) (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Introduction, p. 23) or Hampe-Voḍeyaru (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, Yd. 29) indicates his connection with Hampe. In the Virūpāksha temple at Hampe there is an unpublished lithic record which refers itself to the reign of a Hoysaḷa king.

[3] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 7, and *Manual* of the South-Canara District, Vol. I, p. 65.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 63.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Introduction, p. 34.

[6] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906-7, paragraph 51.

[7] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Sg. No. 1, and Introduction, p. 21.

Sṛiṅgēri[1] by the founders of the Vijayanagara family seems to bear out the traditional connection claimed in later records for the teachers of the religious institution at that place with the rise of the new empire and the foundation of the town of Vijayanagara. The joint donation by the five brothers further indicates the undivided interest which they had in the building up of the new kingdom. Bukka I was apparently governing the eastern and central divisions of the Hoysaḷa country, while Harihara I was in charge of the western and portions at least of the southern districts which belonged to the Yādavas of Dēvagiri.[2] Kampaṇa I was ruling over the Nellore and Cuddapah districts, and Mārapa, the Shimoga and North-Canara districts. Kampaṇa II, son of Bukka, was a powerful prince, who recovered the south from the Muhammadans and was in sole charge of it about Śaka-Saṁvat 1283. Bukka changed his capital from Dhōrasamudra to Hosapaṭṭaṇa between Śaka-Saṁvat 1274 and 1276, and thence to the town of Vijayanagara, newly constructed by him; apparently, because the latter was more central and afforded greater facilities for the administration of a big kingdom.

The Vijayanagara empire must have been composed of many principalities and divisions already in the time of Harihara I and Bukka I. While some of these were placed under viceroys and princes of the ruling family, others were, apparently, looked after and governed by the rulers themselves. Bārakūr—the Bārakanyā or Bārahakanyāpura of lithic records[3] and the Pacamuria of Nicolo dei Conti[4]—was a city of great importance and the seat of a viceroy in charge of the northern portion of the Tuḷu country from early Vijayanagara times.[5] It is stated to have occupied the same important position also during the reign of the Hoysaḷa kings to whom the whole of the Tuḷu-nāḍ was subordinate.[6] Maṅgalūru (Mangalore) was an equally important place and the capital of the Southern Tuḷu country. Haḍapada Gautarasa, a minister of Harihara I, is known to have been ruling the Maṅgalūra-rājya in Śaka-Saṁvat 1271 (=A. D. 1349)[7]. Coins named Maṅgalūra-gadyāṇa and Bārakanūra-gadyāṇa are often referred to in inscriptions[8] and show that the Viceroys at these two places were

[1] It is not stated who Bhāratītīrtha was. The identity of Bhāratītīrtha with Vidyāraṇya (*i.e.*, the minister Mādhavāchārya who wrote the works *Parāśaramādhavīya, Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha, etc.*) has been based upon tradition and upon the authorship of certain works noticed in the *Tanjore Catalogue*, and attributed by Dr. Burnell to Bhāratītīrtha Vidyāraṇya (Mādhavāchārya). It is, however, possible that Bhāratītīrtha referred to in the Śṛiṅgēri inscription is identical with Bhārati-Kṛishṇatīrtha, who is mentioned as the second in the succession list of Śṛiṅgēri teachers (Mr. Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 474) and as the predecessor of Vidyāraṇya.

[2] Inscriptions from the Bangalore and Kolar districts of the Mysore State printed in the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, suggest that prior to Śaka 1276, Bukka I was ruling jointly with his brother Harihara I. But, as about this same period we find in the Cuddapah and Anantapur districts independent records of Bukka I, and in the Kadur, South-Canara and Bijapur districts, those exclusively of Harihara I, one is inclined to suppose that though joint rulers, the territorial charges of the two brothers were defined.

[3] Epigraphical collection for 1901, Nos. 92, 157, 171 and 175.

[4] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 82 and note 1.

[5] South-Canara *Manual*, Vol. II, p. 264f.

[6] Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 44. In Śaka-Saṁvat 1261 (=A. D. 1339) when Harihara I was in power, Ballāḷa III appears to have visited his military stronghold of Bārakūr (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Ak. 183). Perhaps Ballāḷa was still recognised as the nominal ruler. The last representative of the Yādava or Ballāl supremacy in the Tuḷu country is stated to have been a certain Shaṅkra-Naik to whom a Rāṇī of Barcelore was subordinate (South-Canara *Manual*, Vol. I, p. 64). Of Bukka I it is stated that at his approach Śaṅkapārya of the Koṅkaṇas was filled with fear (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 25). It is not unlikely that this Śaṅkapārya is the same as Shaṅkra-Naik referred to in the South-Canara *Manual*.

[7] Epigraphical collection for 1901, No. 57.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 130, note 1.

even authorized to issue coins from their own mints. Āraga, Āraga-Gutti or Male-rājya located in the Shimoga district of the Mysore State, and including portions, if not the whole, of North Canara appears to have formed another of the main divisions of the western portion of the Vijayanagara kingdom. Mārapa, the brother of Harihara I, was in charge of it. It is stated of him that he conquered the whole of the Kadamba or Banavāsi 12,000 country (the modern N. Canara district) and was residing at Chandragutti in Śaka 1268[1] having for his minister a celebrated scholar named Mādhava.[2] Sāntaḷige 1000, which included part of the Shimoga district in the Mysore State and part at least of South Canara,[3] was governed in Śaka-Saṁvat 1269 by a feudatory chief who bore the title Pāṇḍya-Chakravarti.[4] An inscription of the time of Harihara I from the Kolar district[5] furnishes the name of one of his *Daṇḍanāyakas*, the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Ariya*-Vallappa, who is perhaps identical with *aḷiya* (*i.e.*, son-in-law) Ballappa-Daṇṇāyaka already referred to in the Śriṅgēri inscription (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI, Sg. No. 1, and Introduction, p. 21). In the same year (*i.e.*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1268) Harihara and his brother Muttaṇa-Uḍaiyar (*i.e.*, Muddapa ?) appear to have jointly issued an order to the inhabitants of Tēkkal-nāḍu[6] which must have been included in the Muḷuvāyi-rājya noticed in the sequel. Udayagiri-rājya comprising the modern Nellore and Cuddapah districts was governed by Kampa I as is proved by an inscription from the Nellore district dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1268.[7] His son Saṁgama II was in charge of the Pāka-vishaya from his capital at Vikramasiṁhapura, *i.e.*, Nellore, in Śaka 1278, and made a grant of a village in the Muliki-country (Cuddapah) to the Śaiva temple at Pushpagiri.[8] This shows that the latter district was also included in Saṁgama's dominions. About the same period Vīraśrī Sāvaṇṇoḍeya, another son of Kampa I, was ruling at Udayagiri-paṭṭaṇa as "the lord of the eastern ocean."[9] Perhaps Sāvaṇṇa and Saṁgama II divided betwixt them the Nellore and Cuddapah districts which must have formed

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[1] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII, Sb. 375.

[2] This minister who is also called Mādhavāṁka and Mādarasa-Oḍeya in some inscriptions is stated to have been a great Vedic scholar and an adherent of pure Śaivism as taught by the teacher Kāśīvilāsa-Kriyāśakti and to have been the governor of Banavāsi 12,000 country. He was the son of a certain Chāuṇḍa of the Āṅgirasa-gōtra (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. No. 281). Professor Weber in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 162, footnote 11, refers to a record which purports to state that Mādhava was *temporarily* entrusted with the town (and district) of Jayantī; conquered Goa and granted lands to 24 Brāhmaṇas, who co-operated with him in the composition of works bearing his name and identifies this Mādhava with the Advaita teacher Mādhavāchārya-Vidāyraṇya. But the conqueror of Goa is the minister mentioned in Sk. No. 281, and his father's name and *gōtra* as given in that record differ from those of the Advaita teacher which are elsewhere (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 23, note 5, and p. 119) found to be Māyaṇa and Bhāradvāja. The pure Śaivism, too, which Mādhava of Sk. 281 is stated to have followed is opposed to the notions of the Advaita religion where Vishṇu and Śiva are not looked upon with the prejudice of the sectarian. Consequently, it looks as if there flourished at this period in the service of the Vijayanagara kings two scholars of the name Mādhava,—one, an adherent of Śaivism and the other, a follower of the Advaita school of Śaṅkarāchārya. The commentary on *Sūtasaṁhitā* noticed on page 194*a* of Burnell's *Tanjore Catalogue* was written by the former, *viz.*, Mādhavamantrin, who was a pupil of Kāśīvilāsa Kriyāśakti.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 126, note 4.

[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Tl. 154. The title denotes that the chief, whose name is lost, might have been an ancestor of Pāṇḍyachakravarti Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva who, in Śaka 1308, was ruling in South Canara (Epigraphical collection for 1901, No. 50). Before him the title was borne by the Āḷva or Āḷupa chief Kulaśēkhara in the beginning of the 13th century (Epigraphical collection for the same year, Nos. 51 to 53). The early Āḷuva kings Pṛithvīsāgara and Vijayāditya bore the surname Uttama-Pāṇḍya (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, pp. 21 and 22).

[5] Mr, 61.

[6] Ditto, 39.

[7] *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 789, No. 28.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 24.

[9] Epigraphical collection for 1906, Nos. 500 and 503.

the eastern portion of the Vijayanagara empire. Muḷuvāyi-rājya and the more central divisions were ruled by Bukka I himself and his son Kampaṇa II;[1] while the Penugoṇḍa-rājya was placed under the charge of another of his sons Vīra-Virupaṇṇa-Oḍeya.[2] A few years after, Kampaṇa II acquired the Rājagaṁbhīra-rājya which perhaps comprised the southern country in general but particularly that of the Pāṇḍyas. Thus we see that Harihara, Bukka and other princes of the Vijayanagara family extended their influence in every direction almost simultaneously; and before the accession of Harihara II, the first sovereign who could be so called, the empire had literally extended over the whole of Southern India spreading between the Eastern, Southern and the Western Oceans,[3] some of its important divisions being (1) the Udayagiri-rājya, including Pāka-vishaya and the Muliki-dēśa, (2) the Penugoṇḍa-rājya (which later on included Gutti-rājya as stated in a copper-plate inscription of the time of Mallikārjuna, dated Śaka 1381), (3) the Āraga, Male or Maleha-rājya, including the ancient Banavase 12,000, Chandragutti and Gōve, (4) the Muḷuvāyi-rājya, (5) the Bārakūru and the Maṅgalūra-rājya or, clubbed together, Tuḷu-rājya, and (6) the Rājagaṁbhīra-rājya.

Records of Harihara I are very limited in number. We do not know of reliable inscriptions of his time beside those of Bādāmi[4] and Kāntāvara[5] and a few published in Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*.[6] Some suspicious copper plate records, which have been noticed by Mr. Rice[7] and Mr. Butterworth,[8] call him a chief of Kuñjarakōṇa—the modern Ānegondi—attribute to him the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara with the help and advice of Vidyāraṇya who was then performing penance in the temple at Hampi and give the date Śaka-Saṁvat 1258 for his coronation.[9] From inscriptions of later kings which give a lengthy account of the origin of the family, we learn that Harihara I and his four brothers were sons of a certain Saṁgama of the race of the Moon. Saṁgama's sons are stated each in turn to have conquered the Muhammadans (Turushkas), which shows that in the early stage of Vijayanagara history there was continuous struggle with the intruders. It has been stated already that Harihara was mainly occupied with the subjugation of the western portion of the Hoysaḷa dominions, including the Kadur and Shimoga districts

[1] See below, p. 121. From a stone record recently copied at Tiruppattūr in the Salem district (Epigraphical collection for 1909, No. 251), Muḷuvāyi-rājya is known to have comprised the Tagaḍa-nāḍu, Eyyil-nāḍu, Kaliṅgaraiparṟu, Pārūr-parṟu, Mukkaṇūr-parṟu, Puramalai-nāḍu and many other minor divisions, in the time of Dēvarāya I, in Śaka 1338. This shows that it comprised at the time large portions of Salem and South Arcot districts of the Madras Presidency.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 327.

[3] Accordingly we find Harihara I and Bukka I assuming the title 'lord of the Eastern and Western oceans'; (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 114f, and Vol. VI, p. 327, footnote 2).

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 63.

[5] Epigraphical collection for 1901, No. 57.

[6] Vol. V, Ak. 159; Vol. VI, Sg. 1; Vol. VIII, Tl. 154; Vol. IX, Bn. 59, 97, Dv. 50 and Nl. 19 and Vol. X, Mr. 39 and 61. The first of these gives Harihara the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja, etc.*, and begins with a Sanskrit verse (*asita-giri-samaṁ syāt, etc.*) which is found in the *Śivamahimnaḥstava* of Pushpadanta.

[7] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bg. 70.

[8] *Nellore Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 109ff; see also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 89 to 91.

[9] As the traditional date of the foundation of Vijayanagara is also believed to be A.D. 1336 (*i.e.*, Śaka 1258), it is not improbable that Harihara I in this year actually made an attempt to declare his independence and in order to secure that object befriended a teacher of the Śriṅgēri-*maṭha*. The date of the two copper-plates might thus be granted to be genuine—being based on tradition—though the records on them may not be beyond suspicion. It may be noted that in these records Ghanaśaila (Penugoṇḍa)-rājya and Chandragiri-rājya are stated to have been included in Harihara's dominions.

of Mysore. Gautarasa at Mangalore has also been mentioned as one of his subordinates. Gōpēśa appears to have been another ruling at Kuppaṭūr in the Nāgarakhaṇḍa-country (Shimoga district).[1] Chāmeya-nāyaka built the fort at Bādāmi in Śaka 1261 under the orders of Harihara. As Harihara was only a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and had not established himself as a sovereign in his newly acquired kingdom, we do not find in the records of his time any reference to a capital town from which he would have ruled. But Bukka I who was concerned with the central portion of the Hoysaḷa kingdom is said to have had his capital at Dhōrasamudra in Śaka-Saṁvat 1274[2] and to have thence changed it to Hosapaṭṭaṇa and to Vijayanagara (Vidyānagara).[3]

Bukka I was probably administering the empire in the earlier years of his reign, jointly with his brother Harihara I. A record from the Bangalore district, dated in Śaka 1268,[4] is explicit in stating that Ariyappa-Uḍaiyar (*i.e.*, Harihara I) and Bukkaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar were ruling together. We do not know when Bukka become the sole ruler; or in other words, when Harihara died. As, however, the latest date known for the latter is Śaka 1276,[5] we may suppose that the event happened some time after that date, when, as noted already, it was also found necessary for Bukka to shift the capital from Dhōrasamudra. The chief minister (*mahā-pradhāna*) of [Bukka I] in Śaka-Saṁvat 1274, was Nāgaṇṇa-Daṇṇāyaka.[6] *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Mallinātha-Voḍeya, son of *aḷiya* (*i.e.*, son-in-law) Naḍegoṇṭe Sāyaṇa or Sāi-Nāyaka was about this period, governing Bemmattanakallu (Chitaldroog) as Bukka's viceroy.[7] This Mallinātha is, apparently, different from Mallinātha or Mallappoḍeyar, son of Bukka I[8] and a brother of Harihara II. Perhaps, prince Mallappoḍeyar was the deputy of his father Bukkaṇṇa-Oḍeyar and was ruling with him. A record from the Bangalore district dated in Śaka 1285, registers a grant by this prince (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, An. 82). Bārakūra-rājya was ruled between Śaka 1282 and 1287 by the *Mahāpradhāna* Malleya-Daṇṇāyaka.[9] Between Śaka 1285 and 1290 the general administration of the empire appears to have been in the hands of Basaveya or Basavayya-Daṇṇāyaka.[10] *Mahāpradhāna* Gōparasa-Oḍeya was ruling the Bārakūra-rājya from Śaka-Saṁvat 128[8] to 1293.[11] The famous Brāhmaṇa general of Bukka's son, Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar was Goppaṇa, whose Raṅganātha inscription has been published on pp. 322ff of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI. Goppaṇa appears to have entered service under Kampaṇa as early as Śaka-Saṁvat 1275, when the

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[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol, VIII, Sb. 263.

[2] Epigraphical collection for 1906, No. 522.

[3] In Śaka 1276 Bukka's capital was Hosapaṭṭaṇa. In the following year he was still ruling from Hosapaṭṭaṇa in the Hoysaṇa-dēśa (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Cd. Nos. 2 and 3). A record from the Pāvagaḍa tāluka of the Tumkur district, also dated in Śaka 1277 states, however, that Bukka was ruling from his 'jewelled throne' at Vidyānagara (*ibid.*, Vol. XII, Pg. 74). Hence the change of capital from Hosapaṭṭaṇa to Vidyānagara must have happened about the end of Śaka 1277. Vidyānagara, which Bukka is said to have made his permanent metropolis (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 115, note 9) is not often referred to in his records.

[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Bn. 59.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 104.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Dv. 29.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, Cd. Nos. 2 and 3.

[8] Professor Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 456, note 8.

[9] Epigraphical collection for 1901, Nos. 132, 138, 139 and 141.

[10] *Ep .Carn.*, Vol. IV, Ch. Nos. 113 and 117.

[11] Epigraphical collection for 1901, Nos. 117 and 129.

prime-minister (*mahāpradhāni*) of Kampaṇa was Sōmappa or Sōvappagaḷu as he is called in a stone record at Kadiri in the Cuddapah district.[1] In his early career, before he was deputed about Śaka 1283[2] to reduce the southern dominions and to subdue the Mussalmāns of Madura,[3] Kampaṇa, who was distinguished from his uncle Kampa I by the epithet *chikka* or *kumāra*[4], was apparently in charge of the Muḷuvāyi country.[5] After subduing the south and taking possession of the Rāja-gambhīra-rājya prince Kumāra-Kampaṇa appears to have ruled as an independent sovereign.[6] His rule must have extended over the whole of the south and parts also of the Mysore State, including at least the Bangalore and Kolar districts and the south Mysore district (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Introduction, p. 24). In Śaka 1289 Bukka himself appears ruling from his camp at Muḷuvāyi.[7] In the same year Bukka is stated to have decided a dispute between the Jainas and the Bhaktas (*i.e.*, Śrī-Vaishṇavas) by declaring "that there was no difference between Jaina religion (*darśana*) and Vaishṇava religion" (Mr. Rice's *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, Translations, p. 180). The territory immediately south of the Kāvērī in Mysore, "which was included in the kingdom of Vishṇuvardhana Pratāpa-Hoysaḷa," was governed in Śaka 1290 by an official of Vīra-Bukkaṇṇa-Oḍeya.[8] Uchchaṅgi and Sosavūr (the birth-place of the Hoysaḷas) appear also to have been subdued by Bukka's general, Tippaṇa-Voḍeya.[9] Prince Sōvaṇṇa-Voḍeya, son of Mārappa-Voḍeya, who may possibly be identical with his namesake mentioned in the Śṛiṅgēri record, is stated to have granted a village in Maduvaṅka-nāḍu in Śaka-Saṁvat 1291.[10] It is not unlikely too that this Sōvaṇṇa-Voḍeya is identical with one of the two princes of the same name mentioned as sons of Kampa I and Bukka I in the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906-7, Table, p. 86. In the eastern division we have seen that Saṁgama II and Vīra-Sāvaṇṇoḍeya were ruling about Śaka 1278. Perhaps they died issueless. In Śaka-Saṁvat 1291 Bhāskara-Bhavadūra, one of the sons of Bukka I, appears to have been placed in charge of the eastern country, which he ruled from the fortress of Udayagiri.[11] Penugoṇḍa-rājya was administered by prince Vīra-Virupaṇṇa-Oḍeya as Bukka I's deputy in Śaka-Saṁvat 1276.[12] Virupaṇṇa appears to have, subsequently, been transferred to the Āragada-rājya in or before Śaka-Saṁvat 1285.[13] An inscription of 1290 from the Kadur district[14] records gifts

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1 Epigraphical collection for 1906, No. 523. No. 250 of 1901 and No. 89 of 1889 also mention the *mahāpradhāna* Sōmappa (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 324). The same person is again referrred to in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Kl. 203, 222 and Mb. 58.

2 The earliest date for Kampaṇa available from Tamil records is Śaka 1283 (No. 250 of the Epigraphical collection for 1901) and the latest, 1296 (No. 282 of 1903). Inscriptions of his time found in the Kolar district range between Śaka 1277 and 1296.

3 Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 223.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 324.

5 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Kl. 203. The Kadiri record of Śaka 1275 (Epigraphical collection for 1906, No. 523) calls him *Kumāra* Kampaṇṇa of Muḷuvāya.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 324.

7 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mr. 79.

8 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Ch. 113.

9 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Introduction, p. 21.

10 *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Tl. 132.

11 Epigraphical collection for 1903, No. 91.

12 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 327. Bukka is here stated to have been 'ruling the territory belonging to the kings of the Hoysaḷa Kings (wearing it with as much ease and grace) as an ornament on his shoulder.'

13 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Tl. Nos. 20 and 37.

14 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 6. Nr. 34 of the Shimoga district is dated in the cyclic year Plavaṅga which is one year prior to the date of Kp. 6 and records a grant for the "permanent domain" of Vīruparāya, son of Bukkarāya

made "in order to secure the rule of the Earth" to Virupaṇṇa-Oḍeya. The Āraga country or Male-rājya[1] was at this interval, perhaps, temporarily placed in charge of Mādarasa-Oḍeya, the Śaiva scholar and contemporary of the great Advaita teacher, Mādhavāchārya-Vidyāraṇya. The object with which the gift was made indicates that Virupaṇṇa was recalled to Vijayanagara for some political reasons, which are not quite apparent.[2] He was, however, reconciled to his viceroy's place in Śaka 1292; for, an inscription from the Kadur district[3] states that he made in that year a grant to the temple of Kaḷaśanātha at Kaḷasa. A certain Nāgaṇṇa-Voḍeya was in charge of the Sādaliya-rājya in Śaka 1293.[4] About the close of Bukka's reign his *mahāpradhāna* was Anantarasar, under whose orders Chōḷappagaḷu, the minister at Penugoṇḍa, constructed a canal.[5] It was, perhaps, at the instance of this same Anantarasa that the tank at Porumāmiḷḷa was dug in Śaka-Saṁvat 1292 by prince Bhāskara-Bhavadūra and was designated Anantasāgara after that minister.[6] Ananta or Anantarāja is stated in the Porumāmiḷḷa record to have been the minister of the five sons of Saṁgama I (verse 16) 'as in the past, Vishṇu—the beloved of his devotees, served the (five) Pāṇḍavas (both) as a charioteer and a servant.' An earlier inscription from Penugoṇḍa dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1276,[7] mentions the same *mahāpradhāna* Anantarasa-Oḍeyaru and states that he built the fortifications at that place—the would-be capital of the later Vijayanagara kings.[8] A copper-plate record from Yeḍatore gives the date of Bukka's death as Śaka 1298, Nala, with astronomical details.[9]

Harihara II, the son of Bukka, must have succeeded in Śaka 1298-9.[10] He was the first to assume the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara*, *etc.*, and to establish himself on the throne of Vijayanagara. The kingdom in his time seems to have reached the utmost limits and to have been firmly secured.[11] The earliest records dated in Śaka 1299 do not refer to any of Harihara's viceroys or ministers. Mudda or Muddaṇa-daṇḍaṇāyaka was his prime-minister in Śaka 1300[12] and appears to have continued in that position till at least Śaka 1309.[13] At this time, a certain

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Introduction, p. 12 and above, p. 239.

[2] An inscription from the Tīrthahaḷḷi tāluka (*ibid.*, Tl. 114), which gives the date Śaka 1301 to Udageri Virūpākṣharāya, son of Bukkarāya, falls into the reign of Harihara II. No. 167 from the same tāluka is dated in Śaka 1303 and calls the prince Virūpāksharāya giving him the imperial titles of mahārājādhirāja, paramēśvara, *etc.* These records, perhaps, show that Virupaṇṇa was then ruling independently of Harihara and give a clue to the political reasons for which he was obliged to be absent from his viceregal seat in the latter part of Bukka's reign; see also Tl. No. 116.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Mg. 52.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Cb. 63.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Pg. 92.

[6] Epigraphical collection for 1903, No. 91.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 327.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 238.

[9] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Yd. 46.

[10] This is corroborated by an inscription from Nellore (*Nellore Inscriptions*, N. 76) which states that Śaka 1322 was the 25th regnal year of Harihara II.

[11] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 48, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 115f.

[12] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Cn. 256. It is stated here as well as in *ibid.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 34, that the prime-minister Mudda-daṇḍnātha was already serving in that capacity under Harihara's father, Bukka I. The former refers to Kriyāśakti as the spiritual *guru* of king Harihara II. From what is stated in No. 58 of the Epigraphical collection for 1892, Mudda also appears to have followed the teachings of Kriyāśakti. We have seen already that this Kriyāśakti was the *guru* of the minister Mādhava; see above, p. 238, note 2.

[13] *Ibid*, Vol. V, Bl. 63.

Malagarasa of the Kāśmīra-vaṁśa set up a golden pinnacle on the temple at Bēlūr. This Malagarasa may be identical with Malagarasa-Oḍeya, who was ruling the Maṅgalūru-rājya under orders of Harihara II in Śaka-Saṁvat 1312.[1] Harihara's prime-minister between Śaka 1302 and 1304 was Kampaṇṇa, during whose régime the Bēlūr temple was partly repaired, and four new pillars presented.[2] The famous minister Sāyaṇa or Sāyaṇāchārya of literary celebrity is referred to in Mr. Venkayya's article on the Nallūr grant of Harihara II.[3] From Śaka 1300 to Śaka 1306, Dēpaṇṇa-Oḍeya was apparently in charge of the Sādali-rājya[4] which, in the time of Bukka I was ruled by his father Nāgaṇṇa-Oḍeya.[5] A minister Bhavadūra-Oḍeya is said to have made a grant to the temple of Tripurāntakēśvara at Tripurāntakam (Kurnool District) in Śaka 1308 (Epigraphical Collection for 1905, No. 257). *Mahāpradhāna* Mallappa-Oḍeya who was ruling the Āraga country in Śaka 1312,[6] may be identified with that Mallap-Oḍeya who in Śaka-Saṁvat 1309 while the king was ruling from his camp at Dhōrasamudra (*i.e.* Halebid)[7] was himself governing the Tuḷu, Haive and the Koṅkaṇa countries from his capital Bārakūru.[8] He must also be identical with Mallaṇa-Oḍeyar who was ruling Haive with his residence at Honnāvura (Honavar) in Śaka-Saṁvat 1309.[9] Prior to Mallappa Bārakūru-rājya was in charge of a certain Bommarasa-Oḍeya between Śaka-Saṁvat 1301 and 1303[10] and of Jakkaṇṇa-Oḍeya in Śaka 1304.[11] In Śaka 1314 Siṅgaṇṇa-Oḍeya was in charge of Tuḷu and Malaha-rājya with his capital at Bārakūru while the king was encamped at Dhōrasamudra.[12] This principality was governed by Heggaḍe-Śaṁkarasa or Śaṁkaradēva-Oḍeya in Śaka-Saṁvat 1316 and 1317.[13] In the latter part of Harihara's reign, *i.e.* about Śaka 1324-25, Āraga (Maleha-rājya) was ruled by Viṭṭhaṇṇa-Oḍeya[14] who, as we shall see in the sequel, continued to serve also under Dēvarāya I[15], while Bārakūru was

[1] Epigraphical Collection for 1901, No. 55.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Bl. 52. An inscription at Homma (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, ch. 64) dated during the rule of Kampaṇa in Śaka-Saṁvat 1302, designates the village Sarvajña-Vishṇupura evidently after a teacher of Sāyaṇa the minister of Harihara II. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 118.)

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 117. Harihara appears to have had a Jaina minister by name Baicha. His son Iruga was the nominal author (the actual author being his protégé Bhāskara) of the lexicon *Nānārtharatnamālā* and built the Gāṇigitti temple at Vijayanagara (*S.-I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 156). Iruga apparently took up service under Bukka II, son of Harihara II (see p. 3 of Dr. Hultszch's *Progress Report* for Feb. to April 1890).

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Sd. 112, Kl. Nos. 67 and 80, and Vol. IX, Ht. 113.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Cb. 63.

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 313.

[7] The destruction of the Hoysaḷa capital Dhōrasamudra in A.D. 1327 during the time of Muhammad Tuglaq could not have been anything like complete. Bukka I in Śaka 1276 (=A.D. 1354) *i.e.*, twenty-seven years after its supposed demolition, is said to have been ruling from Dhōrasamudra and Penugoṇḍa. We see Harihara II encamped at the place in Śaka 1309 (= A.D. 1387) and Śaka 1314 (=A.D. 1392). It appears as if the town was restored to its original condition in the time of the Vijayanagara kings and maintained its importance as the capital town in that part of the Vijayanagara empire.

[8] Epigraphical Collection for 1901, No. 154. Nos. 156 and 164 also refer to the same chief.

[9] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 117.

[10] Epigraphical Collection for 1901, Nos. 126, 135 and 155.

[11] Ditto, No. 174.

[12] Ditto, No. 151. Malaha-rājya or Male-rājya is the same as Āraga-rājya; see Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Introduction, p. 12.

[13] Epigraphical Collection for 1901, Nos. 112 and 159.

[14] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 52. Viṭṭhaṇṇa is here stated to have been a Brahma-Kshatriya descended from the family of Saṅkapa-Rāyapa; to have been the son of Virupāmbā and a pupil of the teacher Kriyāśakti. Kriyāśakti has been already mentioned in connection with Mādhava and Mudda-Daṇḍanātha; see above p. 242, note 12.

[15] See below, p. 245.

governed by Basavaṇṇoḍeya.[1] Princes Immaḍi-Bukka (*i.e.* Bukka II) and Chikka-rāya were governing Muḷuvāyi[2] (Muḷbāgal) and Āraga[3] respectively. Chikkarāya's minister was Vīra-Vasanta-Mādhavarāya, who may perhaps be identical with Mādhavarāja, the minister of Harihara II in Śaka 1313.[4] Bāchaṇṇarāya, the son of Mādhavarāja, is mentioned in Śaka 1317 to be ruling at Gōvā 'being established on the throne of the kings of Kadamba'.[5] The same chief evidently is called Bāchappoḍeya in an inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1318.[6] A record at Makaravaḷḷi in the Hāngal tāluka of the Dharwar District, dated in Śaka 1321 mentions Vīra-Bāchaṇṇa-Voḍeya ruling at Gōve.[7] This Vīra-Bāchaṇṇa-Voḍeya may be identical with Bāchaṇṇarāya, son of Mādhavarāja. From the Ālampūṇḍi plates[8] we learn that Harihara's son by Mallādēvī was Virūpāksha I (or Virupaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar II, as he is called in lithic records) who conquered the Tuṇḍīra, Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya countries for his father.[9] From his inscriptions extant mostly in the Tamil country it appears that Virupaṇṇa was in charge of portions of the present North Arcot and South Arcot Districts of the Madras Presidency. In Śaka 1327, Virupaṇṇa is stated to have been actually ruling at Vijayanagara.[10] The crown prince Dēvarāya I was Harihara's viceroy at Udayagiri in Śaka-Saṁvat 1304[11] and continued in that capacity until at least Śaka-Saṁvat 1316.[12] Two princes of the royal family—the sons of Harihara's younger brother Mallinātha-Oḍeya, are mentioned in epigraphical records of the period. Vīra-Channappa-Voḍeya in Śaka 1302, claims to have conquered the Muhammadans who were encroaching upon Ādavanidurga (Adoni). He took possession of the fortress and presented it to Harihara II.[13] This encounter of Channappa with the Muhammadans near Adoni[14] must have been in connection with the "continued fight between the Hindus and the Muhammadans" which began in the latter part of Bukka's reign. Nārāyaṇadēv-Oḍeya was the other son of Mallinātha and is mentioned in a copper-plate grant of Śaka-Saṁvat 1319.[15]

Harihara is stated to have died on Sunday, the 31st of August 1404, Tāraṇa.[16] The succession to the throne at Vijayanagara immediately after Harihara's death

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[1] Epigraphical Collection for 1901, Nos. 90, 133 and 134.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bp. 17, and Mb. 74.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 31, and Vol. VII, Hl. 84.

[4] Prof. Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 471.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Hl. 71.

[6] *Ibid.*, Sk. 241.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 117. A record from Mūḍabidure, dated in Śaka 1329, states that a certain Bāchappoḍeya was ruling at Maṅgaḷūru while Jommaya-Daṇṇāyaka was the minister of Vīra-Bukkarāya II and that he then made a grant to the temple of Chandōgrapārśvadēva (No. 41 of the Epigraphical Collection for 1901). Perhaps this Bāchappoḍeya is different from Bāchaṇṇa of Goa; but may be identical with Baicha II of the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa inscription of Irugapa II (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 16). Baicha's father Iruga I and his grandfather Baicha I served also as ministers of the Vijayanagara kings Bukka II and Harihara II (see above p. 243, note 3).

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 224 to 230. A record from Tirumaṇi in the Kolar District (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bg. 10) apparently mentions a daughter of Vīra-Bukka-Mahārāya named Virūpādēvī and her daughter Jommādēvī.

[9] This implies that the conquest and occupation of the South by Kampaṇa II was disputed and the Vijayanagara supremacy ignored subsequent to the death of Kampaṇa II.

[10] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Tl. 196.

[11] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904-05, p. 58, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 91.

[12] *Nellore Inscriptions*, Kg. 23.

[13] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Kg. 43. Chennaya-Nāyaka was another officer of Harihara II, who fell in a fight with the Muhammadans while capturing Raṅgiṇi in Śaka 1317 (*ibid.*, Tp. 44).

[14] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 36.

[15] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 327.

[16] Professor Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 478.

seems to have been disputed.[1] Dēvarāya, however, secured the succession for himself about the end of Śaka 1328,—the exact date of his coronation being Friday, 5th November, A.D. 1406.[2] One of Dēvarāya's powerful viceroys was Viṭṭhaṇṇoḍeya who ruled over the Āragada-rājya.[3] He held the same high position under Harihara II[4] and his two other sons, Virūpāksha I and Bukka II.[5] Another minister of Dēvarāya, who was related on his maternal side to the Advaita teacher Mādhavāchārya, was Lakshmaṇa or Lakshmīdhara, who is stated to have heroically quelled a plot on the life of the king organised by 'some ungrateful wretches who besieged the main entrance (into the palace) of the glorious and powerful Dēvarāya with sharp swords (in hand).' Lakshmaṇa also set up the image of a Gaṇapati "in a natural cavern on the southern side of the Mālyavat hill which was situated to the east of the Pampā-kshētra (*i.e.* Hampe)." The lithic record which supplies this information is now set up in one of the *maṇḍapas* on the road between Kṛishṇāpura and Hampe.[6] It further states that Lakshmaṇa was one of the five sons of Siṅgale, a sister of Mādarsa and Sāyaṇa, "the first ministers in this (*i.e.* Dēvaraya's) family." There can be little doubt that the reference here is to the celebrated Vedic scholars Mādhavāchārya-Vidyāraṇya and his younger brother Sāyaṇa though the form Mādarsa suggests the Śaiva scholar Mādarasa-Oḍeya. Nāgappa-Daṇṇāyaka is stated to have been one of Dēvarāya's executive officers about the time of his coronation.[7] The same chief appears later on in Śaka 1339 to have been raised to the rank of *Mahāpradhāna* and to be governing Muḷuvāyi.[8] Until then, almost from the very beginning of Dēvarāya's reign, Muḷuvāyi-rājya was under the crown prince Vijayarāya.[9] In Śaka 1339, the Gōve-Gutti-rājya was in charge of Virupa-Daṇṇāyaka,[10] and the Bārakūra-rājya was governed by Saṁkaradēva-Oḍeya.[11] The *Mahāpradhāna* Mallappoḍeya, younger brother of Bāchaṇṇa-Oḍeya, is stated to have been ruling the Guṭti-durga (*i.e.* Chandragutti) in Śaka-Saṁvat 1341.[12] Princes Harihararāya-

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[1] His sons, Virupaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar II, Bukka II and Dēvarāya I, must have tried each in his turn to succeed to the throne; for, in the years Śaka 1327 and 1328 which followed the death of Harihara, we find records which refer to one or the other of the first two princes as ruling from the throne at Vijayanagara.

[2] Prof. Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 480.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sh. 70; *ibid.*, Vol. VI, Mg. 85. Kp. 33 in the same volume is dated in Śaka 1329, and mentions prince Bhāska-Rāya, son of Vīrapratāpa-Rāya. The latter is evidently the same as Dēvarāya I. If so, Bhāska (perhaps Bhāskara)-Rāya must be a hitherto unknown prince of the Vijayanagara dynasty. Under orders of this prince, Viṭṭhaṇṇa, was ruling "Āraga, Gutti, Bārakūru, Maṅgalūru and the whole of the Karṇāṭaka-rājya up to the borders of the western ocean."

[4] See above, p. 243.

[5] This was at the time when Virūpāksha and Bukka had occupied the throne at Vijayanagara in spite of the crown prince Dēvarāya I, in Śaka 1327 and 1328. Evidently, the position of Viṭṭhaṇṇa the viceroy at Āraga was not disturbed by the political changes at the capital.

[6] Originally the pillar (No. 38 of the Epigraphical Collection for 1888-89) was "lying on the southern slope of a hill on the east of the Kṛishṇasvāmin temple," and the record on it has been translated in *Asiatic Researches* Vol. XX, p. 31. The pillar was recommended for conservation in Madras G. O. No. 849, Public, dated 16th October 1893, and removed to the *maṇḍapa* on the road.

[7] Epigraphical Collection for 1905, No. 345.

[8] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 7.

[9] *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xxxivf.

[10] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 37.

[11] Epigraphical Collection for 1901, Nos. 120, 143, 147 and 172.

[12] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 288. It is extremely doubtful if we could identify this Bāchaṇṇa with Bāchappoḍaya who was governing the Maṅgalūru-rājya under Bukka II (see above, p. 244 note 7) and with Baicha II, of the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa Jaina record, which is dated in Śaka 1344. He is certainly identical with Vīra-Bachaṇṇa-Oḍeya of the Makaravaḷḷi record and with Bāchaṇṇarāya, son of Mādhavarāja Bayichaya-daṇḍanātha, who was a Jaina chief and the *mahāpradhāna* of Vijaya-Bukka in Śaka 1344 (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Kl. 178; and *ibid.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 93) and in Śaka 1346 (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, Hg. 1) is, however, the same as Baicha II.

Uḍaiyar III and Vīra-Mallaṇṇa-Voḍeya served as viceroys in the country on the banks of the Bhavānī (river) and in Bemmattinakallu (Chitaldroog) respectively. Prince Vīra-Bhūpati-Uḍaiyar, whose dates range between Śaka 1331 and 1343, is known from the colophon of Chauṇḍapāchārya's *Prayōgaratnamālā* to have been a son of Bukka (II) by Tippāmbā.[1] It is open to question if all the lithic records of Vīra-Bhūpati so far discovered have to be attributed to this prince, or if some of them must be assigned also to Vīra-Vijaya-Bhūpati or Vīra-Vijaya, the son of Dēvarāya I.[2] The *Nellore Inscriptions* published by Messrs. Butterwoith and Venugopaul Chetty, disclose to us the name of prince Rāmachandrarāya-Oḍeya, son of Dēvarāya I, ruling the Udayagiri-rājya in Śaka 1338.[3]

A copper-plate inscription from the Guṇḍlupēṭ tāluka appears to suggest that Dēvarāya probably died about Śaka-Saṁvat 1344.[4] If this is correct, Vijaya must have succeeded to the throne in the same year. We find a *vīragal* of this date at Baligāmi which gives him the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja, etc.*, and states that he was ruling from his capital Hastināvatī.[5] Nuniz ascribes to Vijaya a reign of 6 years, during which he is said to have done nothing worth mentioning. From lithic records and copper-plates, however, we gather that he must have been chosen crown prince very early in his father's reign—about Śaka 1330[6]—and that he was also known by the other names Vīra-Bukka, Vijaya-Bukka, Vīra-Vijaya[7] and Vīra-Vijaya-Bhūpati.[8] A few inscriptions of Śaka-Saṁvat 1368, the last year of Vijaya's son Dēvarāya II,[9] refer to the reigning sovereign as Vīrapratāpa-Vijayarāya-Mahārāya.[10] It is disputed if this king is identical with Vijaya, the son of Dēvarāya I, or if he is some unknown prince of the first Vijayanagara dynasty; or if, again, Vijaya is only a surname of Immaḍi-Prauḍhadēvarāya (Mallikārjuna), who was the grandson of Vijaya, and as such, was entitled to be called by that name in accordance with the well-known Hindu custom of naming grandsons after their grandfathers. The last alternative appears to be the most probable one; for, it is unlikely that a father would be ruling as a subordinate of his son or that he would have survived him to succeed once more to the throne. Consequently, Vijaya mentioned in these later records of Śaka 1368 may provisionally be taken to be identical with Mallikārjuna until the contrary is proved by future researches. An interesting fact of the reign of Vijayarāya is worth noticing. It is stated that the ministers "in the kingdom had been taking presents (by force) from all ryots belonging to both the right-hand and

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[1] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904-5, p. 58, paragraph 30.

[2] Ditto for 1908-9, Part II, paragraph 67.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 91f. Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Kn. 2, refers to a prince Rāmachandradēva-Oḍeya, who was the son of Harihara-Mahārāja. As the date of the record is not clear, it is impossible to state who this prince was.

[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Gn. 24, and Introduction, p. 24. An. 79 of Vol. IX and Kl. 178 of Vol. X, state that in this year (*i.e.*, Śaka 1344) Vīra-Vijaya or Vijaya-Bukka, son of Dēvarāya, was ruling on the throne. Tl. 14 of Vol. VIII, however, which is dated one year later, refers to the sovereign as Dēvarāya-Mahārāya, son of Harihara-Mahārāya. This king must be identical with Dēvarāya II, though he is called the son of Harihara (see *Nellore Inscriptions*, Part III, p. 1469, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 92, footnote 18).

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 93.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Introduction, p. xxxv.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XXXVIII, p. 92.

[8] See above, note 2.

[9] See below, p. 251.

[10] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906-7, p. 83, paragraph 55.

left-hand classes *at the commencement of each reign.*[1] In consequence of this, all the ryots were harassed and ran away to foreign countries. Worship and festivals ceased in temples; the country became full of disease; all people (that remained) either died or suffered." This extortion was put a stop to, by an order of the king communicated, first, through Aṇṇappa-Oḍeyar and then through the minister Nāgarasa-Oḍeyar.[2] We have noted already, that one of Vijaya's ministers was Bayichappa-daṇḍanātha probably identical with Baicha II of the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa Jaina record. Mr. Rice refers to a prince Vīra-Pārvatirāya-Voḍeya, son of Vijayarāya, who was ruling the Terakaṇāmbi country in Śaka 1347.[3]

We do not, at present, know the exact date when Dēvarāya II, the son of Vijaya, succeeded to the throne. As stated already, Dēvarāya I, the father of Vijaya, died about Śaka 1343 or 1344. Although, Vīra-Vijaya may, in the ordinary course, be expected to have ascended the throne soon after his father's death, the paucity of inscriptions attributable to his reign except the few stray ones noticed above, make it appear as though Vijaya did not either succeed Dēvarāya I, or that if he did, he continued to be co-regent for a time with his father Dēvarāya I, and for a time with his own son Dēvaraya II, as will be clear from the sequel. A record at Bārakūru[4] states that Vīrapratāpa Dēvarāya (II) *began* to reign from "the summer month" (*bēsigeya-tiṅgaḷu*) of Śaka-Saṁvat 1343, by which, perhaps, the lunar month Chaitra, which commences the summer season, is meant. There is no reason to suspect the accuracy of this date and to accept it as the date of the accession of Dēvarāya II. Another record [5] dated in the same year belongs to the reign of Dēvarāya, son of Harihararāya. This king may be taken to be either Dēvarāya I or Dēvarāya II, the latter being known, sometimes, also as the son of Harihara.[6] If, however, the two records quoted above, do really belong to the reign of Dēvarāya II, the date A.D. 1419[7] suggested by Mr. Sewell for his accession will be very nearly correct, being only two years too early. Again, records of Vijayarāya-Mahārāya with the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja, etc.*, are dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1344,[8] 1345,[9] 1346,[10] and 1368, the name of the king in these sometimes occurring as Vīra-Bukka or Vijaya-Bukka.[11] As pointed out in the preceding paragraph, Vīra-Vijaya-Mahārāya with date Śaka 1368, may be a possible surname of Mallikārjuna; but Vīra-Vijaya who was ruling between Śaka 1344 and 1346 cannot be any other than Vijaya, the son of Dēvarāya I. If, according to Nuniz, Vijaya actually reigned for 6 years, his initial date calculated backwards from Śaka-Saṁvat 1346—the latest reliable date available for him—would take us to

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1 The words *in italics* indicate that Śaka 1368, the date of these disputed records must have fallen into the commencement of some reign which could only be that of Immaḍi-Prauḍhadēvarāya.

2 *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904-5, p. 58, paragraph 30.

3 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Ch. 195.

4 Epigraphical Collection for 1901, No. 160.

5 Ditto for 1907, No. 158.

6 See below, p. 248.

7 *Forgotten Empire*, p. 62f.

8 Prof. Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 485 and above, p. 246, note 4.

9 *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906, p. 82.

10 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Hg. 1.

11 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 461, states that in Śaka 1344 Vīra-Dēvarāya-Pratāpa-Vijaya-Bukkarāya was ruling the country 'pressing on the four oceans.' Perhaps the first portion of the name refers to Vijaya's father Dēvarāya I.

A.D. 1418[1] which very nearly coincides with the initial date given by Mr. Sewell for Dēvarāya II. Consequently, it is not unlikely that Vijaya and his son Dēvarāya II were joint rulers during the period between at least Śaka 1343 and 1346. Vijaya must also have been co-regent with his father Dēvarāya I for two or three years prior to Śaka 1343, in case the statement of Nuniz that he ruled 6 years, is true. From a lithic record in the Shimoga District it appears as if Vijaya died in Śaka 1346, and in consequence a grant was made by Dēvarāya II for the merit of his father (*ayyagaḷu*)[2]. Dēvarāya, consequently, must have become the sole ruler in that year.[3]

Before mentioning the ministers and generals who played a prominent part in the administration of Dēvarāya II, it may be recorded that the king is sometimes also called Immaḍi-Dēvarāya[4] and Pratāpa-Dēvarāya.[5] In a few records his father's name is given as Harihara, by which we have perhaps to understand Harihara III, his uncle.[6] Dēvarāya's inscriptions are found in large numbers in almost every part of the Vijayanagara empire.[7] Āragaḍa-rājya was, in his time, ruled by Sirigirinātha-Oḍeyar, son of Rāyappa-Oḍeyar of the Brahma-Kshatra family[8], to which Vitthaṇṇa-Voḍeyar also belonged.[9] Sirigirinātha was apparently in charge of this province till about Śaka 1354. At this time Gōve-Gutti or Gōve-Chandragutti was governed successively by Tryambakadēva and Handiyarāya.[10] Maṅgalūra-rājya was under Nāgaṇṇa-Oḍeya and Dēvarāya-Voḍeya of Nāgamaṅgala;[11] while Chaṇḍarasa and Narasiṁhadēva-Oḍeya ruled the Bārakūra-rājya (also called Bārakūra-Tuḷu-rājya).[12] Prince Vīra-Pārvatirāya-Voḍeya, son of Vijayarāya, and consequently, a brother of Dēvarāya, has been already referred to as being in charge of the Terakaṇāmbi-rājya

[1] Earlier dates do occur for Vijaya, in some of which he assumes the imperial titles *rājādhirāja* and *paramēśvara*. A record from the Pāvagaḍa tāluka (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, pg. 88), which is dated in Śaka 1336 might be cited as an instance. Another of Śaka 1335 (Epigraphical Collection for 1902, No. 568) also gives him the same titles, though the suffix *uḍaiyar* which it adds to his name shows his position as a subordinate prince. These dates may confirm the initial date suggested by Mr. Sewell (*Forgotten Empire*, p. 62), *viz.* A. D. 1414 for Vijaya; but then, the statement of Nuniz that he ruled for 6 years, will have to be altered into 10 years; for, the latest date known for Vijaya is Śaka 1346-A.D. 1424. Perhaps, the imperial titles in these records were applied to Vijaya because he was the crown prince.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Tl. 163.

[3] This conclusion is supported by the statement that Dēvarāya was ruling on a *permanent* throne in Śaka 1346.

[4] See *e.g.* *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 240, dated Śaka 1364, and the Epigraphical Collection for 1901, No. 177.

[5] It is, consequently, often difficult to distinguish between the inscriptions of Dēvarāya II and his brother Pratāpa-Dēvarāya who was ruling in a subordinate capacity over the Maratakanagara-prānta, which comprised portions of the modern N. Arcot District. Inscriptions from that part of the country in which the suffix *Oḍeya* is added to the name of the king may provisionally be taken to belong to Dēvarāya's brother Pratāpa-Dēvarāya.

[6] See above, p. 246, note 4.

[7] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 77f, and *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1469.

[8] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Tl. Nos. 2, 14 and 23 and *ibid.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 27. It is stated (*ibid.*, Vol. VII, Sh. 71 also that a certain Rāyaṇṇ-Oḍeya was in Śaka 1352 ruling a portion of the Āragaḍa-rājya. This Rāyaṇṇa was a Śaiva and the great-grandson of Baichapa-Daṇḍanāyaka who was the *Mahāpradhāna* of Bukkarāja. Baicha's son was Maṅgapa and his son a second Baicha, the father of Rāyaṇṇa. It is curious that the genealogy of this Śaiva chief should so closely agree with that of the Jaina chief Baicha II disclosed by the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa record of Śaka 1344 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 16). If it is not due to a pure accident we must perhaps presume that Rāyaṇṇa, the last member of the family, became a convert to Śaivism, while his three immediate ancestors were Jainas.

[9] See above, p. 243, note 14.

[10] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 565, and Vol. VII, Sk. 40. Chandragutti-Gōve was about Śaka 1365 under Irugappa-Voḍeya (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 489) and in Śaka 1367 under Mallarasa-Oḍeya (*ibid.*, No. 495).

[11] Epigraphical Collection for 1901, Nos. 25 and 28.

[12] Ditto, Nos. 36, 148, 173, 177, 179-80.

in Śaka 1347.[1] The Satyamaṅgalam plates of Dēvarāya II and the Madras Museum plates of Śrīgiri establish that Pratāpa-Dēvarāya (or Śrīgiri) was a younger brother of Dēvarāya II and was ruling over portions of the North Arcot District. Perumāḷe-Daṇṇāyaka referred to in inscriptions from the West Coast was the prime-minister in Śaka 1351 when, the Hosabasti at Mūḍabidure was constructed by Dēvarāja-Voḍeya of Nāgamaṅgala.[2] Two other ministers were Siṅgaṇa-Daṇṇāyaka [3] and Lakkhaṇṇa-Daṇṇāyaka,[4] the latter of whom appears to have been placed in independent charge of Dēvarāya's Southern dominions (perhaps the Rājagambhīra-rājya) and consequently, to have assumed the title "Lord of the Southern Ocean." Nāgaraṣa, son of Siddharasa, who in Śaka 1362, made a grant for the merit of the minister Lakkhaṇṇa,[5] is perhaps identical with the immediate superior of Aṇṇappa-Uḍaiyar who was mentioned already in connection with Vīra-Vijaya-Mahārāya.[6] This must be the same as Aṇṇappa who was ruling Bārakūru in Śaka 1358, under orders of Siṅgaṇa-Daṇṇāyaka, [7] and was in charge of both Bārakūru and Maṅgalūru in the early part of Śaka 1362, when Lakkhaṇṇa was managing the affairs (*pārupatya*) of the whole country at Vijayanagara.[8] Aṇṇappoḍeya appears also to have continued as governor of the Maṅgalūru and the Bārakūru countries during the reign of Dēvarāya's son and successor Mallikārjuna.[9] Mr. Venkayya attributes a copper coin with the Kanarese legend [*kha*]*maṇa-daṇāyakaru* on the reverse and the initial *La* on the obverse, to the Daṇḍanāyaka Lakkhaṇṇa and has identified him with "Danaik," the vizier who went on a voyage to the frontier of Ceylon, during the reign of Dēvarāya II.[10] Lakkhaṇṇa is known to have made gifts for the merit of his brother Mādaṇa-Uḍaiyar at Pirāṇmalai in Śaka 1360;[11] and before this, while he was governing the Muḷuvāyi country he granted some villages to the Prasanna-Virūpāksha temple at Virūpākshapura in the Kolar District, in Śaka 1353 and in 1350 for the merit of Dēvarāya II.[12] Lakkhaṇṇa and Māḍaṇṇa under orders from the king appear to have handed over charge of the Tēkal country to Sāḷuva Gōparāja,[13] perhaps in consequence of their transfer to the Southern viceroyalty.[14]

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1 See above, p. 247.

2 Epigraphical Collection for 1901, No. 28.

3 Ditto, No. 109.

4 Ditto, No. 128.

5 *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904-5, p. 58, paragraph 31.

6 See above, p. 247.

7 Epigraphical Collection for 1901, No. 109.

8 Ditto. No. 128 and *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bp. 11.

9 See below, p. 251, and Epigraphical Collection for 1901, No. 83.

10 *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904-5, p. 58f. Nuniz says that "in his (*i.e.* Dēvarāya II's) time the king of Coullao and Ceyllao (Ceylon) and Paleacate (Pulicat) and Peggu and Tenaçary (Tenasserim) and many other countries paid tributes to him." These were evidently countries which had not submitted to Vijayanagara suzerainty before the time of Dēvarāya.

11 Epigraphical Collection for 1903, No. 141.

12 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X. Mb. Nos. 2 and 96 and Kl. 104.

13 *Ibid.*, Mr. 1. The Śaka date as it is here given, is wrong; but from No. 3 of the same tāluka it becomes clear that it was meant for Śaka 1356. From other records (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 29) we learn that Sāḷuva-Tipparāja, father of Sāḷuva-Gōparāja, was the husband of Harimā, a sister of Dēvarāya II. It may be that the Sāḷuvas rose to power and prominence in consequence of this relationship.

14 Mr. Nelson, accordingly, places in the list of the Nāyaka rulers of Madura between A.D. 1404 and 1451, Lakkana Nāyakka and Mattanan Nāyakka who are presumably identical with Lakshmaṇa-Daṇṇāyaka and his brother Mādaṇṇa. But as inscriptions of Lakkaṇa in the Madura country earlier than Śaka 1360 (=A.D. 1438) are not yet discovered, and as we know that he was in the Muḷuvāyi country till at least Śaka 1353 (=A. D. 1431) there appears to be some discrepancy in the dates given by Mr. Nelson.

About Śaka 1362, the Kaḷasa-rājya was in charge of *gaṇḍaradāvaṇi* Vīra-Pāṇḍya [1] who must have been an earlier member of the family to which the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa chief Bhairava II belonged and identical, perhaps, with that Vīra-Pāṇḍya who set up the colossus at Kārkaḷa in the South Canara District.[2] It is interesting to note that the famous Italian traveller Nicolo Dei Conti and the Persian envoy Abdur Razzāk visited Vijayanagara during the reign of Dēvarāya II. The glowing descriptions which these have given of the great city, its king and his people[3] shows that the empire had reached the height of prosperity during the reign of Dēvarāya II. The kingdom must, as we have already seen, extended in his time over the whole of Southern India, even to the shores of Ceylon.[4]

Dēvarāya II is distinguished in inscriptions by the title *gajabēṭekāra*. Some of the copper coins issued by him, are described on p. 303f of the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX. They bear on the reverse the legend रायगज गंडभेरुंड while on their obverse is engraved the figure of an elephant. We have perhaps to expect some term synonymous with this, in his title also. If this is probable, "*gajabēṭekāra*" translated in Tamil records into "*gajavēṭṭai-kaṇḍ-aruḷiya*" (*i.e.* who was pleased to witness the elephant hunt) must have been either misunderstood by the translators or its real significance ignored. The complete form of the title would, if it is to correspond to the legend *rāyagaja-gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa* of the coins, be *rāya-gaja-bēṭekāṟa* (or rather *arirāya-gaja*). Consequently, the title must mean 'a *bēṭe-kāṟa* or *gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa* to the elephants (*viz.*) enemy kings.' *Bēṇṭekāṟa* or *bēṭekāṟa* in Kanarese is now applied to the bird known as the kingfisher. I do not know if *gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa*—a legendary bird which is supposed to be capable of carrying away elephants and lions on its beak and claws,[5] is ever applied to the kingfisher. The title *gaja-mṛigayā-vihāra* assumed by Virūpāksharāya in a later record of Śaka 1389 from the Kōlār District (Mb. 20) points, however, definitely to the fact that the legend *gajabēṭekāra* was, already in the time of Virūpāksha, understood in the sense of "the elephant hunter." Abdur Razzak also mentions the elephant-hunt in which 'the sovereigns of Hindusthan took part,' evidently referring to the sport which gave rise to the title *gajabēṭekāra* of Dēvarāya II. Consequently, elephant-hunting, as a pastime, was recognised first in this reign and must, in a way, be presumed to indicate the peaceful and prosperous state of the country when kings could safely turn their attention to sports of that kind. The people, too, must have been enjoying a happy rule as they could then think of social reforms. For, it is stated that the evil practice of bargaining for marriage by one, at least, of the parties concerned was as rampant in Śaka 1347 (=A.D. 1425) as it is to-day. The *Brāhmaṇs* of the kingdom of Paḍaivīḍu among whom were the Karṇāṭa, Tamil, Telugu and Lāṭa brahmaṇas signed an agreement to the effect that henceforth marriages among their families had only to be concluded by *kanyādāna*, 'free gift of the bride.'[6] The marriage taxes among all classes in the village of Baḷāḷapura were remitted in Śaka 1354.[7]

[1] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI, Md. 42.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 128, and South Canara *Manual*, Part I, p. 66.

[3] *Forgotten Empire*, Chap. VII.

[4] See above, p. 249, note 10.

[5] A graphic picture of this mythical bird is seen on the "Gaṇḍa Bhērunda ceiling, Keladi" which forms the frontispiece to Vol. VIII of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*.

[6] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 82f.

[7] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Gd. 17.

An inscription at Kodakaṇi, which mentions the "setting" (*i.e.* the end) of Dēvarāya II in or before Śaka 1370[1] apparently refers to his death.[2] Professor Kielhorn, who has calculated the date, *viz.* Śaka 1368, Kshaya, given in a record at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa for the death of Dēvarāya, states that it refers to the death of Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, the younger brother of Dēvarāya II.[3] From the Kodakaṇi inscription, however, it appears as if Dēvarāya II, too, must have died about the same time. As the earliest records of Mallikārjuna are dated in Śaka 1369, Prabhava,[4] we have perhaps to conclude that Dēvarāya II died in or before Śaka 1369 and that Mallikārjuna succeeded to the throne in the latter half of that year. It was during the reign of this king that the Sāḷuvas who eventually usurped the Vijayanagara throne became powerful.

Mallikārjuna was known by his other names Immaḍi-Prauḍhadēva-Mahārāya and sometimes also Dēvarāya-Mahārāya[5] and like his father bore the title *gajabēṇṭekāra*. In the early years of his reign, Sirigirinātha-Oḍeya of the Brahma-Kshatriya family,[6] already referred to,[7] was ruling the Āragada-rājya, and Bayichaṇṇa-Oḍeya, the son of Triyambaka, was in charge of the Chandragutti-rājya.[8] After Sirigiri, the principality appears to have passed into the hands of his son, Dēvappa-Daṇḍanātha. A copper-plate inscription now preserved in the Puttige-maṭha at Tīrthahaḷḷi,[9] states that this Daṇḍanātha's father Śrīgiri was a cousin (*dāyāda*) of king Harihara and a descendant of Rāyapa. It is difficult to explain in what sense Śrīgiri was a cousin of Harihara. The gift referred to in the Tīrthahaḷḷi plates, was, however, made in Śaka 1386 on the occasion of "the name-giving ceremony (*nāmakaraṇa*) of [a son] Dēvarāya to a son of Mallikārjuna."[10] If the genuineness of these copper-plates is above suspicion, and if my interpretation of the particular passage in question is correct, the date Śaka 1386 would be the birthday of Dēvarāya, a grandson of Mallikārjuna, who in all probability is identical with the Padea Rao of Nuniz.[11] Aṇṇappoḍeya has already

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 18.

[2] Abdur Razzāk says that a desperate attempt on the life of Dēvarāya was made by one of his brothers in A.D. 1443 (Śaka 1365). Nuniz confirms the statement and records that Dēvarāya died a few months after this event (*Forgotten Empire*, p. 78 f. and *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-6, page 82, paragraph 46).

[3] *Southern List*, No. 495.

[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 239, and Vol. XII, Pg. 69, of the time of Krishṇarāya referring to an earlier grant by Immaḍi-Dēva-Mahārāya, *i.e.*, Mallikārjuna. An inscription from the Bangalore District, dated in Śaka 1369 (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Dv. 38), refers to the permanent (*sthira*) rule of Virūpāksha. This could not be explained otherwise than by supposing that the king was also called Virūpāksha.

[5] Mr. Sewell (*Forgotten Empire*, p. 80) rightly suggests that a Dēvarāya III must have succeeded Dēvarāya II on the Vijayangara throne, but says that this must have been only between A.D. 1444 and 1449, after which Mallikārjuna followed (*ibid.*, p. 96). But as it is shown already that Dēvarāya II died about Śaka 1369, and as in the earliest records of Mallikārjuna, dated between Śaka 1369 and 1371, he is sometimes called Dēvarāya (*e.g.*, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 67, and Vol. VI, Kp. 44), which is only a shorter form of Immaḍi-Prauḍha-Dēvarāya, there is no doubt that Mr. Sewell's Dēvarāya III, is no other than Mallikārjuna himself. Pinarao and his unnamed son, whom Nuniz places between Dēvarāya II and Virūpāksharāya have not yet been identified. One of the two must be Mallikārjuna,—probably the former; for, as Mr. Sewell remarks (*Forgotten Empire*, p. 302, note 5), *Pinarao* or Chikkarāya would appropriately be the title of a crown prince. It is not unlikely also that Nuniz who apparently out of confusion states that an attempt was made on the life of prince Pinarao while actually it was one made on the life of his father Dēvarāya II (*ibid.*, p. 97) would similarly have made the crown prince Pinarao and his successor two different individuals.

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 32.

[7] See above, p. 248.

[8] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 473. Triyambaka, too, has been already noticed as the governor of Gove-Gutti or Gōve-Chandragutti under Dēvarāya II (above, p. 248).

[9] *Ibid.*, Tl. 206.

[10] Mr. Rice believes the occasion to be the name-giving ceremony of Dēvarāya, a son of Mallikārjuna; but we do not know of any son of Mallikārjuna of that name. It is more likely that the author omitted to repeat the word *tanayasya* a second time for the sake of the metre.

[11] See below, p. 253.

been mentioned as viceroy of Bārakūru and Maṅgalūra-rājya in the last days of Dēvarāya II. He continued to hold the same high position in the beginning of Mallikārjuna's rule as well.[1] But in Śaka 1372 Rāyarasa-Oḍeya is stated to have been the viceroy at Bārakūru. In Śaka 1373 a *mukha-maṇḍapa* was added to the Hosabasti at Mūḍabidure, while the prime-minister was Gaṇapaṇṇoḍeya. Guruvappoḍeya and Lakkhaṇṇa-Oḍeya were governing Bārakūru in Śaka 1380 and 1385 respectively. During the reign of Mallikārjuna an invasion into the Vijayanagara country by the combined forces of the Gajapati king Kapilēśvara and the Sulṭān of the South is said to have taken place.[2] Mr. Venkayya makes mention of a subsequent Pāṇḍya invasion into the town of Kāñchī about Śaka-Saṁvat 1391.[3] These two invasions must be sufficient to indicate that the kingdom of Vijayanagara was already growing weak.

Virūpāksha should have succeeded to the throne in Śaka 1387; for, prior to that year, we do not know of any records which refer to Virūpāksha as the ruling sovereign. The relation which he bore to Mallikārjuna is not clear. A record from Conjeeveram, dated in A.D. 1470, makes him the son of Dēvarāya and, as such, a brother of Mallikārjuna; while another, dated in A.D. 1483 from Gangaikoṇḍachōḷapuram states that he was the son of Mallikārjuna.[4] The large number of epigraphs from the Mysore State published by Mr. Rice in the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, do not distinguish two different kings of the name Virūpāksha. The dates range from A.D. 1466 to 1485 and it is difficult to say if all these refer to one and the same Virūpāksha or to two, though it is not altogether impossible to accept the former alternative, as Mallikārjuna also bore the surname Dēvarāya. In the genealogical tables hitherto published, two different Virūpākshas are made out subsequent to Dēvarāya II—one, the younger brother of Mallikārjuna, and the other his son.[5] We do not know of any powerful minister of Virūpāksha other than the Sāḷuva chief Narasiṅgarāja-Oḍeyar, who in several records of this period, makes grants independently of the ruling sovereign Virūpāksha. He is stated to have been the real ruler of the country in Śaka 1407—the king being assigned only the dignity of occupying the throne.[6] About Śaka 1392 Siṅgappa-Daṇḍanāyaka appears to have held the high office of minister.[7] Under his orders Viṭṭharasa was ruling the Bārakūra-rājya and the Maṅgalūra-rājya, between Śaka-Saṁvat 1393 and 1398.[8] Dēvappoḍeya, the son of Śrīgirinātha[9] was ruling the Āragada-rājya as Virūpāksha's viceroy in Śaka-Saṁvat 1389.[10] Virūpāksha's records extend up to Śaka 1407.[11] No. 593 of the Epigraphical Collection for 1902, dated in Śaka 1408, suggests that

[1] Epigraphical Collection for 1901, No. 83. Here the date and the cyclic year have been misread as Śaka 13[4]0, Hē[viḷambin]. On re-examination of the original I find that they should be read Śaka 1370, Vibhava.

[2] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906-7, paragraph 56.

[3] *Ibid.*, paragraph 57.

[4] See *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1891-92, p. 9, paragraph 9.

[5] Professor Kielhorn, in his succession list of the Vijayanagara kings of the first dynasty (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix II, 18*a*) makes Virūpāksha, the son of Dēvarāya II, from Siṁhaḷadēvī. The Sajjalūr plates (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Ml. 121), from which this information is derived, seem to call Virūpāksha's father Pratāpa or Prauḍha-Pratāpa who "acquired the Kingdom from his elder brother." In all probability, he was the younger brother of Dēvarāya II, referred to in the genealogical tables.

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 104. In one of the records dated in Śaka 1406 (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, Ma. 32) Narasiṅga assumes the title Mahārāya.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Gb. 29.

[8] Epigraphical Collection for 1901, Nos. 158 and 39.

[9] See above, p. 251.

[10] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Tl. 143.

[11] *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Mb., 104.

there must have been a Prauḍhadēvarāya-Mahārāya who was a son of Virūpāksha and a grandson of Dēvarāya (*i.e.* Mallikārjuna).[1] The Pārnapalle record of Śaka 1398, which Mr. Sewell mentions on p. 97 of his *Forgotten Empire*, may have to be identified with this Prauḍhadēva.[2] Nuniz also refers to a son of Virūpāksha by name Padea Rao in whose time the Sāḷuva usurpation took place. In all probability, Virūpāksha left two sons, of whom one was Padea Rao (Prauḍhadēvarāya) of No. 593, so named after his grandfather Mallikārjuna Immaḍi-Prauḍhadēvarāya.[3] Virūpāksha appears to have continued to rule, jointly with his son 'Padea Rao' almost until the actual usurpation of the throne by the minister Sāḷuva-Nṛisiṁharāja.

The exact date of the Sāḷuva usurpation and the manner in which it came about are not known from epigraphic records. The account given by Nuniz (*Forgotten Empire*, pp. 306 and 307) was the first to suggest the theory of a Sāḷuva usurpation and the Dēvulapalle plates discovered by Mr. Ramayya Pantulu appear to confirm this suggestion.[4] Though the actual usurpation took place about the end of the 15th century A.D. as will be pointed out presently, records of Sāḷuva chiefs who were at first feudatories of the Vijayanagara kings, have been extant from much earlier times. The first reference in lithic records is to Sāḷuva Maṅgu-Mahārāja, who is mentioned in a Daḷavānūr inscription of Śaka 1285,[5] as an officer of Kampaṇa II. He has been identified with Sāḷuva Maṅgi, the grandfather of Tippa referred to in the Telugu poem *Jaimini Bhāratamu*.[6] The Sāḷuva chiefs who succeeded Maṅgi appear to have continued as Vijayanagara subordinates in subsequent reigns. Tipparāja and his son Gōparāja were ruling Tēkal under the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II in Śaka 1352-53.[7] The former is stated to have married a sister of the ruling sovereign[8] and was perhaps in consequence raised to the position of a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. He made gifts at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu in Śaka 1362[9] and at Tiruppārkaḍal in Śaka 1364[10] being perhaps then placed in charge of the North Arcot District. The Sāḷuva chief, Gōpa-Timma or Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāja, was, perhaps, a grandson of Tippa, just mentioned, and the son of Gōparāja[11]; while the usurper Narasiṁharāya

[1] See above, p. 251.

[2] No. 158 of the Epigraphical Collection for 1901, which is dated in Śaka 1393 and in the reign of Prauḍhadēvarāya, may have also to be referred to Prauḍhadēva, the son of Virūpāksha. It is possible, too, that about this period the elder Prauḍhadēva, *viz.*, Mallikārjuna was ruling jointly with his son Virūpaksha. The younger would be only 7 years old if we adopt the former alternative.

[3] Mallikārjuna with the date Śaka 1405 mentioned at the end of paragraph 32 on p. 59 of the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904-5, must, in my opinion, be the same as Prauḍhadēvarāya son of Virūpāksha. If this Prauḍhadēva was so called after a surname of his grandfather Mallikārjuna, it will not be difficult to see that he was like him known by the name Mallikārjuna also.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 74ff. Verse 13 states that Nṛisiṁha 'became an emperor by defeating all his enemies with the sole assistance of his sword.' Mr. Ramayya Pantulu is of opinion that in this statement is found a hint to Nṛisiṁha's usurpation (*ibid.*, p. 84, note 2).

[5] No. 52 of the Epigraphical Collection for 1905 and *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904-5, p. 62, paragraph 44.

[6] *Loc. cit.*

[7] See above, p. 249, note 13.

[8] Ditto.

[9] Epigraphical Collection for 1905, No. 498.

[10] Epigraphical Collection for 1904, Nos. 694 and 703.

[11] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 76, footnote 11, and p. 77, footnote 2. Gōpa-Tippa, Gōpa-Timma and Sāḷuva Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāja do perhaps all refer to the same individual as their dates indicate. Professor Hultzsch apparently distinguishes Gōpa-Tippa from Gōpa-Timma and identifies the first with Tippa, son of Gauta; and the second with Timma, son of Guṇḍa. The names, compounded as they are with Gōpa, show that Tippa and Timma, even if they be different individuals, must have been sons of Gōpa. No. 67 of 1903 from Jambukēśvaram actually calls Sāḷuva Tirumalairāja, a son of Gopparāja. Timma, the son of Guṇḍa, is designated Timmarājadēva in a record from Tirumala, dated in Śaka 1385 (No. 249 of 1904).

was the son of Guṇḍa, an elder brother of Tipparāja.[1] The former appears as an independent sovereign in the South, in the years between Śaka 1375 and 1388; for, his inscriptions found at Śrīraṅgam,[2] Jambukēśvaram,[3] Kuḍumiyāmalai,[4] Tirukāṭṭupaḷḷi[5] and Tanjore[6] do not make reference to the ruling sovereign at Vijayanagara who at this time was Mallikārjuna. The inscriptions of Narasiṁharāya are even more numerous and extend over the whole of the Eastern and the Central divisions of the Vijayanagara empire.[7] In these, generally, Narasiṅgarājoḍeya makes gifts independently of the king; or sometimes the king makes them for Narasiṅga's merit. Two records in the North Arcot District show that subsequent to Tipparāja and Gōparāja, Narasiṅga may have been put in charge of that part of the country as early as Śaka 1378.[8] Narasiṅgarāja's power as a chief seems to have grown so great that, ignoring the authority of his sovereign, he went on acquiring territory after territory till he was sufficiently strong to assume the reins of government himself.[9] Even in records where a formal mention of the emperor is made Narasiṁharāja does not figure as a feudatory making gifts for the merit of his overlord. The earliest epigraph in which Narasiṅga styles himself a *mahārājā*, is dated in Śaka 1406,[10] though in Śaka 1407 he appears again as the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Narasiṅgarāja-Oḍeya.[11] In Śaka 1408 Narasiṁha assumed the imperial titles *rājādhirāja*, *etc.*[12] The earliest record of his son Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha, is dated in Śaka 1414.[13] Accordingly, the Sāḷuva usurpation must have taken place between Śaka 1408 and 1414—perhaps most probably in Śaka 1408=A.D. 1486-87, as Dr. Caldwell suggests.[14]

H. KRISHNA SASTRI.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 76.

[2] Epigraphical Collection for 1892, No. 59.

[3] Epigrapical Collection for 1903, No. 67.

[4] Ditto for 1906, No. 378.

[5] Ditto for 1897, No. 55.

[6] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, No. 23.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 78. Inscriptions of Sāḷuva Nṛisiṁha are not found on the west coast and in the South. Perhaps the Kaḷasa chiefs asserted their independence for a time and extended their sway over the former while Gōpa-Tippa or Sāḷuva Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāja was perhaps occupying the latter. Udayagiri-rajya, too, must have been lost to the Vijayanagara kingdom and occupied by the Gajapati king already during the time of Mallikārjuna. Gōve-Gutti was captured by Mahmūd Gawan in the reign of Virūpāksha.

[8] Epigraphical Collection for 1904, No. 253. Nos. 251, 252 and 254 of the same Collection refer to other chiefs of the Sāḷuva family, whose relation to Narasiṁha is not known.

[9] According to Ferishtah, Narasiṁha's country lay 'between Carnatic and Teliṅgana extending along the sea-coast to Matchiliputtam (Masulipatam)'. Narasiṁha 'added much of the Beejanaggur territory to his own by conquest with several strong forts' (*Forgotten Empire*, p. 101). This latter statement shows that even before he actually usurped the throne and became the ruling sovereign, he was independent enough to extend his conquests and to enlarge his dominions.

[10] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Ma. 32.

[11] *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Mb. 104.

[12] *Ibid*, Vol. XII, Tm. 54.

[13] *Ibid*, Vol. VI., Mg. Nos. 54 and 56. Taking the earliest date available for Sāḷuva Narasiṅgarāja (*i.e.* Śaka 1378) to coincide with the commencement of his reign, if we calculate 44 years—the period attributed to him by Nuniz (*Forgotten Empire*, page 307)—we get to the year Śaka 1422, which will take us very near to the second usurpation of the Vijayanagara kingdom by the Tuḷuva general Narasaṇa-Nāyaka. Perhaps, Nuniz did not count the rule, in the interval, of Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁharāya, which is proved by the Dēvulapalli plates and other lithic records.

[14] *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 48. Though it is not here distinctly stated that the famous predecessor of Krishṇarāya, who succeeded to the throne in Śaka 1408 was the Sāḷuva king Narasiṁha, still there can be no doubt that the Sāḷuva general is meant and not the Tuḷuva; for, it has been proved that the second usurpation by the latter happened about the commencement of the 16th century of the Christian era (*Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1907-08, Part II, paragraph 81).

A FORGED COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION FROM EASTERN BENGAL.

THIS inscription is written on both sides of a single sheet of copper, measuring 8" by 4¾". The plate has no raised rims, and bears, on its left-hand side, clear indications of having been soldered on to a seal. Nothing is known to me about the exact find spot of the plate, beyond the vague fact, that it came from Eastern Bengal. When I saw it in July, 1908, it was with some Bengali gentleman in Calcutta; however, I understand, that it has since been returned to its owner.

The main point of interest attaching to the inscription on this plate, is the fact that it proves to be an ancient legal forgery, made with the object of claiming the ownership of certain landed property, which, by a previous copper-plate, had been given to certain persons. This fact becomes evident both from palæographical and grammatical reasons. To begin with palæography, the inscription, at first sight, conveys the impression of being written in the alphabet current in North-Eastern India from 600 to 800 A. D. approximately. There are, perhaps, even a few letters that would carry us a little further back, especially such forms as the letter *ha* in the end of l. 20 (*sahasrāṇi*), and in its combined form, in the group *hma,* in ll. 11 and 14 (*vrāhmaṇa-*). This form of *ha* may generally be taken as a test letter, proving that any form of writing, in which it occurs, belongs to the 4th or 5th century A.D.[1] and I believe, there can be no possible doubt about the spuriousness of any inscription, which exhibits, by the side of the ancient Gupta *ha*, such late forms, as the *tu* of l.10 (*catu-*), and the *la* of l. 12 (*alaṁ*) and (*lopari-*). This last letter *la* is particularly instructive, as its younger form occurs only twice, in one and the same line, while in the many other places where *la* has been employed we find forms varying but slightly from the ordinary *la* of the North-Eastern variety of the Indian Alphabet during the Gupta time. Evidently, the writer had become absent-minded for a moment, and forgot his part as a clever forger, which, otherwise, he has not played badly up to the end. The *tu*, which he wrote in l. 10, likewise, shows that he was generally accustomed to write this letter in a way which somewhat resembles the modern Bengali form of *tu*.[2]

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[1] See *A. S. R.* 1903-4, p. 102.

[2] It may be seen *e. g.* in l. 15 of the Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena, *chatur-jjaladhi=*; see *Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 309, and plate.*

The grammar of the inscription, especially the syntax, is in such a bad state of confusion, that it would be impossible to attempt anything like a connected and literal translation of the text. Thus, in the beginning, in l. 2, we find the loc. sing. of the present participle, *pratapati*, connected with the name of the king, *Samācāra-deve.* Evidently this phrase was intended to mean: 'while Samācāradeva was reigning,' but *pra-tap-* is never used in that sense, and the writer of the inscription clearly blundered, perhaps from such phrases as *pṛthivīpatau* 'while Samācāradeva was lord of the earth.' Following close upon this wrongly employed phrase, we read in ll. 3 and 4 *suvarṇa-viśyādhikṛt-āntaraṅga*, an epithet, referring to the *uparika Jīvadatta* (l. 4). We may well imagine that the writer had in his mind an expression meaning that Jīvadatta gained the affection (*antaraṅga*, lit. heart) of the people by magnificent gifts of gold (*suvarṇa-viśrāṇana*), but here as well as in all the following lines of the inscription, it is altogether hopeless to attempt any corrections.

The inscription purports to record a grant of land made during the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Samācāradeva* (l. 2), by the *uparika*[1] *Jīvadatta* (l. 4). The grant was made in supersession of a previous one, by which a portion of the land had already been given to certain persons, whose names are not mentioned (ll. 15ff. *prāk-tāmrapaṭṭī-kṛta-kṣettra-kulyāvāpa-ttrayam-apāsya*). The recipient of the present grant appears to have been a certain *Supratīkasvāmin* (ll. 5 and 17). The land was situated in the district (*maṇḍala*) of *Kavāraka* (l. 4).

So far, at least, it appears to me possible to grasp the general meaning of the inscription. But, here again, grave doubts arise in regard to its genuineness. First of all, a name like that of the grantee *Supratīkasvāmin*, seems to me an extremely dubious form of an Indian proper name. Likewise, the king's name, *Samācāradeva* (l. 2), meaning 'His Highness, Decency,' is certainly very surprising, and I can only imagine, that it might have been employed as a *biruda*, one of those secondary titles often borne by Indian princes. The case of two of the proper names of *mahattaras*, mentioned in ll. 7 and 8, is still more suspicious. Are we really to believe, that such words as *Vatsakuṇḍa* and *Janārddanakuṇḍa* can ever have been employed as personal proper names? In Sanskṛit *kuṇḍa* means 'a pond,' and any name, formed with this word, certainly can only be taken as a local, but never as a personal name. Nevertheless, I believe, we are able to understand how the forger came to introduce these two names into the inscription. For it seems very reasonable to assume that he actually found them mentioned in an ancient, genuine grant, which he used for his forgery; but failing to understand them properly, he committed himself to the grave error of treating two local names as personal proper names.

I have already given it as my opinion, that the grant has been forged with the help of and in accordance with another genuine grant, dating approximately from the 7th or 8th century A.D. We may well imagine, that the forger used a genuine document, or a draft of a genuine document, which he found in the Record Office (*akṣapaṭala*) of one of the States of Eastern Bengal. This genuine document,

[1] This term still requires explanation. I only find the Marathi word *uparī* explained by Molesworth as 'a tenant or farmer, having no right of occupancy; as opp. to *thalakarī*, a landed proprietor'; but this modern term does not appear to help us much further.

moreover, does not appear to have been lost to us altogether. In the *Indian Antiquiry* for 1892, page 45, Dr. Hoernle mentions a copper-plate from the Faridpur District in Eastern Bengal, which, as he informs us, had just been sent to him for decipherment. As far as I know, this plate has never been edited completely, and I have at present only the initial lines, published by Dr. Hoernle, to go on with. However, they agree so closely with the opening lines of our present inscription, that I have not the slightest hesitation in looking upon the Faridpur inscription as the genuine *archetypus* of the present, forged copy. [1]

It is possible to assume, that *Samācāradeva*, the name of the king in the forged inscription, may have been a *biruda*, or second name, borne by *Dharmāditya*, the king, mentioned in the opening lines of Dr. Hoernle's inscription from Faridpur. For I feel rather reluctant to believe that *Samācāradeva* could be a mere invention. Allowing, as we certainly may do, a great state of confusion for any Record Office in Eastern Bengal at the time when the forgery was made, we must, nevertheless, keep in mind that the forgery was made with the object of proving that an entire plot of land was rightly claimed by certain persons, who, hitherto, had been enjoying the possession of only a part of it. At least, the words *prāk-tāmrapaṭṭī-kṛta-kṣettra-kulyāvāpa-ttrayam=apāsya*, in ll. 15-16, uncertain and doubtful though their exact meaning remains to me, were still probably intended for the purpose above mentioned. The case of the present inscription, thus, appears to be the reverse of that of the Madhuban copper-plate inscription of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj.[2] Here we observe the king, the famous Harṣavardhana, issuing a grant of land, in order to set aside a previous forged grant, [3] by which the village of *Somakuṇḍakā* had been enjoyed by a Brahman, called *Vāmarathya*. The proprietary right to the said village was transferred by Harṣavardhana to the Brahmans *Vātasvāmin* and *Śivadevasvāmin*. But, while the Madhuban plate of Harṣavardhana contains a genuine grant, made in order to set aside a *kūṭaśāsana* or forged grant, we have in our plate from Eastern Bengal clearly a *kūṭaśāsana*, prepared with the object of proving certain claims to some landed property, which could only be substantiated by means of a forgery. And from the fact, referred to above, that this forged copper-plate from Eastern Bengal bears clear indications of having been soldered on to a seal, we may well conjecture, that this seal actually was a genuine seal, to which the forged plate had been attached in the same manner, as the spurious Gayā plate of Samudragupta actually still bears a genuine seal of one of the Gupta kings attached to it.[4]

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1 Dr. Hoernle's Faridpur Grant, according to his transcript (*l.c.*), reads as follows :—

Svasty=asyām=pṛthivyām=apratirathe Nṛga-Naghuṣa-Yayāty-Ambarīṣa-Samadhṛta (*sic.* !) —*Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Dharmmāditya-bhaṭṭāraka-rājye tad-anumodan-ālabdh-āspade* (*nadhyāna* ?) *Kāśikāyāṁ mahāpratihār-oparika-Nāgadevasy=āddhyāsana-kāle*. With regard to the word, put by Dr. Hoernle into brackets, compare ll. 2 and 3 of the present inscription: *etac-caraṇa-karala* (read: *kamala*)*-yugal-ārādhan-opātta-navyāvakāśikāyām*. Dr. Hoernle's reading probably has to be corrected accordingly. Read also *sama-dhṛtau* for *sama-dhṛta*-in the beginning of Dr. Hoernle's transcript.

2 *Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 73.*

3 The term *kūṭaśāsana*, 'a forged grant,' is of some interest. Sanskrit *kūṭa*, of course, means 'deceit;' but as its original meaning is 'horn,' it came to be employed in the wider sense of 'forgery' evidently, because it was a common thing in ancient India, to sell any carving, made of horn, as ivory. I may mention in this connection, that we learn from one of the inscriptions on the gateways of the Sanchi Stūpa, that the stone carving of a certain portion of it was done by the *ivory-workers* of *Vidisā*, the modern Bhīlsā, a town close to Sanchi; see *Ep. Ind. Vol. II, page 378, No. 200 Vedisakehi daṁta-kāraehi rupakaṁmaṁ kataṁ.*

4 See *Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions pp. 254-257 and Plate* XXXVI.

In regard to the time, when the present forgery was made, the forms of the letters *la* and *tu*, mentioned above, on page 255, seem to carry us back to a comparatively late period, perhaps not earlier than the 11th or 12th century A.D., but I feel rather reluctant to allow too wide a margin for this, as the forger's work appears to me too clever to be anything that we might call fairly modern.

I now edit the inscription from photographs and impressions prepared from the original copper-plate.

Obverse.

(1) Svasty=Asyām=pṛthivyām=apratirathe Nṛga-Naghuṣa-Yayāty-Amvarīṣa-sama-

(2) dhṛto (tau) [1] Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-*Samācāradeve* pratapaty=etac-caraṇa-karala- [2]

(3) yugal-ārādhan-opātta-navy-āvakāśi-kāyaṁ suvarṇa-viṣyādhikṛt-āntara-

(4) ṅga uparika-*Jīvadattas*=tad-anumodita-*Kavāraka*-maṇḍale viṣaya-

(5) pati-*Pavittrako* yato=sya vyavaharataḥ *Supratīkasvāminā* jyesṭh-ādhi-

(6) karaṇika-*Dāmuka*-pramukha-sadhikaraṇa-sviṣaya-mahattara-*Vatsa*-

(7) *kuṇḍa*-mahattara-*Śuvipālita* [3]-mahattara-*Vihitāghṣaśuïda*-

(8) mahattara-*Priyadāsa*-mahattara-*Janārddanakuṇḍa*-ādayaḥ anye cha

(9) vahavaḥ pradhānā vyavahā [ri*] ṇaś-cha vijñāptaderacchāsyahaṁ bhavatā prasā-[4]

(10) dāc=cirovasanna-khela-bhū-khaṇḍala-kaṁval [e] catu [5] [ḥ-sī*]m[ā*]- ntra (nta)-pracanta ṁ niya-

(11) vrāhmaṇopayogāya ca tāmrapaṭṭīkṛtya tad=ahaṁ śa-prasāda-kattra-m=iti yatadhanadaty-alaṁ nasupalatya-śaṁl-oparilikhitā-

Reverse.

(13) nye vyavahāribhiḥ samanyasāgataś=ca padijñāṁhrārājñaidha svaṁsaṁ nirakṣala-

(14) [i]cchatogyikṛtābhūmindaṁ pasyai cārthadhamyaṁ kṛtadasyai vrāhmaṇ-ādāyatāmi

(15) vyavadhṛtya karaṇika-*Nayanāga-Keśav*-ādīn=kulacārān=prakalpya prāk-tāmrapaṭṭī-

(16) kṛta-kṣettra-kulyāvāpa-ttrayam=apāsya vyāghra-corakair=yacchepatac-catuḥ-sīmā-

(17) liṅgābhir=d=diṣṭaṁ kṛtv=āsya *Supratikasvāminaḥ* tāmrapaṭṭī-kṛtya pratipādita[ṁ*]

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[1] The last *akṣara* looks almost like *tāṁ*.

[2] Read *kamala*.—The preceding word *pratapati* is the loc. sing. of the present participle of *pra-tap*. 'while he was shining'.

[3] This should be either *Suvipālita* or *Śrīvipālita*.

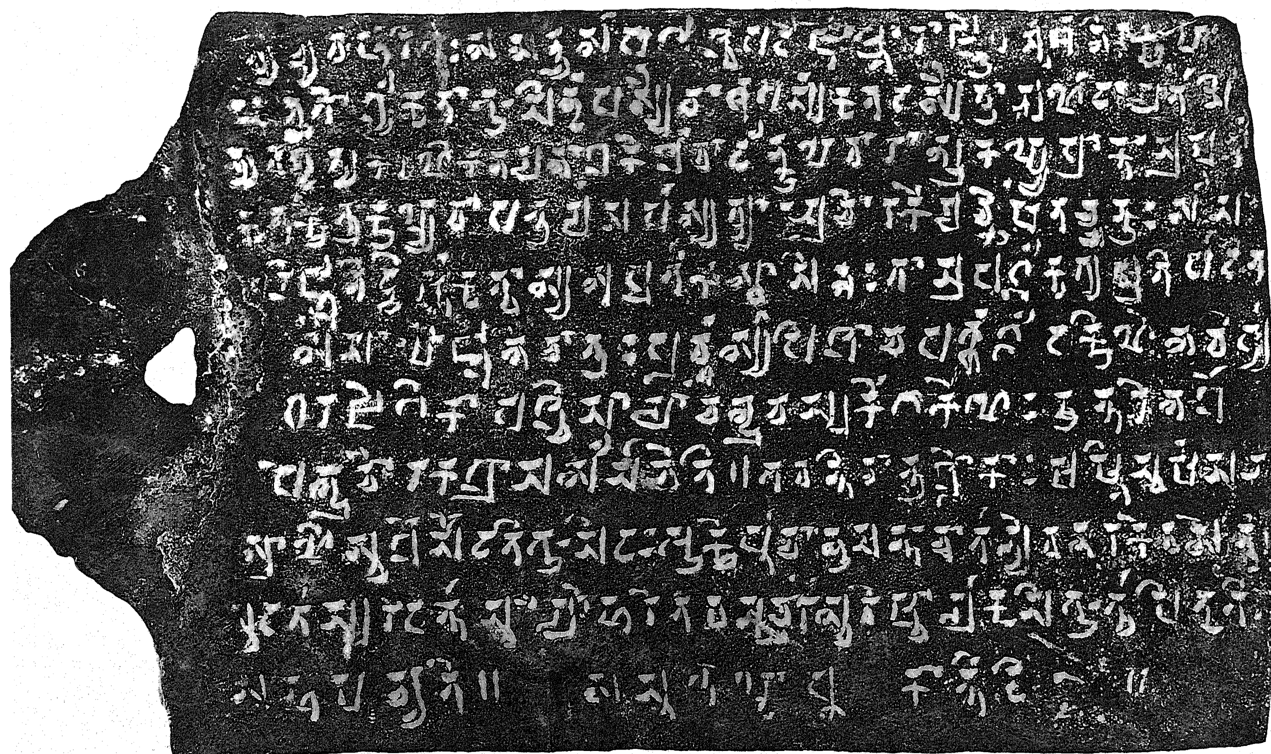
[4] As the writer miscalculated the space on the plate, half of the last *akṣara*, *sā*, has been written above the line.

[5] This letter looks almost like *u*. Evidently the forger was used to write *tu* in a similar way as it is written in modern Bengali, *viz.* ও

Obverse.



Reverse.



Scale 85.

(18) sīmāliṅgāni c=āttra ॥ Pūrvvasyā[ṁ*] piśācapakkaṁṭṭī dakṣiṇena vidyā-
(19) dharajaigikā paścimāyāṁ candra-campakogakeṇaḥ uttarena (ṇa) Go-
(20) pendracoraka-grāma-sīmā c=eti ॥ Bhavanti c=āttra ślokāḥ Ṣaṣṭim=varṣa-saha-
(21) srāṇi svarge modati bhūmidaḥ ākṣeptā c=ānumantā cā [1] tāny=eva narake vaset ।
(22) Sva-da[t*]tām=para-dattām=vā yo hareta vasundharāṁ sva [2] viṣṭhāyā-[ṁ*] kṛmi[r*]=bhūtvā pitṛbhiḥ
(23) saha pacyate ॥ Samvat 10 4 Kārtti di 1॥

T. BLOCH.

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[1] Read *ca*.

[2] Read *sa*.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS OF KULU.

KUḶŪ is a sub-division of the Kāṅgṛā district of the Panjāb and comprises the Upper Biās Valley, Wazīrī Rūpī, Sarāj, Lāhul and Spiti. It lies between 31° 20′ and 30° 55′ latitude and 76° 50′ and 78° 35″ longitude. On the north it is bounded by Ladākh, on the east by Tibet, on the west by the principalities of Chambā, Maṇḍi and Sukēt, on the south by the Satluj and the Bushahr States.[1] The total area of the sub-division is 6,025 square miles, which is a little less than half the area of Holland. Its population, according to the census of 1901, is only 119,585, which is about one-fifth of that of Amsterdam. For administrative purposes this tract is now divided into two *taḥsīls,* called Kuḷū and Sarāj. The latter and a portion of the former *taḥsīl* together form a homogeneous region which may be termed Kuḷū proper. The remainder of the Kuḷū *taḥsīl* consists of Lāhul and Spiti.[2]

As has been pointed out by General Cunningham,[3] the old name of Kuḷū was *Kulūta*, a term which from Hiuen Tsiang's account, noticed below, appears to have designated Kuḷū proper. According to a popular derivation, which is also admitted by Captain Harcourt, the valley was originally called *Kulāntapīṭha,* signifying the end of the inhabitable world, as the Hindus considered it to be the last boundaries of civilization. The name, indeed, occurs in a booklet called *Kulāntapīṭhamāhātmya,* which will be noticed subsequently. Phonetically the change of *Kulāntapīṭha* into *Kuḷū* is an impossibility, and the derivation should, therefore, be treated as an instance of popular etymology. Some connect the name of Kuḷū with Sanskrit *Kāula* meaning *dēvī*-worshipper. Others trace it to the caste names *Kōl* and *Kōlī.* These derivations are evidently fanciful and must be at once set aside.

The material for building up the history of Kuḷū is very scanty. This scarcity is perhaps due to the proverbial ignorance of the people.[4] References scattered in Sanskrit literature and a few epigraphical and other documents that have come to light are noticed below, with a view to glean from them facts regarding the history of

[1] Harcourt, "*Himalayan Districts of Kooloo,* etc.," pp. 7-8.
[2] *Kangra Gazetteer* Part A (1904), p. 48.
[3] *Ancient Geography,* p. 142.
[4] Cf. The popular sayings *Kullu ke ullu* and *Gavē Kullu hōē ullu.*

the valley. The *Mahābhārata*[1] mentions *Kulūta* in the list of countries in the north of India. The *Mārkaṇḍēya-purāṇa*[2] and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[3] notice it among the tracts situated in the north-east of India. Obviously then *Kulūta* had a distinct existence in old times. Kalhaṇa[4] indicates that about the 6th century it was a separate State, when he says that Ratisēna, the king of the *Chōlas*, sent his daughter Raṇārambhā to the residence of his friend, the king of *Kulūta*, and "Raṇāditya went with joy to that not distant land to receive her." Bāṇa[5] (middle of the 7th century A.D.) in his *Kādambarī* tells us that *Kulūta* was conquered by the great King Tārāpīḍa of Ujjayinī, who took captive the princess Patralēkhā, the daughter of the king of that country, and that Queen Vilāsvatī sent her to Prince Chandrāpīḍa, her son, to be his betel-bearer. Tārāpīḍa of Ujjayinī is not known to history, but it is curious that Chandrāpīḍa and Tārāpīḍa are the names of the immediate predecessors of Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa of Kaśmīr. At any rate it shows that Bāṇa recognized Kuḷū as a distinct kingdom. From the chronicle of Jōnarāja[6] we find that in the fifteenth century the valley was in the possession of a Tibetan power. For it is stated there that Sulṭān Zainu-l-'ābidīn (A.D. 1420-70) in an expedition against *Gōggadēśa*, *i.e.*, the kingdom of Guge, robbed by his splendour the glory of the town of *Kulūta*.

Hiuen Tsiang[7] places the country of K'iu-lu-to at 700 *li*, *i.e.*, 117 miles to the north-east of Jālandhara. This exactly corresponds with the position of Kuḷū which must be identical with Kiu-lu-to—the Chinese rendering of the Sanskrit *Kulūta*. The circuit of this tract given by the pilgrim is 3,000 *li*, *i.e.*, 500 miles. This figure is very much exaggerated, if compared with the present limits of Kuḷū, and might have been given on hearsay. Besides, we know that Hiuen Tsiang usually overrates distances in mountainous tracts. For instance, he places the country of Lo-u-lo (Lāhul) about 1,800 or 1,900 *li* to the north of the country of Kiu-lu-to (Kuḷū), though the distance between the capital of these two countries, *i.e.*, between Nagar and Kyelang, is only about 400 *li* or 70 miles approximately. Cunningham,[8] however, relies upon tradition and is inclined to accept the above figure. For he says: "As the ancient kingdom is said by the people themselves to have included Mandi and Suket on the west, and a large tract of territory to the south of the Satluj, it is probable that the frontier measurement of 500 miles may be very near the truth, if taken in road distance." But a more common tradition limits the ancient territory of the State to Wazīrī Paroḷ which was extended in the reign of Bahādur Siṅgh in the 16th century.[9] The account given by the pilgrim shows that in the beginning of the 7th century Kuḷū formed a distinct State. He makes mention of a *Stūpa*, which *Aśōka* had built in the middle of the country to commemorate Buddha's visit to the valley. He further tells us that

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[1] Book VI, Canto IX.

[2] Canto 55, sts. 48-52. The reading *ulūta* is a clerical error. Cf. Rapson *J.R.A.S.*, 1900, p. 531.

[3] Chap. 14, sts. 29-30. Some of the names in these lists are tribal, *e.g.*, *Kīra*; but it can be presumed that they are intended to designate the regions inhabited by those tribes.

[4] *Rājataraṅgiṇī* II, 435-6.

[5] P. 204 (Bombay, 1896).

[6] Jōnarāja, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* verse 1108. It may be added in passing that Mr. J. C. Dutt's rendering "*Kulūta-nagarīm*" into "the city of Luta" is evidently wrong. Cf. J. C. Dutt, *Kings of Kāshmīr* a Vol. III, *App.* p. XXII and Duff, *Chronology of India*, p. 315.

[7] *Si-yu-ki*, Beal's translation, Vol. I, p. 177.

[8] *Ancient Geography*, p. 142.

[9] Harcourt, *Op. cit.* p. 115, and *Kangra Gazetteer*, 1897, Parts II to IV, p. 19.

in his time there were about twenty *saṅghārāmas* and some 1,000 priests, who mostly studied the Great Vehicle. There were moreover fifteen *Dēva* temples which different sects used without distinction. Along the precipitous sides of the mountains were found stone chambers facing one another and hollowed in the rocks, wherein the *Arhats* dwelled and the *Ṛishis* stayed. This shows how flourishing Buddhism must have been here in the 7th century, though it has now practically disappeared from the valley. A stone image of *Avalōkitēśvara* is still being worshipped at Kelāt near Sultānpur, but the people call it *Kapilamuni.*[1] The description given of the climate, the fauna and flora, of course, holds good now also.

Among the local records that have been brought to light the *Bansaulī*, or genealogical list on which Captain Harcourt based his account of the rulers of Kuḷū, stands foremost in virtue of the information it supplies. It is much to be regretted that the original document was not published, for it is not forthcoming now. Such records, provided they are genuine, are very interesting and possess great historical value. Copying might invalidate them, yet much of the information they supply is often confirmed by other sources. The Chambā *Bansaulī*, for instance, gives, as is proved by copper-plate inscriptions, the correct names of the rājās of Chambā after A.D. 1300. The names of those who ruled between A.D. 700 and 1300 are partly changed; but there the person who copied the old records may be at fault.

The list, which the Bansaulī of Kuḷū contains, is also corroborated by copper-plate and other inscriptions, so far as the Singh dynasty is concerned. For example, the grant of Bahādur Singh mentions as second donor the heir-apparent Pratāp Siṅgh, whom the roll rightly makes the successor of the former. The Tibetan records also confirm it. It is true that such local chronicles are apt to exaggerate the exploits of the families to which they belong and leave out events which detract from their glory. The Bansaulī of Chambā relates, for instance, that Rājā Pṛithī Siṅgh conquered Jagat Siṅgh Paṭhāniyā of Nūrpur, while we know from other sources that he played only a secondary part there. The Kuḷū chronicle makes no mention of the fact that Kuḷū ever fell under the sway of Ladakh or was conquered by Zainu-l-ʿābidīn. Accordingly, the accounts which these records contain should be sifted and compared with those supplied by other sources. Still for all that, it cannot be denied that they possess much historical value.

The roll published in Captain Harcourt's book (pp. 370-5) gives a list of no less than eighty-eight rulers of Kuḷū.[2] The names of the earlier princes end in *Pāl* starting from Bihangamaṇi (?) Pāl, the reputed founder of the dynasty. Sidh Pāl, 74th in descent from the first Pāl, was the first Rājā who took the surname of *Siṅgh*, and since his time the chiefs of Kuḷū have had names ending in *Siṅgh*. Bihangamaṇi and his eleven immediate successors reigned at Jagat Sukh, the old capital of Kuḷū. In the reign of Uttam Pāl, the twelfth prince, the seat of Government was transferred to Nagar, whence it was finally shifted to Sultānpur in the reign of Jagat Siṅgh, who was eightieth in descent from the founder of the dynasty. It is said that during the rule of Śrīdattēśvar Pāl, the 31st Pāl, there was war with Chambā, in which Amar

[1] On the mixture of *Lamaism* and *Hinduism* in these regions see Dr. Vogel's article *Trilōknāth* in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXX, part I, p. 1.

[2] Captain Harcourt has used the old spelling which makes it difficult to grasp the correct pronunciation of these names. Changes have, therefore, been made to give such names in the right form.

Siṅgh, the ruler of the latter country, who was contemporary with a Delhi (Indrapat) king, Gōbardhan, killed the Kuḷū Rājā. This statement is obviously wrong, for no such ruler of Chambā is known.[1] The names of the chiefs of this country, ended in *varman* down to the time of Gaṇēśavarman, whose successor Pratāp Singh was the first Rājā of Chambā who adopted the cognomen *Siṅgh*. May not Amar Singh be the name of some petty chief or commander under the ruler of Chambā ?

During the time that followed, Chambā must have held sway over Kuḷū, till Śrījarēśvar (?) Pāl asserted his independence. In the reign of Nārad Pāl, who was fortieth in descent from Bihangamaṇi, war again broke out with Chambā and lasted for twelve years. The troops of Chambā advanced as far as Majnākōṭ, a village near the Rohtang pass, and built a fort there. But a peace was patched up at last and the people of Kuḷū, inveigling the soldiers of Chambā, threw them into the Biās near Rallā, where they all perished. The *Bansaulī* further informs us that Sikandar Pāl, the fiftieth Pāl, went to the king of Delhi to seek shelter against the Chinese who had invaded his kingdom. The Rājā of Delhi headed an army in person and, marching through Kuḷū, took Gya Murr Orr (?) and Baltistan, together with the country as far as Mantilae, *i.e.*, Mansarovar lake. This, if true, is a curious record, for it shows, as Captain Harcourt remarks, that an Indian army could successfully penetrate so far north as the Mansarovar lake. During the reign of Nirati Pāl, 'Alī Shēr Khāṇ is said to have ruled in Kaśmīr. No ruler of Kaśmīr had such a name, but it is possible that Alī Shāh (A. D. 1413-20), the brother and predecessor of Zainu-l-'ābidīn, is meant. Kuḷū was conquered by Bushahr, Kāṅgṛā and Sukēt during the reign of Hast Pāl, Nand Pāl and Kīrat Pāl, who were respectively 56th, 62nd and 67th in descent from their progenitor.

The kingdom of Kuḷū was consolidated and enlarged in the time of Bahādur Siṅgh, who was the 75th rājā of the valley. Jagat Siṅgh, the fifth successor of this prince, had a long reign of sixty-one years, during which he considerably extended his dominions by conquest. His rule was contemporary with the latter part of Shāh Jahān's and the earlier years of Aurangzēb's reign. He introduced the worship of Vishṇu in the form of Rāma and Kṛishṇa into the valley. Bidhi Siṅgh, his successor, made Kuḷū a really important state. All Kuḷū, Wazīrī Rūpī, Sarāj, Lahul, Spiti, Bushahr, Bangahāl, a great portion of Maṇḍi and Sukēt, with the hill states close up to Simla were under this chief's sway. Mān Siṅgh, who succeeded him, subdued Maṇḍi entirely, but gave it up afterwards. It was in his time that the power of Kuḷū reached its zenith. The princes who followed this powerful Rājā could not keep up their position. Jay Singh, his second successor, had to go to Lahore and ask for aid against Maṇḍi. He was in turn succeeded by Ṭēḍhi (" the Crooked ") Siṅgh and Prītam Siṅgh. During the rule of the latter the country was torn by internal dissensions. In Bikram Siṅgh's time the Sikhs invaded Kuḷū. Jīt Singh, the last ruling chief, who was 88th in descent from the founder of the dynasty, was deposed in A. D. 1840. With this event the old principality of *Kulūta* ceased to exist. In 1841 Jīt Siṅgh died without issue at Shāngri, where he had retired after having escaped the oppression of the Sikhs. Jhagaṛ Siṅgh, his uncle, was with him at

[1] Dr. Hutchison conjectures that Mēru or Mēruvarman is meant. He uses the spelling *Umer* which he explains as a transposition of Mēru.

the time of his death and got possession of Shāngri. Rāi Hīrā Siṅgh, Jhagar Siṅgh's son, still holds his Jāgīr at that place. Ṭhākur Siṅgh, a collateral of Jīt Siṅgh, was made titular rājā, and Wazīrī Rūpī was given to him in *Jāgīr*. Gyān Siṅgh, his son and successor, was called *Rāi* instead of *Rājā*. Mēgh Siṅgh, the present Rāi of Rūpī, is Gyān Siṅgh's grandson.[1]

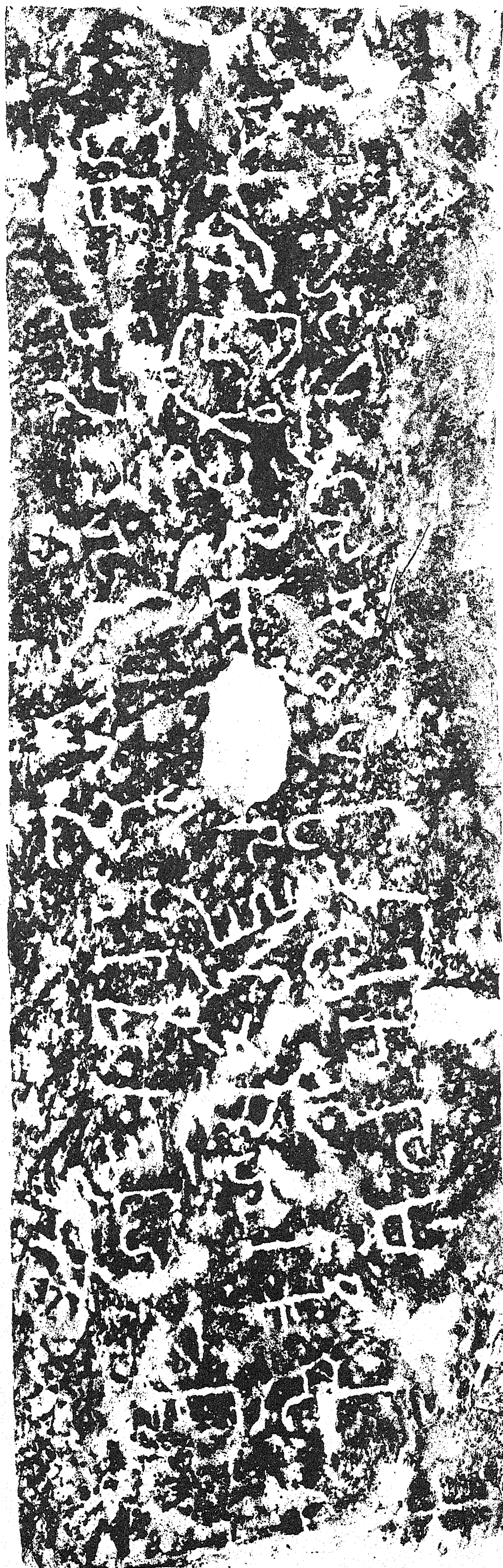
We have already noticed that there exists a booklet bearing on the sacred ore of the valley, which, though not published, can be seen with the priests of Maṇikarṇ, the principal place of pilgrimage in Kulū. It is called *Kulāntapīṭha-māhātmya* and pretends to be a part of the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*. Though possessing little historical interest, it is not unimportant for local topography and its contents may be noticed here briefly. "Kulāntapīṭha," it says, lies to the north-east of Jālandhara and south of *Hēmakūṭa* mountain. It is ten *yōjanas* (about 90 miles) in length and three (?) *yōjanas* (about 27 miles) in width. The sacred place of Vyāsa lies to its north and the Bandhana mountain to its south. The river Biās flows to its west and the Paśupati (Śiva) lies to the west. The deity presiding over the valley is *Śavarī*. Indrakīla is the principal hill. The *Saṁgama* or confluence of the Biās and the Pārbatī river is the chief sacred place. It was in this land that Śiva in the guise of a *Śavara* fought with Arjuna.

Though the extent which this *Māhātmya* gives to the Kulāntapīṭha is nearly equal to that of Kulū proper, yet there is hardly any reason to assume that the latter term ever meant Kulū. Mr. G. C. L. Howell, Assistant Commissioner of Kulū, informs me that this designation is still applied to the tract on the left bank of the Biās, between the Biās-Pārbatī confluence and the source of the Biās, the latter being its western boundary. This then is another argument against the assumption that the appellation *Kulāntapīṭha* dwindled into Kulū in course of years. The information supplied by the abovenamed officer enables me to identify some of the names mentioned in the text. The northern limit of the tract (*pīṭha*) is termed *Hēmakūṭa*, which according to the Purāṇas is a Sīmāparvata, *i.e.*, a boundary mountain. The Pīr Panjāl range being the northern boundary of Kulū, Hēmakūṭa, if it means any particular peak, would mean the Snowy Peak M. of the said range, wherein lies the true source of the Biās, known as Biās Kuṇḍī, the place with which the *Vyāsatīrtha* of the text must be identified. Indrakīla is the name of the well-know mountain in the same range and lies to the south of the Hamṭā. It must be nearly 20,000 feet high and in shape resembles a wedge, whence the designation *kīla*. Both these features give it a very impressive appearance, in consequence of which perhaps it is so well-known in the Purāṇic literature.

Another important source for the history of Kulū is the Tibetan chronicle of Ladakh *rGyal-rabs* or "the Book of Kings". What we gather from it is this:[2] Skyid-lde-nyima-mgon (about A.D. 1000), the first king of West Tibet or Ladakh, had three sons, of whom Lha-chin-dpal-gyi-mgon was the eldest. The latter had two sons aGro-mgon and Chos-mgon. The great-grandson of aGro-mgon was Lha-chen-rgyalpo, who, according to Mr. Francke,[3] reigned between A.D. 1030 and 1080.

[1] *Kangra Gazetteer*, 1897, Part II-IV, pp. 26-27.
[2] *J. A, S. B.*, Vol.LX, 1891, p. 97 ff.
[3] A. H. Francke, *History of Western Tibet*, p. 63 ff.

PLATE LXXXIII.



INSCRIPTION.

His son was Lha-chen-Utpala (A.D. 1080-1110), who united the forces of Upper and Lower Ladakh and invaded *Nyungti* or Kuḷū. The ruler of the latter country bound himself by oath "so long as the glaciers of the *Kailāsa* will not melt away, or Mānsarōvar lake dry up" to pay his tribute in *Dzos* [1] and iron to the king of Ladakh. This treaty remained in force at least down to the time of king Sengge-namgyal, and Dr. Marx tells us that the tax collectors[2] of the king of Ladakh used to visit Lahul and probably Kuḷū till A.D. 1870, although the two districts were then already under British rule. Further on we find that Tsewang rNamgyal I (These dbang) between A.D. 1530 and 1560 subdued Kuḷū "whose chiefs were made to feel the weight of his arm." From the high titles assumed by Bahādur Siṅgh in his copper-plate grant, it would appear that this event happened before the latter prince rose to power in Kuḷū; these titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja* would suit an independent rājā only. Further, in the beginning of the nineteenth century (*i.e.*, when Bikram or Vikramājīt Siṅgh ruled over Kuḷū and Tsepal over Ladakh) we find that, encouraged by the gross carelessness of the latter prince, the army of Kuḷū invaded Spiti and, after having destroyed the villages, carried away all property. Later on, the people of Kuḷū and Lahul combined against Zangskar, laid waste that tract and took away whatever was valuable.

The inscriptions, hitherto discovered, which throw considerable light on the history of the valley, may now be briefly noticed. The foremost of these is the legend on the coin of a *Kulūta* king Vīrayaśa, which reads *rājña Kōlūtasya Vīrayaśasya.*[3] As has been pointed out by Professor Rapson, it can be ascribed on palæographical grounds to the first or second century A.D. Here, then, we have the earliest archæological record of the *Kulūtas*. Next in date is the rock inscription at Sālrī near Salāṇu, which though lying in the territory of Maṇḍi, may be regarded as geographically belonging to the Kuḷū valley. The characters of this record are of the fourth or fifth century A.D. Its purport is to record that a Mahārāja Śrī-Chaṇḍēśvarahastin, who was the son of a Mahārāja Īśvarahastin and belonged to the family of Vatsa (?), conquered in battle a Rajjilabala (?) and founded a town of which the name apparently was *Śālipurī*. This town, I think, is the present Śālrī village situated near the inscription. It is not known who these personages were, and consequently the significance of the document (Plate LXXXIII) cannot at present be fully realized.

From the copper-plate grants[5] of Rājās Sōmavarman and Āsaṭa of Chambā we learn that in the eleventh century the dynasties of Chambā and Kuḷū were related and allied to each other. They describe the Chambā rājā Sāhilla as one "who was asked the favour of bestowing royalty in return for services by his kinsman the Lord of Kulūta anxious to render him homage."[6] Here the use of the attribute "kinsman" (*svakulya*) calls for remark. The ruling family of Chambā is *Kshatriya* by caste and consequently the Lords of Kulūta must also have been *Kshatriyas*.

[1] Cross between yaks and cows according to Dr. Marx. It is strange to find Dzos mentioned as tribute for they are not found in Kuḷū.

[2] Mr. A. H. Francke tells me that they were not tax collectors; it was the trade contract which required such payments.

[3] Mr. A. V. Bergny, *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 415 and p. 537.

[4] *Annual Progress Report, Punjab and U. Prov.*, 1904-5, p. 14, No. 66. I am indebted to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar for the decipherment of this epigraph.

[5] *A. S. R.*, 1902-03, pp. 255 ff.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

Otherwise they could not be called *svakulya*; meaning "of one's own family or relative." This inference is confirmed by Bahādur Siṅgh's grant, which mentions three Kuḷū princesses given in marriage apparently to the heir-apparent of Chambā.[1] I may note here that Viśākhadatta classes the Kulūtas with *Mlēchchhas*. In the play *Mudrārākshasa*[2] he mentions Chitravarman, the king of Kulūta, among the five leading *Mlēchchha* allies of Rākshasa. Neither Chitravarman, nor the other confederate rājās, appear to have been historical persons. At any rate, this shows that

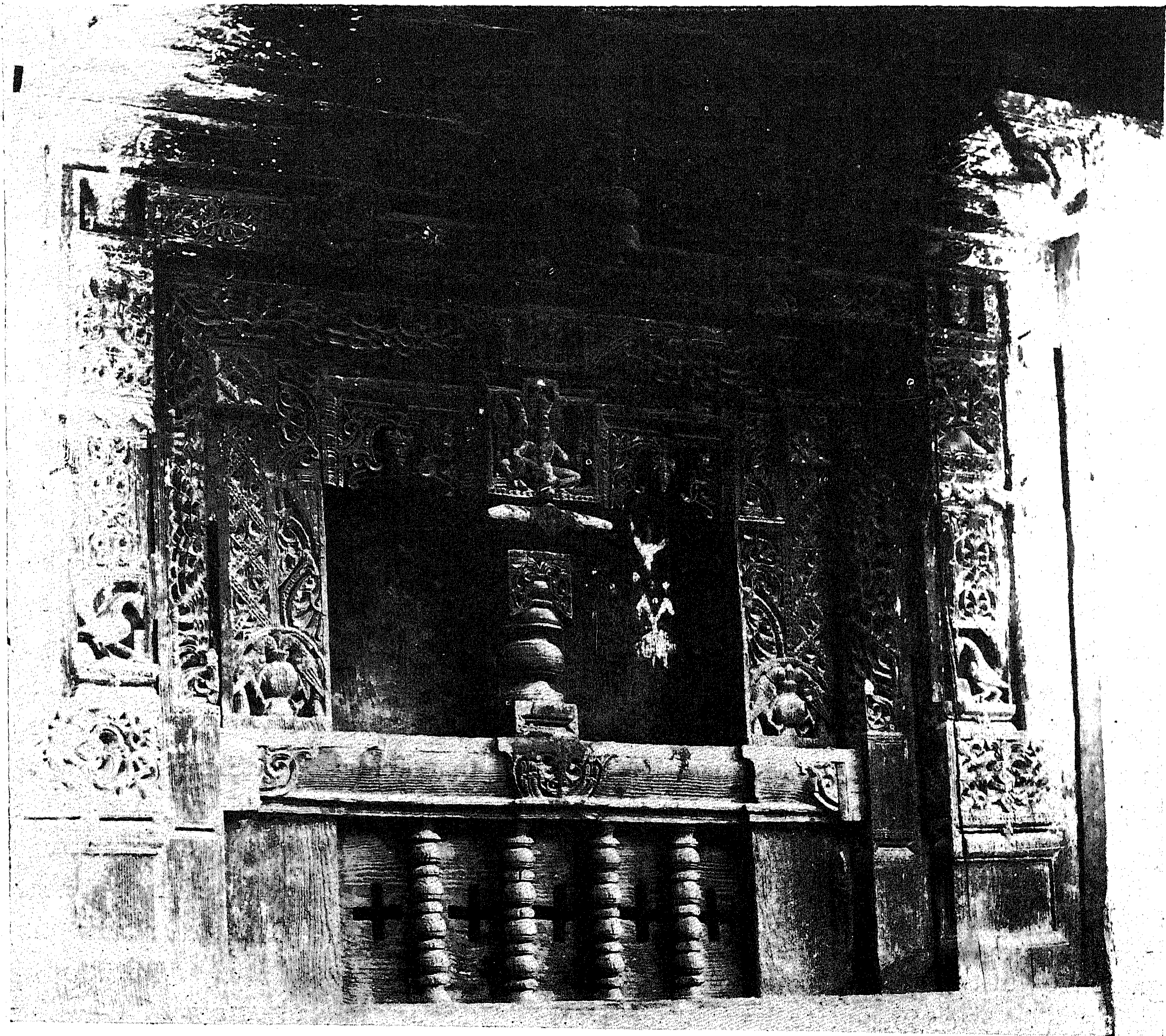


Fig. 1.

in Viśākhadatta's time (c.A.D. 600?) the people of Kuḷū were regarded as barbarians, if not foreigners. On the other hand, their coin noticed above proves for certain that the Kulūtas had Indo-Aryan names in the first or second century A.D. Consequently, if they were non-Hindus, they must have rapidly become Hinduized like the Kshatrapas of Surāshṭra. In Viśākhadatta's time their origin could not but have been forgotten. That the latter should call them *Mlēchchhas* is, therefore, a puzzle, if his statement is not to be regarded as a mere poetic licence. Or should

[1] *A. S. R.*, 1903-04, p. 266.
[2] *Mudrārākshasa* (ed. Telang), pp. 48 and 407.

we take *svakulya* in the sense of "well disposed or friendly to one's family" and translate the expression *svakulya-Kulūtēśvara* in the grants by "his friend the Lord of Kulūta"?

The epigraph found in the temple of Sandhyā Dēvī at Jagat Sukh is another document of Kuḷū history. It is cut on two slabs placed on the enclosing wall at the entrance of the courtyard. It contains the name of Mahārājā Udhran Pāl and the date 4 (?) *ba. ti.* 2 which corresponds with A.D. 1428. Evidently, this is the date of the temple as well as of Udhran Pāl, the third predecessor of Bahādur Singh. While showing the importance of Jagatsukh long after it had ceased to be the capital, the record makes the shrine of Sandhyā Dēvī the oldest temple in Kuḷū of which the date is known.

The inscription on the famous temple of Ḍhuṅgrī near Manālī records the foundation of that sanctuary by Bahādur Siṅgh in the Śāstra year 29, *i.e.*, A.D. 1553. It may be remarked here in passing that this shrine, where human sacrifices used to be made within the living memory of the people, possesses perhaps the finest specimens of wood carving in the valley (*cf.* fig. 1).

Another important inscription belonging to this period, that has already been published by Dr. Vogel, is a grant of Bahādur Siṅgh in favour of Ramāpati, the *Rājaguru* of Chambā. From this we learn that the said ruler in A.D. 1559 governed the whole of Kuḷū proper and that the principality of Lag, situated between Bajaurā and Ḍhungrī, both of which places formed part of Bahādur Siṅgh's dominion, was tributary to Kuḷū. In this document the chief of Kuḷū is called *Surātrāṇa* (*Suratrāṇa*) *rājā*, *i.e.*, "Rājā Sulṭān." The latter epithet has been connected with the name of Sultānpur, the present capital of Kuḷū, the origin of which it will not be out of place to notice here. According to tradition, preserved in the *Bansaulī*, Jagatsukh was the first capital of Kuḷū. It is said that Bihaṅgamaṇi Pāl, a fugitive prince from Māyāpurī near Badri-Nārāyaṇ, took shelter with a potter at Jagatsukh, and the people, disgusted with the rule of their Ṭhākur, made him *rājā*. A rock known by the name of Jagatīpaṭ, is still pointed out midway between Manālī and Jagatsukh, where this prince used to sleep. He is regarded as the founder of the Kuḷū dynasty. The only relics of the former prosperity of the town are a few old sculptures placed in the shrine of Sandhyā Dēvī, the best of which, representing *Gaṅgā* on her vehicle the *makara*, I lately secured for and deposited in the Lahore Museum (fig. 2).



Fig. 2.

Nagar is said to be the second capital, from where in the seventeenth century the seat of government was transferred to Sultānpur. Tibetan sources, however, take no notice of the first two capitals of Kuḷū. The chronicle of Tinan, for instance, completed in the reign of Bahādur Siṅgh of Kuḷū, speaks of the latter ruler as residing in Magarsā. So do the documents belonging to the time of Partāp Siṅgh and Parbat Siṅgh. It is under Prītam Siṅgh, who ruled about A.D. 1780, that Sultānpur is first mentioned by the Tibetans under the form *Setanpur*. It is certain that, before the seat of government was shifted to Sultānpur, the capital of the valley was Nagar. How then could the Tibetans ignore the real capital and mention another instead? Perhaps they took Magarsā and Nagar as identical, *i.e.*, they called Nagar by the name of Magarsā. Captain Harcourt identifies one with the other and supports his identification by the following statement of Moorcroft.[1] "On the 11th we passed a house belonging to the Raja on our right, situated on an eminence, at the foot of which stood the ancient capital of Kuḷū called Makarsa. A few houses are all that remains of it, as the removal to Sultanpur took place about three centuries ago." Tradition, however, does not corroborate this identification. According to it, Magarsā is not a town or city but a tract or district of Kuḷū named after a town Makaṛāhar which was founded by Makaṛsā, a son of Vidura of the *Mahābhārata*.[2] The site of this town is still pointed out near Hurlā in Kōṭhī Kōṭ Kaṇḍī, some 22 miles north-west of Nagar. This tradition is preserved in the following popular saying :—

Rāṇe Ṭhākar mārīē kērū bhuṛasā
Makaṛāhar basīē rāj baṇū Makaṛsā

"The Rāṇās and Ṭhākurs were killed and smashed [by the rulers of Kuḷū]. Owing to the residence at Makaṛāhar, the *rāj* (State) became known by the name of Makaṛsā."

Sardār Hardyāl Siṅgh in his account of Kuḷū[3] states that Bahādur Siṅgh, after completely subjugating the tract called Rūpī, repopulated the ruined town of Makaṛāhar, where he built a palace for his residence and died in A. D. 1569. It would have been interesting had that author given some authority for his assertion.

Rāi Hīrā Siṅgh of Shāngrī informs me that this town was very prosperous in the days of Jagat Siṅgh, who erected there a temple of Rāma and deposited in it a *murali* (flute) which he had obtained from Ayōdhyā. In support of this statement he sent me this couplet :—

Makaṛāhar Ajōdhyāpurī mānoheṁ Braj kī rīt
Jagat Siṅgh mahārāj kī Srī Rāghō-jī sēṁ prīt.

"Makaṛāhar is another Ayōdhyā and is the counterpart of Braj (tract round Mathurā). Mahārāja Jagat Siṅgh is devoted to the illustrious Rāghō-jī (*i.e.*, Rāmachandra)." Magarsā of the Tibetan chronicles would then be not a town but a tract or district where the above-named rulers resided.

According to the genealogical roll, as has been remarked already, the capital was

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[1] Moorcroft, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, Vol. I, p. 184.
[2] It should be noted that Makarsa is nowhere mentioned in the Mahābhārata.
[3] *Majma-tawārīkh-riyāsat-hai-Kōhistān-Panjāb*, Part III, pp. 29-30.



KULU DEVATA.



MASKS OF TIRYUG NARAYAN (DYAR).

transferred from Nagar to Sultānpur in the days of Jagat Singh, who flourished at the close of Shāh Jahān's reign. Tradition ascribes the origin of the name of Sultānpur to one Sultān Chand, the brother of Rājā Jōg Chand of Lag. At the death of the latter, it is said, Jagat Singh (after killing Sultān Chand, who governed the tract round Sultānpur which he designated after himself) seized the whole country up the Śarvarī valley as far as the Bhubu Pass. On account of its better situation, Jagat Singh preferred Sultānpur to Nagar and made it his capital. It was, as Captain Harcourt tells us, a regularly walled town, but now its fortifications have all been razed and there remain only two gateways on the north and south, both of which are difficult of access.

Dr. Vogel, however, holds that Sultānpur was probably founded by Bahādur Singh. He is led to this hypothesis by the title *Sultān* (Skr. *Suratrāṇa*), which he takes to be a second name of this prince. But the grant, as far as I can see, mentions this as an epithet and not as a second name. Supposing *Sultān Singh* was another name, it is not clear why the primary appellation should not have been selected to designate the capital town; Bahādurpur would have been more appropriate. Nor is it apparent that importance can be attached to the circumstance adduced in support of this theory that "the name of the Rājā of Lag, after whose death Jagat Singh annexed the territory, is neither Jay Chand nor Sultān Chand but Jōg Chand" in the *sanads* to be noticed below. The foundation of Sultānpur is ascribed to Sultān Chand, and not to his brother. At any rate the roll and the chronicle of Ladakh, do not countenance that assumption, and there is little to commend it.

In the year 1904-05 the survey brought to light ten more lithic records in the valley. Five of these are dated between A.D. 1673 and 1870 and are partly illegible except one engraved on an image of Vishṇu, at Hāṭ near Bajaurā, which, so far as decipherable, reads: *Śrī-Paramabhaṭṭāraka pa.* They are all written in Ṭānkarī and composed in the local dialect.[1] The most important of this lot are two. One written on the jambs of the doorway of the Śiva temple at Hāṭ, is dated in the Śāstra year 49 (A.D. 1673) and in the reign of Śyām Sēn of Maṇḍi, and records a grant of land to the temple. This indicates that in A.D. 1673 Hāṭ was perhaps under the jurisdiction of Maṇḍi. The second is on a stone slab in the wall of the Murlidhar temple at Chahṇī, two miles above Bañjār (Inner Sarāj). A part of it is written in Sanskrit. It was engraved in the reign of Bidhi Singh in Śrī Saṁvat 50, on the 15th day of Pausha and in the Vikrama year 1731 (A.D. 1674-5). Four more inscriptions on copper-plate were discovered. Two belong to the reign of Jagat Singh, one being dated in the Śāstra or Saptarshi year 27 (A.D. 1651) and the other in 32 (A.D. 1656). They record grants of land, and show that the worship of Vishṇu in the form of Rāma and Kṛishṇa, became the State religion in Kuḷū about the middle of the seventeenth century, *i.e.*, in the time of Jagat Singh who consigned his State to Rāma and acted as an agent of the Lord. The third record belongs to the reign of Rāj Singh, but is not dated. The fourth was written in the Śāstra year 56 (A.D. 1780) in the reign of Prītam Singh.

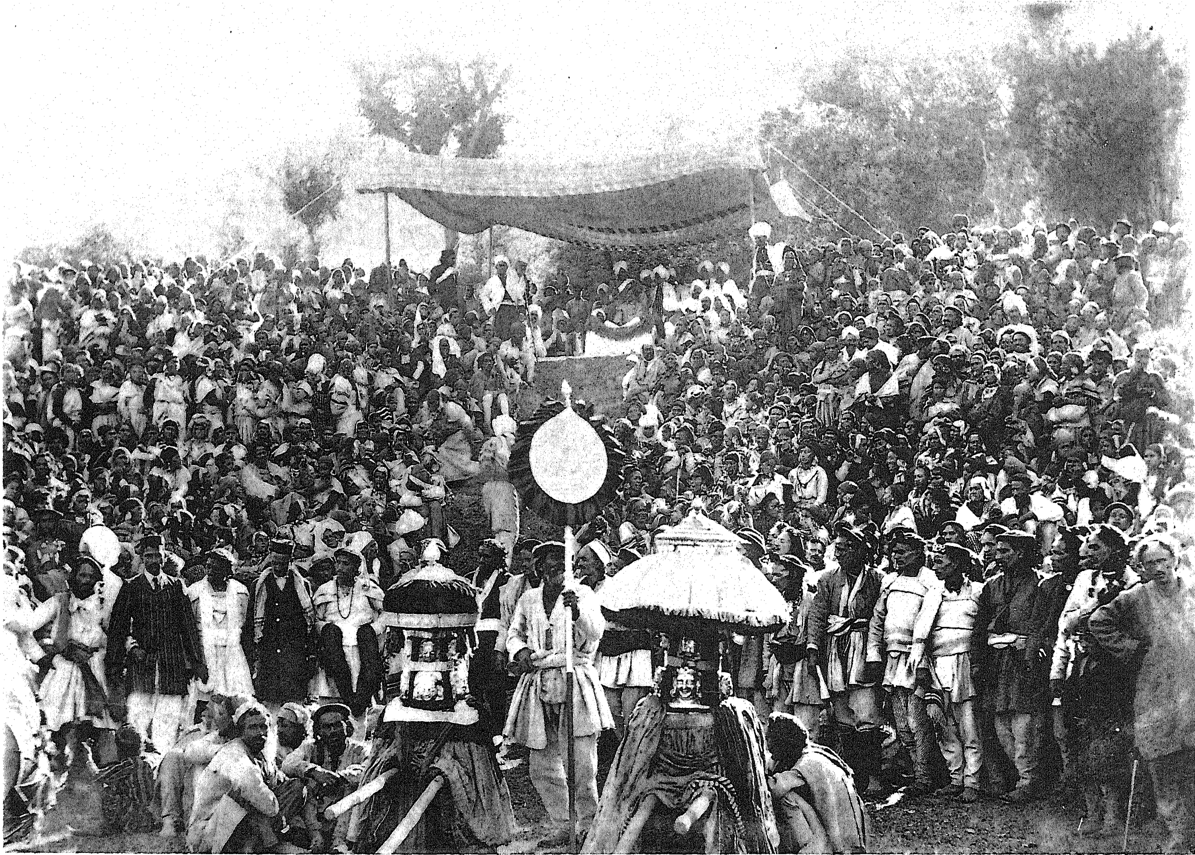
[1] *Cf. Annual Progress Report, Punjab and U.Prov.*, for 1904-05, pp. 12. ff. Nos. 50-59.

Besides the documents noticed above, the valley possesses epigraphical material of chronological interest in the inscriptions on metal masks called *dēō*, which represent Hindu gods and deified personages. Unfortunately, the tendency to replace old objects by new ones has caused much loss, as the custodians unscrupulously melted the old masks in order to renew them. Perhaps it is owing to this circumstance that very few old inscribed masks are met with. Of the ancient Pāl dynasty only two have been noticed. One, engraved on the mask of Hiṛmā, gives 94 as the date for Udhran Pāl. The other, on the effigy of Vishṇu at Sajalā in Kōṭhī Barsaiyā, gives Śāstra-Saṁvat 76 and Śaura year 1422 as the date of Sidh Pāl. Evidently *Śaura* stands for *Śaka*, and 1500 is the equivalent Christian date of Sidh Pāl. This, therefore, shows that Udhran Pāl, the second predecessor of Sidh Pāl, flourished in the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. Accordingly the date of the Sandhyā Dēvī temple must be 1428 and not 1528, the alternative proposed by Dr. Vogel. As the rājās of the Siṅgh dynasty are comparatively modern, their gifts are better preserved and consequently the names of most of them are found on these masks. Their dates are also given, but generally in the *Śāstra* era. In none of them does the week day or any other chronological date seem to be indicated, excepting the *pravishṭa*, *viz.*, the day of the month. These dates therefore do not admit of verification.

Some *farmāns* or official letters issued from the Mug͟hal Court at Delhi between the *Hijrī* years 1061 and 1068 (A.D. 1650 and 1658) to Rājā Jagat Siṅgh of Kuḷū also furnish interesting information. These are thirteen in number, four of which are original *sanads* in possession of Rāi Hīra Siṅgh of Shāngrī, while nine are copies,[1] the originals of which are lost, belonging to the present Rāī of Rupī. Twelve were issued under the seal of Dārā Shikōh, and one in A. H. 1068 by Aurangzeb. In the latter, Jagat Siṇgh is asked to join hands with Dhan Chand Kahlūriā of Bilāspur in order to close the roads against Sulaimān Shikōh, who desired to join his father at Lahore from Gaṛhwāl. Sulaimān Shikōh, as we learn from Bernier and Manucci[2], fled to the hills after his father Dārā had lost the battle at Samū-gaṛh. This battle, it should be remembered, took place in June 1658. Manucci wrongly gives 1656, as has been pointed out by Mr. Irvine. One of these *sanads* is addressed to Sayyid Ibrāhīm, who appears to have been an officer of the court of Delhi, placed in charge of the Kāṅgṛa valley. The prefix *Sayyid* shows him to be a different person from the General Ibrāhīm Khāṇ, who was with Dārā Shikōh, at the battle near Samū-gaṛh. The remaining *farmāns* are addressed to Jagat Siṅgh, who is therein called *zamīndār*, *i.e.*, "landlord" of Kuḷū. It is only once that he is styled *Rājā*. What we gather from them is this; Jagat Singh was held in considerable esteem at the Mug͟hal Court, for Aurangzeb spoke of him as "well-established in his royal ways". He sent presents of hawks and crystal, and deputed his son to the Imperial Court at Delhi, and thus

[1] A copy of one of these *Sanads* which is kept in our office gives Bādshāh Ghāzī Muḥammad ibn Sai (?) Dārā Shikōh as the superscription. A comparison with other letters shows that this is wrongly copied. No king *Muḥammad* is known as the son of a Sai Dārā Shikōh. Another mistake is also to be noticed in this copy. It gives A. H. 1011 as the date of the *sanad* which is altogether impossible, for it was Akbar who ruled then.

[2] Bernier *Voyages* (Amsterdam 1699), Vol. I, pp. 84 f. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor* (transl.-W. Irvine), Vol. I, p. 271. *Cf.* also *Sirmur State Gazetteer* (Lahore 1907) p. 13, where a *farmān* of A. H. 1069 is quoted in which Aurangzeb addressed similar instructions to Rājā Subhāg Parkāsh of Sirmūr.



FAIR AT SULTANPUR (KULU).



CAR OF RAGHONATH AT SULTANPUR (KULU).

recognized Shāh Jahān, as his liege lord, who in turn was highly pleased with him and, besides granting some crystal mines, extended his protection to him and his people. Later on, however, he was apparently ready to defy the suzerainty of Delhi, presumably because of his getting scent of the internal dissensions that had arisen at the Mughal Court towards the close of Shāh Jahān's rule. For we learn from one of these documents that he took possession of the estate of Jōg Chand at the latter's demise and carried captive some of his relatives, although he knew well that they were under the protection of the Emperor. He does not appear to have surrendered the tract he had seized, notwithstanding Dārā Shikōh's *farmān* issued to him in A. H. 1067 with the threat that "if from obstinacy and imprudence he deferred releasing Jōg Chand's grandson and giving up the district, we would order... Rājā Rāj Rūp... Jahāngīr Qulī Bēg and the Faujdār of Jammū that they should go up to the districts of his *zamīndārī* and annihilate him". Rājā Rāj Rūp mentioned here is the Rājā of Nūrpur, who met Dārā at Lahore. Manucci[1] tells us how he was entreated by the unfortunate heir to the Mughal throne. "To gain him more securely to his side, he (Dārā) allowed his wife to send for the rājā to her harem...she addressed him as her son...and offered him water to drink with which she had washed her breasts, not having milk in them as a confirmation of her words. He drank with the greatest acceptance and swore he would be ever true, and never fail in the duties of a son." He is stated by Manucci to have obtained ten lakhs from Dārā to enlist soldiers. Notwithstanding all this, he proved faithless and was won over by Aurangzeb. He was the son of Rājā Jagat Singh of Nūrpur[2] and not an uncle of Raja Jaswant Singh of Jōdhpur, as is stated in the Sirmūr State Gazetteer.[3] The name of Jahāngīr Qulī Bēg does not occur in the list of the principal Generals given by Manucci. It may, therefore, be surmised that he was a General of secondary rank.[4]

A perusal of what has been said above shows how history repeats itself. What happened in the Rāvī Valley about the tenth century was repeated in the Biās valley in the sixteenth century. Both Chambā and Kuḷū, before being consolidated into states, were governed by petty Rāṇās and Ṭhākurs, each supreme in his own sphere. The ruler of the upper valley conquered the lower part and this led to the removal of the seat of government from Brahmor to Chambā in one case and from Jagatsukh to Sultānpur in the other. The earlier rulers worshipped Dēvī, as is evidenced by Mēruvarman's images of Lakshaṇā Dēvī and Śaktī Dēvī in the Rāvī Valley and by the sanctuaries of Sandhyā and Hiṛmā in Kuḷū. In later days Vishṇuism became State religion. This is more clearly marked in Kuḷū, where Jagat Siṅgh made Raghunāth the real Mahārāja or ruler of the State, whereas the *dēvatās* became his vassals and once a year had to attend court at Sultānpur, a practice which continues down to the present time (Plate LXXXV).

Though resembling each other in their history, these sister valleys have been very dissimilar in culture. Chambā has proved to be an inexhaustible mine of inscriptions, some of which rank with first-class Sanskrit compositions, and in this respect has

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[1] *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 310.
[2] Cf. *A. S. R.*, 1904-05, p. 114.
[3] *Sirmur State Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 13.
[4] The *kārdār* or manager of the Sītā Rām temple at Gōjrā, kōṭhī Jagatsukh, also possesses some *sanads*. They are said to be dated between Śāstra Saṁvat 95 and 5, *i.e.*, between A.D. 1719 and 1729, but I have not been able to inspect them.

been far superior to Kuḷū, which has probably never known a period of literary activity. It is in point of conquests that Kuḷū far surpassed its rival States. In its palmy days, we have seen, it held sway over Lahul, Spiti, Bushahr, Bangahāl and Sarāj; and even Maṇḍi had to submit to it.

Finally, it will not be out of place to note that, though poor in written records, the Kuḷū valley is very rich in legends and traditions highly interesting to students of folklore. The sages as well as the heroes of the epics of ancient India have their shrines here, and curious legends are attached to them. Above Jagatsukh a cave is still pointed out where Arjuna passed his days of asceticism, when Śiva appeared to him in the form of a savage Kirāta. Hiṛmā, the man-eating *rākshasī* Hiḍimbā of the Mahābhārata, is here worshipped as a goddess, and was once the presiding deity of the valley.

List of the Rājās of Kuḷū.

No.	Names as given by Captain Harcourt.	Corrected names.[1]	Dates.	References.
1	Behungamunnee . .	Bihangamaṇi Pāl . .	...	......
2	Puch Pal . . .	Pachch (kṣa) Pāl . .	...	......
3	Baheg Pal . . .	Bihang Pāl . . .	...	......
4	Doorheen Pal . .	Hīn Pāl . . .	...	......
5	Soorg Pal . . .	Svarg Pāl . . .	...	......
6	Sooktee Pal . . .	Śakti Pāl . . .	...	......
7	Mahida Pal . . .	Mahīśvar (or Mahīndar ?) Pāl.	...	......
8	Oom Pal . . .	Om Pāl . . .	...	......
9	Rajinda Pal . . .	Rājēndar Pāl . .	...	......
10	Busud Pal . . .	Viśad Pāl . . .	...	......
11	Busuda Pal . . .	Viśuddh Pāl . . .	...	......
12	Ootum Pal . . .	Uttam Pāl . . .	...	......
13	Doja Pal . . .	Dvij Pāl . . .	...	......
14	Chukkur Pal . . .	Chakar Pāl . . .	...	......
15	Kurun Pal . . .	Karṇ Pāl . . .	...	......
16	Sooruj Pal . . .	Sūraj Pāl . . .	...	......
17	Ruxsh Pal . . .	Raksh Pāl . . .	...	......
18	Roodur Pal . . .	Rudar Pāl . . .	...	......

[1] The corrected names in the list, as far as the Pāl dynasty is concerned, are necessarily conjectural; the dates are those of the inscriptions referred to in the last column. The names Hamīr (Arabic *amīr*), Sūrat, Tēgh and Sikandar can, of course, never have been borne by rulers of the pre-Muhammadan period. [J. Ph. V.]

No.	Names as given by Captain Harcourt.	Corrected names.	Dates.	References.
19	Haemur Pal . . .	Hamīr Pāl . . .	...	......
20	Pursidh Pal . . .	Parsidh Pāl . . .	...	......
21	Hurree Chund Pal . .	Harichand Pāl . .	...	......
22	Soobut Pal . . .	Subhaṭ Pāl . . .	...	......
23	Saom Pal . . .	Sōm Pāl . . .	...	......
24	Sunsar Pal . . .	Sansār Pāl . . .	...	......
25	Bagh Pal . . .	Bhōg Pāl . . .	...	......
26	Bubyah Pal . . .	Vibhay Pāl . . .	...	......
27	Brahmo Pal . . .	Brahm Pāl . . .	...	......
28	Gunaesh Pal . . .	Gaṇēś Pāl . . .	...	......
29	Gumbheer Pal . .	Gambhīr Pāl . . .	...	......
30	Bhoomee Pal . . .	Bhūmi Pāl . . .	...	......
31	Shureedut Taeshur Pal .	Śrīddattēśvar Pāl . .	...	......
32	Umr Pal . . .	Amar Pāl . . .	...	......
33	Seetul Pal . . .	Sītal Pāl . . .	...	......
34	Shirree Jerashur Pal .	Śrī Jarēśvar Pāl . .	...	......
35	Purkash Pal . . .	Parkāś Pāl . . .	...	......
36	Ajumba Pal . . .	Ajambar (?) Pāl (perhaps Achambā).	...	......
37	Tupanaeshur Pal . .	Tapanēśvar Pāl . .	...	......
38	Purum Pal . . .	Param Pāl . . .	...	......
39	Najindur Pal . .	Nagēndar Pāl . .	...	......
40	Nard Pal . . .	Nārad Pāl . . .	...	......
41	Norotum Pal . . .	Narōttam Pāl . .	...	......
42	Shaesh Pal . . .	Śesh Pāl . . .	...	......
43	Bhoob Pal . . .	Bhū (or Bhūp) Pāl . .	...	......
44	Janeerood Pal . .	Aniruddh Pāl . .	...	......
45	Hust Pal . . .	Hast Pāl . . .	...	......
46	Soortee Pal . . .	Sur (or Sūrat Pāl . .	...	......
47	Suntokh Pal . . .	Santōkh Pāl . . .	...	......

No.	Names as given by Captain Harcourt.	Corrected names.	Dates.	References.
48	Taegya Pal . . .	Tēgh Pāl . . .	...	......
49	Oocht, or Kuchet Pal .	Uchit Pāl . . .	...	......
50	Sichundur Pal . .	Sikandar Pāl . . .	...	......
51	Surus Pal . . .	Saras Pāl . . .	...	......
52	Saedaeb Pal . . .	Sahdēv Pāl . . .	...	......
53	Siri Mahadaeb Pal . .	Śrī-Mahādēv Pāl . .	...	......
54	Nirtee Pal . . .	Nirati Pāl . . .	...	......
55	Baen Pal . . .	Bain Pāl . . .	...	......
56	Hust Pal . . .	Hast Pāl . . .	...	......
57	Saesee Pal . . .	Śaśi Pāl . . .	...	......
58	Gumbheer Pal . .	Gambhīr Pāl . . .	...	......
59	Nisodhun Pal . .	Nishūdan Pāl . .	...	......
60	Narinda Pal . . .	Narēndar Pāl . .	...	......
61	Suntokh Pal . . .	Santōkh Pāl . . .	...	......
62	Nundh Pal . . .	Nand Pāl . . .	...	......
63	Dhurtee Pal . . .	Dhartī Pāl . . .	...	......
64	Indur Pal . . .	Indar Pāl . . .	...	......
65	Mahee Chukur Pal . .	Mahī-chakar Pāl . .	...	......
66	Yeodhur Pal . . .	Jaya (or Yaśo) dhar Pāl .	...	......
67	Keral Pal . . .	Kēral Pāl . . .	...	......
68	Huns Pal . . .	Hans Pāl . . .	...	......
69	Augusth Pal . . .	Agast Pāl . . .	...	......
70	Muddum Pal . . .	Madan Pāl . . .	...	......
71	Muddho Pal . . .	Madhu Pāl . .	...	......
72	Oodhun Pal . . .	Udhran Pāl . . .	1418-28	Hirmā mask and Sandhyā Dēvī temple inscription.
73	Kelas Pal . . .	Kailās Pāl . . .	...	......
74	Sidh Pal . . .	Siddh Pāl . . .	1500	Vishṇu mask inscription Sajlā, *Kōṭhī* Barsaiyā.

No.	Names as given by Captain Harcourt.	Corrected names.	Dates.	References.
75	Bahadur Sing . .	Bahādur Siṅgh . .	1553-9	Hirmā temple and copper-plate inscriptions. Also Tinan chronicles.
76	Pertab Sing . .	Partāp Siṅgh . .	...	Tibetan document from Barbog.
77	Purbut Sing . . .	Parbat Siṅgh . . .	1575	Dēvī Sidh-Bhāgā mask inscription at Pīṇī, Kōṭhī Kāyaś.
78	Prithi Sing . . .	Pirthī Siṅgh . . .	1608-35	Tibetan documents, Barbog, and mask inscriptions of Dēō Dhūmval in Syal, *Kōṭhī* Chong and Dēō Chirmal at Nagain *Kōṭhī* Kōṭ Kaṇḍī.
79	Kalian Sing . . .	Kalyāṇ Singh . .	...	......
80	Juggut Sing . . .	Jagat Siṅgh . . .	1651-7	Copper-plate inscriptions and *farmāns*.
81	Boodh Sing . . .	Bidhi Siṅgh . . .	1688	Nārāyaṇ Dēō mask inscription at Chamahan, *Kōṭhī* Kāyaś.
82	Maun Sing . . .	Man Siṅgh . . .	1712-19	Mahādēō mask inscription at Jvāni, *Kōṭhī* Rāyasan and Kapilamuni mask inscription at Basauṇā, *Kōṭhī* Kōṭ Kaṇḍi.
83	Raj Sing . . .	Rāj Siṅgh . . .	1729	Dēvī Kōṭālī mask inscription at Soyāl, *Kōṭhī* Barsāyī.
84	Jae Sing . . .	Jay Siṅgh . . .	1731	Nārāyaṇ mask inscription at Chanahan, *Kōṭhī* Kāyaś.
85	Tedhi Sing . . .	Ṭēḍhi Siṅgh . . .	1753	Ādi-Brahma inscription at Silhā in Khokhan.

No.	Names as given by Captain Harcourt.	Corrected names.	Date.	References.
86	Prithum Sing . .	Prītam Siṅgh . .	1780	Copper-plate inscription.
87	Bikhama Sing . .	Bikram Siṅgh .	1802-7	Hardāsa mask at Maṇikarṇ.
88	Jeet Sing . . .	Jīt Siṅgh . . .	...	......

[*Postscript.*—To the documents above discussed may be added certain papers in the Archives of Chambā State which have lately become available and are now being examined by Dr. Hutchison. A list of them will shortly appear in an Appendix to the Chamba State Gazetteer and in the Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum. J. Ph. V.]

HĪRĀNANDA.

TWO CHINESE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BAI IN CENTRAL ASIA.

I.—INSCRIPTION OF LIU P'ING KUO.

M. CHAVANNES'S decipherment of this inscription, unaccompanied by any translation, is published at page 37 of "Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres" First Series, Volume XI, Part II. The learned scholar says that it is not mentioned in any of the Chinese epigraphical works he has consulted that it appears to be unknown to the learned Chinese, but that it is an important record as it furnishes us with testimony regarding the Chinese occupation of "Koutcha" in the year 158 of the Christian era. The dissertation is mainly confined to the discussion of that date, whose correctness, of course, depends on the right decipherment of the inscription itself.

My own decipherment appears on Plate LXXXVI, *a*.

It may be translated thus :

Line 1. "Liu P'ing Kuo, the General of the Left, Kuei T'zu

* * * * *

enriched his family.

* * * * *

Line 2. From * the men of Meng Pai Shan in the northern regions, full of enthusiasm, hastened to rally round the district officer * *

* * * * *

Line 3. A (Shih Na Chung Chieh), (阿 史 那 忠 節) the (faithful and) pure Minister, came together * * *

Line 4. On the first day of the eighth month, the rocks on the hills were, for the first time, broken down, and paths (leading to Kuei T'zu) were searched for

* * * * *

* * * * *

Line 5. In order to afford, for all time, joy and longevity to the people of the Imperial capital (of China)

* * * * *

Line 6. (The regnal year called "Ch'ang-shou" or Longevity, was decreed). On the 7th day of the 8th month of the first year of "Ch'ang-shou," which is indicated by the cyclical sign "Chia-su."

Line 7. In that eastern region, the local chieftains, in order to acquire a record of meritorious service, established barricades, strategic defences, and walled forts.

Line 8. Here ends the record of the services rendered by the General.

Notes.

The inscription appears to be the tomb-stone of Liu P'ing Kuo, a celebrated general, who flourished during the reign of Empress Wu, who set aside the rightful sovereign, Jui Tsung, and usurped the Throne for twenty years, and adopted the dynastic title of Chou in lieu of T'ang. It was she who adopted the regnal year of "Ch'ang Shou," which corresponds to 692 A.D.,[1] and which is mentioned in the inscription.

It is recorded in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty that, during the reign of Kao Tsung, in the year 678 A.D., Liu Shen Li (劉審禮), who was "Tso wei ta Chiang Chün," or Military Warden of the Left Marches, marched to K'o Liang Chou (寇涼州) in Tibet in the capacity of Commander-in-Chief. On reaching Ch'ing Hai or Kokonor, he was defeated and taken prisoner. In 682 A.D., Liu died in captivity. The "Liu P'ing Kuo" of the inscription appears to be an alias of the "Liu Shen Li" of the T'ang Annals. In the inscription, his military rank is given as "Tso Chiang Chün," while it is mentioned as "Tso Wei Ta Chiang Chün" in the Annals.

It is further recorded in the Kang Chien that A Shih Na Chung Chieh (阿史那忠節) was one of the two Generals, who marched into Tibet in 692 A.D., the other being Wang Hsiao Chieh (王孝傑). His name shows that he was of Mongol nationality, and he was probably instrumental in gathering the auxiliary forces of the North and in persuading them to join the Chinese expedition to Tibet, as hinted in Line 2 of the Inscription. Apparently, it was he who set up a tomb-stone to the memory of Liu P'ing Kuo.

M. Chavannes's attempt to fix the date of the inscription as early as 158 A.D. appears to be somewhat vitiated by the fact that the regnal year, "Yung Shou" of Emperor Huan Ti of the Han dynasty ran only for three years, and not for four, namely 155, 156, and 157 A.D.,[2] and that, in the Annals of that dynasty, no Chinese general bearing the surname Liu is mentioned as having been sent on a military expedition to Tibet.

In line 6 of the inscription, however, "Chia-su" is mentioned as the cyclical name of the regnal year "Ch'ang-Shou." A Chinese cycle consists of sixty years, and the last "Chia-su" year fell in 1874.[3] Working backwards to 20 cycles, the result obtained is 674 and not 692 A.D. There is thus a difference of 18 years between the commonly accepted date assigned to "Ch'ang Shou" and the date indicated by the cyclical sign.

[1] Mayers' *Chinese Reader's Manual*, page 381.
[2] Mayers' *Chinese Reader's Manual*, pages 372-373.
[3] Mac Gillivray's *Mandarin Romanized Dictionary of Chinese*, page 969.

1 龜茲左將軍劉平國 發家
2 從 人孟伯山狄 貫趙當去
3 阿 節大人共來
4 八月一日 始斷山石作找
5 國萬畿 人民喜長壽億永
6 長壽 元年八月甲戌朔七日
7 酋首所建紀此東為累關城留
8 將軍所作也州披

INSCRIPTION OF LIN P'ING KUO.

b

鳶
洞天福
作此誦曰

LEGEND ON THE GATEWAY OF A BUDDHIST MONASTERY, (MUTILATED).

c

鳶飛魚躍
洞天福地
作此誦曰

LEGEND ON THE GATEWAY OF A BUDDHIST MONASTERY, (RESTORED).

II—This appears to be a legend inscribed on the gateway of a Buddhist monastery. Neither locality nor date is mentioned; but its epigraphy seems to belong to the T'ang dynasty (618-905 A.D.).

My reading of it is shown on Plate LXXXVI, *b*. The inscription is in a mutilated condition, and the entire legend, when restored, appears to run as shown in Plate LXXXVI, *c*.

The complete legend may be rendered into English thus: "Wild geese fly and fishes swim to and fro; and Heaven may be sought alike in caves and open spaces. This is a subject for joyful utterance."

TAW SEIN KO.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORTS PUBLISHED UNDER OFFICIAL AUTHORITY.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA*—		
Illustrations of ancient buildings in Kashmir.	H. H. Cole, Lieutenant, R.E., Superintendent, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S. W., 1869.
Report in connection with operations in the N.-W. Provinces and the Punjab, etc., for 1869-70.	Lieutenant H. H. Cole .	1870.
Four reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65, Volume I. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Government Central Press, Simla, 1871.
Four reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65, Volume II. (C. S.)	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Report for the year 1871-72, Volume III. (C. S.)	Ditto . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1873.
Illustrations of buildings near Muttra and Agra, showing the mixed Hindu-Mahomedan style of Upper India.	H. H. Cole, Lieutenant, R.E., late Superintendent, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1873.
"Tree and Serpent Worship" from the sculptures of the Buddhist Topes at Sanchi and Amaravati.	James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S.	Ditto.
Report for the year 1871-72, Delhi and Agra, Volume IV. (C. S.)	J. D. Beglar and A. C. L. Carlleyle, Assistants, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1874.

NOTE.—The continued series of reports by A. Cunningham (Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India), which extend over the years 1862-1884 inclusive, are marked (C. S.) in this list.

The reports of the New Imperial Series, which began in 1874 and are still in progress, are marked (N. I. S.).

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
Report of the first season's operations in the Belgâm and Kaladgi districts. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1874.
The Antiquities of Orissa, Volume I.	Rájendralála Mitra . .	Wyman & Co., Calcutta, 1875.
Report for the year 1872-73, Volume V. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1875.
Report on the antiquities of Kâthiâwâḍ and Kachh. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government, Western India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1876.
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Volume I, Inscriptions of Asoka.	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1877.
The Rock Temples of Elura or Verul.	J. Burgess . . .	1877.
Report on the antiquities in the Bidar and Aurangabad districts. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government, Western India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1878.
Report of a tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1871-72; and 1872-73, Volume VI. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1878.
Report of a tour in Bundelkhand and Malwa, 1871-72; and in the Central Provinces, 1873-74, Volume VII. (C. S.)	J. D. Beglar, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
Report of a tour through the Bengal Provinces of Patna, Gaya, Mongir, and Bhagalpur; The Santal Parganas, Manbhum, Singhbhum, and Birbhum, Bankura, Raniganj, Bardwan and Hughli in 1872-73, Volume VIII. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Pali Sanskrit, and old Canarese Inscriptions from the Bombay Presidency and parts of the Madras Presidency and Maisur, arranged and explained.	J. F. Fleet, Bombay Civil Service, and J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, London, 1878.
The Stūpa of Bharhut; a Buddhist monument ornamented with numerous sculptures, illustrative of Buddhist legend and history in the third century B. C.	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S. W., 1879.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
Report of tours in Central Doab and Gorakhpur in 1874-75 and 1875-76, Volume XII. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, 1st Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1879.
Report of a tour in the Central Provinces in 1873-74 and 1874-75, Volume IX. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Ditto.
Report of tours in Bundelkhand and Malwa in 1874-75 and 1876-77, Volume X. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1880.
Report of tours in the Gangetic Provinces from Badaon to Bihar in 1875-76 and 1877-78, Volume XI. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Report on the Amarávati tope and excavations on its site in 1877.	R. Sewell, Madras Civil Service.	G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, London, 1880.
The Antiquities of Orissa, Volume II.	Rájendralála Mitra . .	W. Newman & Co., Calcutta, 1880.
The Cave Temples of India.	J. Fergusson and J. Burgess	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1880.
First Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1881-82.	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1882.
Report of tours in the South-Eastern Provinces in 1874-75 and 1875-76, Volume XIII. (C. S.)	J. D. Beglar, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1882.
Report of a tour in the Punjab in 1878-79, Volume XIV. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Ditto.
Report of a tour in Bihar and Bengal in 1879-80 from Patna to Sunargaon, Volume XV. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras. (N. I. S.)	R. Sewell, Madras Civil Service.	Government Press, Madras, 1882.
Preliminary reports by Curator, Ancient Monuments in India.	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1881 to 1883.
(*a*) Madras Presidency—		
The Seven Pagodas . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
(*a*) Madras Presidency—*contd.*		
Velur	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1881 to 1883.
Trichinopoly	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Srirangam	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Madura	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Tanjore	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Kombakonam . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Chillambaram . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Conjeveram . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Bijanagar	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*b*) Bombay Presidency—		
Ahmedabad	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Poona	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Karli	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Ambarnath	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Elephanta	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*c*) Bijapur	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*d*) Rajputana—		
Mount Abu	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Ajmir	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Jaipur	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Ulwar	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*e*) H. H. the Nizam's Territory—		
Kalburgan	Ditto . . .	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
(*f*) Punjab—		
(Memorandum on Ancient Monuments in Eusafzai, with a description of the explorations undertaken from the 4th February to the 16th April 1883, and suggestions for the disposal of the sculptures.)	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1881 to 1883.
Second Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1882-83.	Ditto . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1883.
Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their inscriptions. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government for Western and Southern India.	Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., Edinburgh and London, 1883.
Reports of tours in North and South Bihar in 1880-81, Volume XVI. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India, and H. B. W. Garrick, Assistant Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1883.
Preservation of National Monuments—Fortress Gwalior.	J. B. Keith, Superintending Monumental Preservation.	Ditto.
Catalogue and Hand-book of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum, Part I—Asoka and Indo-Scythian Galleries.	J. Anderson, Superintendent, Indian Museum.	Ditto.
Ditto ditto, Part II—Gupta and Inscription Galleries.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Report of a tour in Gorakpur district in 1875-76 and 1876-77, Volume XVIII. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, 1st Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
Report on the Elura cave temples and the other Brahmanical and Jaina caves in Western India. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government for Western and Southern India.	Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., Edinburgh and London, 1883.
Report of a tour in the Central Provinces and Lower Gangetic Doab in 1881-82, Volume XVII. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1884.
Lists of Inscriptions and Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India. (N. I. S.)	R. Sewell, Madras Civil Service.	Government Press, Madras, 1884.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
Preservation of National Monuments, India.	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Plates prepared in Paris, 1884-85.
(*a*) Agra and Gwalior . .	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*b*) Golden temple at Amritsar, Punjab.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*c*) Delhi	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*d*) Græco-Buddhist sculptures from Yusufzai.	Ditto .	Ditto.
(*e*) Great temple to Siva and his consort at Madura.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*f*) Meywar	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*g*) Buildings of the Punjab .	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*h*) Great Buddhist Tope at Sanchi.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*i*) Tomb of Jahangir at Shahdara near Lahore.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*j*) The temples at Trichinopoly	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Third Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1883-84.	Ditto . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1885.
Report of a tour through Bihar, Central India, Peshawar, and Yusufzai, during 1881-82, Vol. XIX. (C. S.)	H. B. W. Garrick, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
Report of a tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882-83, Vol. XX. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Ditto.
Reports of a tour in Bundelkhand and Rewa in 1883-84 and of a tour in Rewa, Bundelkhand, Malwa, and Gwalior in 1884-85, Vol. XXI. (C. S.)	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Report of tours in Gorakhpur, Saran, and Ghazipur in 1877-78-79 and 80, Vol. XXII. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, 1st Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
Report of a tour in the Punjab and Râjpûtâna in 1883-84, Vol. XXIII. (C. S.)	H. B. W. Garrick, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1887.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
General Index to the Reports of the Archæological Survey of India, Vols. I—XXIII. (C. S.)	V. A. Smith, Indian Civil Service.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1887.
The Buddhist stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta in the Krishna District, Madras Presidency, with translations of the Asoka Inscriptions at Jaugada and Dhauli. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India, and G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E., etc.	Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., Edinburgh and London, 1887.
List (s) of photographs of Ancient Buildings and Antiquities.	......	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1887.
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III. (Gupta Inscriptions.)	J. F. Fleet . . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1888.
The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur. (N. I. S.)	A. Führer, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and E. W. Smith, Architectural Assistant.	Ditto, 1889.
Jeypore Portfolio of Architectural Details ; Parts I—X.	Colonel S. S. Jacob, C.I.E. .	Griggs & Sons, London, 1890-98.
South Indian Inscriptions (Vol. I). (N. I. S.)	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Government Press, Madras, 1890.
List of photographic negatives of Ancient Buildings and Antiquities in the Imperial Museum, Calcutta.	J. Wood-Mason and J. D. Beglar.	1890.
South Indian Inscriptions (Vol. II). (N. I. S.)	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Government Press, Madras, 1891-95.
The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. (N. I. S.)	A. Führer, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1891.
Epigraphia Indica of the Archæological Survey of India (Vol. I). (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, late Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1892.
Mahabodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple under the Bodhi tree, at Buddha Gaya.	A. Cunningham, late Director General, Archæological Survey of India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S. W., 1892.
Epigraphia Indica of the Archæological Survey of India (Vol. II). (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, late Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1894.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
Notes on the Antiquities, Ethnography, and History of Las Bela and Mekran.	T. H. Holdich, Superintendent, Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1894.
South Indian Buddhist Antiquities. (N. I. S.)	A. Rea, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Madras.	Government Press, Madras, 1894.
List of Architectural and Archæological Remains in Coorg. (N. I. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
List of photographic negatives belonging to the India Office.	......	Ditto.
Bower Manuscripts. (N. I. S.)	A. Hoernle, Principal, Calcutta Madrassah.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1893-97.
The Moghul Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri, Parts I—IV. (N. I. S.)	E. Smith, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1894-98.
On the Muhammadan Architecture in Gujrat. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, late Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1896.
Châlukyan Architecture, including examples from the Ballâri District, Madras Presidency. (N. I. S.)	A. Rea, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Madras.	Government Press, Madras, 1896.
Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Central Provinces and Berâr. (N. I. S.)	H. Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Bombay.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1897.
Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in the Presidency of Madras. (N. I. S.)	A. Rea, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Madras.	Government Press, Madras, 1897.
Revised lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency. (N. I. S.)	H. Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Bombay.	Government Central Press, Bombay, 1897.
South Indian Inscriptions (Volume III, Part I). (N. I. S.)	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Government Press, Madras, 1899.
A list of photographic negatives of Indian Antiquities in the collection of the Indian Museum with which is incorporated the list of similar negatives in the possession of the India Office.	Dr. T. Bloch, 1st Assistant Superintendent, Indian Museum.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1900.
List of Antiquarian Remains in His Highness the Nizam's territories. (N. I. S.)	H. Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Bombay.	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd*		
The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad, Part I. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, late Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1900.
Report on results of explorations in the Nepal Tarai, Part I. (N. I. S.)	P. C. Mukherji, lately employed on Archæological explorations under the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1901.
The Jaina Stūpa and some other Antiquities of Mathurâ (N. I. S.)	V. A. Smith, Indian Civil Service.	Government Press, United Provinces, 1901.
Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra, Part I. (N. I. S.)	E. Smith, Archæological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Ditto.
The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujrat. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, late Director-General, Archæological Survey of India, and H. Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western India	Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1903.
The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad, Part II, with Muslim and Hindu Remains in e vicinity. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, late Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India.	Ditto, 1905.
Portfolio of illustrations of Sind Tiles.	H. Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle.	W. Griggs & Sons, Limited, 1906.
Pallava Architecture . .	A. Rea, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Government Press, Madras, 1909.
Akbar's Tomb, Sikandarah, near Agra.	E. W. Smith, late Archæological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Superintendent, Government Press, United Provinces, 1909.
Annual Report of the Director-General of Archæology in India for the year 1902-03, Parts I and II.	J. H. Marshall, Director-General of Archæology in India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1904.
Ditto for the year 1903-04, Parts I and II.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1905-06.
Ditto for the year 1904-05, Part I.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1906.
Ditto for the year 1904-05, Part II.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1908.
Ditto for the year 1905-06, Part I.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto for the year 1905-06, Part II.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1908.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*concld.*		
Annual Report of the Director-General of Archæology in India for the year 1906-07, Part I	J. H. Marshall, Director-General of Archæology in India.	Superintendent, Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1908.
Ditto for the year 1906-07, Part II.	Ditto . . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1909.
Ditto for the year 1907-08, Part I.	Ditto . . .	Superintendent, Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1909.
Ditto for the year 1907-08, Part II.	Ditto . . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1911.
MADRAS—		
Notes on the Amaravatī Stūpa .	J. Burgess, Government Archæological Surveyor for Western and Southern India.	Government Press, Madras, 1882.
Notes and Inscriptions from Temples in the Madura District, Vol. IV.	Ditto .	Ditto, 1885-86.
Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions with some notes on village antiquities collected chiefly in the south of the Madras Presidency.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1886.
List of ancient monuments for conservation in the Madras Presidency in 1884.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1886-87.
Ditto, in 1891 . .	A. Rea, Archæological Surveyor, Madras.	Ditto, 1891.
Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archæological Survey of India, Vol. III, 1894-95.	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1895.
Ditto Vol. IV, 1896-97	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1897.
Ditto „ V, 1898-99	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1899.
Ditto „ VI, 1900-01	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1901.
Ditto „ VII, 1902-03	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto „ VIII, 1905-06	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto „ IX, 1907-09	Dr. S. Konow and Rai Bahadur M. R. Ry V. Venkayya Avergal, Government Epigraphists.	Ditto, 1909.
List of tombs and monuments of Europeans, etc., in the Madras District.	Government of Madras .	Government Press, Madras, 1898.
List of tombs and monuments erected in Madras.	Ditto . .	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
MADRAS—*contd.* List of statues, monuments and busts erected in Madras in honour of distinguished servants of the State.	Government of Madras .	Government Press, Madras, 1898.
List of ancient monuments, Madras Presidency.	A. Rea, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1911.
Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Madras and Coorg, for the year 1899-1900.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1900.
Ditto, 1900-01 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1901.
Ditto, 1901-02 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto, 1902-03	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1903.
Ditto, 1903-04 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto, 1904-05 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1905.
Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Department, Southern Circle, for the year 1905-06.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1906.
Ditto, for the year 1906-07 . .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto, for the year 1907-08 . .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1908.
Report on Epigraphical work accomplished from July 1891 to June 1892.	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Ditto, 1892.
Ditto July 1892 to June 1893.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1893.
Ditto do. 1893 to do. 1894.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1894.
Ditto do. 1894 to do. 1895.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1895.
Ditto do. 1895 to do. 1896.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1896.
Ditto do. 1896 to do. 1897.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1897.
Ditto do. 1897 to do. 1898.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1898.
Ditto do. 1898 to do. 1899.	V. Venkayya, 1st Assistant to the Government Epigraphist.	Ditto, 1899.
Ditto do. 1899 to do. 1900.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1900.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
MADRAS—*concld.*		
Report on Epigraphical work accomplished from July 1900 to June 1901.	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Government Press, Madras, 1901.
Ditto July 1901 to June 1902.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto do. 1902 to do. 1903.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1903.
Ditto do. 1903 to do. 1904.	V. Venkayya, Officiating Government Epigraphist.	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto do. 1904 to do. 1905.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1905.
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Ditto for the year 1907-08.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1908.
Ditto for the year 1908-09.	M. R. Ry H. Krishna Sastri Aul.	Ditto, 1909.
BOMBAY—		
The Antiquities of the Kolaba Agency. (Ser. 330, Sel. Rec., Bombay, N. S. No. 7.)	......	1854.
The Antiquities of Kolhapoor illustrated. (Ser. 350, Sel. Rec., Bombay, N. S. No. 8.)	......	1854.
Extracts in connection with Mahomedan Architecture at Beejapoor, in the Satara Districts, etc. (1854). (Ser. 350, Sel. Rec., Bombay, N. S. No. 40.)	......	1857.
Observations on inscriptions on copper-plates dug up at Naroor, in the Koodal Division of the Sawunt Waree State, 1848; with translations and facsimiles, 1851. (Ser. 350, Sel. Rec., Bombay, N. S. No. 10.)	Major G. LeG. Jacob .	1855.
Rock-cut Temples of Western India.	J. Fergusson, F.R.S., M.R.A.S.	Cundall & Downes, London, 1864.
Report on the illustration of the Archaic Architecture of India. etc.	Dr. Forbes Watson and Mr. Fergusson, General Cunningham, and Colonel Meadows Taylor.	1869.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
BOMBAY—*contd.*		
Notes to accompany a series of photographs designed to illustrate the Ancient Architecture of Western India.	Captain Lyon, late of Her Majesty's 68th Regiment of Light Infantry.	Carey Brothers, Old College Street, 3, Geneva, 1871.
Memorandum on the Buddhist Caves at Junnar.	James Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government, and J. F. Fleet, Bo.C.S.	Government Central Press, Bombay, 1874.
Memorandum on the antiquities at Dabhoi, Ahmedabad, Than, Junagadh, Girnar, and Dhank.	James Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.	Ditto, 1875.
Memorandum on the remains at Gumli, Gop, and in Kachh, etc.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Provisional lists of Architectural and other Archæological remains in Western India, including the Bombay Presidency, Sindh, Berar, Central Provinces, and Hyderabad.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Translations of inscriptions from Belgaum and Kalâdgi Districts in the Report of the first season's operations of the Archæological Survey of Western India and of inscriptions from Kathiawar and Kachh.	J. F. Fleet, Bo.C.S., and Hari Vaman Limaya, B.A.	Ditto, 1876.
Buddhist Caves of Ajanta. Second edition.	Prepared by Major R. Gill and revised by James Burgess, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.	Ditto, 1876.
Notes on the antiquities of the Talukas of Parner, Sangamner, Ankole and Kopergaum, forming the charge of the 2nd Assistant Collector, Ahmadnagar, with revised lists of remains in the Ahmadnagar, Nasik, Puna, Thana, and Kalâdgi Zillahs.	W. F. Sinclair, Bo.C.S., and J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.	Ditto, 1877.
Architectural and Archæological remains in Khandesh in 1877.	W. H. Propert, Collector of Khandesh.	Ditto.
Reports (from the Collectors) regarding the Archæological remains in the Karachi, Haidarabad, and Shikarpur Collectorates in Sindh, with plans of tombs.	......	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
BOMBAY—*contd.*		
Report on the Architectural and Archæological remains in the Province of Kachh, with 5 papers by the late Sir Alex. Burnes. (Selections from the records of the Bombay Government, No. CLII, new series.)	Dalpatram Pranjivan Kha-Khar.	Government Central Press, Bombay.
Notes on the Buddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta, their paintings and sculptures, and on the paintings of the Bagh Caves, modern Buddha Mythology, etc.	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	Ditto.
Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India with descriptive notes, etc.	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor, and Bhagwanlal Indraji Pandit.	Ditto, 1881.
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Scheme for the protection and conservation of ancient buildings in and around the City of Ahmedabad.	A. W. Crawley Boevy, C.S.	Education Society's Press, Bombay, 1886.
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The antiquities of the town of Dabhoi in Gujarat.	James Burgess, LL.D., C.I.E., Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, and H. Cousens, M.R.A.S., Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	George Waterston & Sons, Edinburgh, 1888.
List of Photographic Negatives of ancient buildings and antiquities of the Bombay Presidency.	H. Cousens, M.R.A.S., Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	Government Central Press, Bombay, 1888.
List of Photographic Negatives of the paintings copied from the Ajanta Caves between 1872 and 1885 at the Government School of Art, Bombay. Supplement to the Bombay List of Photographic Negatives.	James Burgess . . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1889.
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Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India for the months of December 1889 to April 1890.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1890.
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Ditto for the months of May 1892 to April 1893.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1893.
Ditto for the months of May 1893 to April 1894.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1894.
Ditto for the months of May 1894 to August 1895.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1895.
Ditto for the months of September 1895 to April 1896.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1896.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1897.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1897.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1898.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1898.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1899.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1899.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1900.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1900.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1901.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1901.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1902.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1903.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1903.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1904.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1905.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1905.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
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Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1909.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1909.
Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta, Khandesh, India. Volume I (Pictorial subjects).	John Griffiths, late Principal of the Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai School of Art, Bombay, Fellow of the University of Bombay, Member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.	W. Griggs, London, 1896.
Ditto ditto. Volume II (Decorative details).	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1900.
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Account of a visit to Mount Parisnath (in Chutia Nagpoor) and the Jain Temples thereon in 1827. (Ser. 250, Sel. Rec., Bengal, No. 38.)	A. P.	1861.
Ruins of the Nalanda Monasteries at Burgaon, Sub-Division Bihar, District Patna.	A. M. Broadley, B.C.S. .	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1872.
Report on the Archæology of the District of Midnapore.	H. L. Harrison, B.C.S. .	Ditto, 1873.
Buddha Gaya, the Hermitage of Sákya Muni.	Rájendralála Mitra, LL. D., C.I.E.	Ditto, 1878.
List of objects of antiquarian interest in Bengal.	......	Ditto, 1879.
A List of the objects of antiquarian interest in the Lower Provinces of Bengal (with historical descriptions).	......	Ditto, 1879.
Revised list of ancient monuments in Bengal, 1886.	Government of Bengal, P.W. Department, assisted by J. D. Beglar and W. B. E.	Ditto, 1887.
Some Historical and Ethnical aspects of the Burdwan District.	W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service.	Ditto, 1891.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
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A Brief History of the Bodh Gaya Math.	Rai Ram Anugrah Narayan Singh, Bahadur.	Ditto, 1893.
Sikkim Gazetteer . . .	......	Ditto, 1894.
Some Historical and Ethnical aspects of the Burdwan District with an explanatory Index (Reprint).	W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service.	Ditto.
List of Statues, Monuments, and Busts in Calcutta of historical interest.	......	Ditto.
List of Inscriptions on tombs or monuments possessing historical or archæological interest.	C. R. Wilson, M.A., of the Bengal Educational Service.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1896.
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List of ancient monuments:—		
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Rajshahi Division . . .	......	Ditto.
Orissa Division . . .	......	Ditto.
Chota Nagpur Division . . .	......	Ditto.
Bhagalpur Division . .	......	Ditto.
Chittagong Division . .	......	Ditto.
Burdwan Division . . .	......	Ditto.
Patna Division . . .	......	Ditto.
Presidency Division . .	......	Ditto.
Report with photographs of the repairs executed to some of the principal temples at Bhūbānēsvăr and caves in the Khăndăgĭrĭ and Udaigirĭ Hills, Orissa, between 1898 and 1903.	M. H. Arnott, M.Inst.C.E., Executive Engineer, Bengal Public Works.	Waterlow & Sons, Limited, London, W., 1903.
Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle, for the year 1900-01.	T. Bloch, Archæological Surveyor, Bengal Circle.	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1901.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
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Ditto for the year ended April 1903.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1903.
Ditto for the year ended April 1904.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto for the year ended April 1905.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1905.
Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, for 1905-06.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1906.
Ditto for 1906-07 . .	A. H. Longhurst, Officiating Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle.	Ditto, 1907.
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Description of the antiquities at Kaliniar.	F. Maisey . . .	Baptist Mission Press, 1848.
List of Photographic Negatives of the monumental antiquities in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	A. Führer, Ph.D., Archæological Surveyor, and E. W. Smith, Architectural Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1889.
Catalogue of the Archæological Museum at Mathura.	J. Ph. Vogel, Ph.D., Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Press, United Provinces, 1910.
Progress Reports of the Epigraphical and Architectural Branches of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh from October 1889 till 30th June 1891.	A. Führer, Ph.D., Archæological Surveyor, and E. W. Smith, Archæological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1892.
Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year 1891-92.	A. Führer, Ph.D., Archæological Surveyor.	Thomason College Press, Roorkee, 1892.
Ditto for the year ending June 1893.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1893.
Ditto for the year ending June 1894.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1894.

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UNITED PROVINCES—*contd.*		
Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle, North-Western Province and Oudh, for the year ending June 1895.	A. Führer, Ph.D., Archæological Surveyor.	Thomason College Press, Roorkee, 1895.
Ditto for the year ending June 1896.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1896.
Ditto for the year ending June 1897.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1897.
Ditto for the year ending June 1898.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1898.
Ditto for the year ending June 1899.	V. A. Smith, I.C.S., and E. W. Smith, Archæological Surveyor.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1899.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1900.	E. W. Smith, Archæological Surveyor.	Ditto, 1900.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1901.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1901.
Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle, United Provinces, for the year ending 31st March 1902.	......	Government Press, United Provinces, 1902.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1903.	E. B. S. Shepherd, Archæological Surveyor.	Ditto, 1903
Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, United Provinces and Punjab, for the year ending 31st March 1904.	W. H. Nicholls, Archæological Surveyor.	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1905.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1905.
Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1906.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1906.
Ditto for the year 1906-07.	Ditto .	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto for the year 1907-08.	R. F. Tucker, Archæological Surveyor.	Ditto, 1908.
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List of Christian tombs and monuments of archæological and historical interest and their inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	A. Führer, Archæological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1896.

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The remains near Kasia in the Gorakhpur District.	V. A. Smith, I.C.S.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1896.
Portfolio of Indian Architectural drawings, Part I.	E. W. Smith, Archæological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Griggs & Sons, London.
Report on the antiquities in the district of Lalitpur, North-Western Provinces.	Poorno Chander Mukherji	Thomason College Press, Roorkee, 1899.
Plates illustrating the Report on the antiquities in the district of Lalitpur, North-Western Provinces.	Ditto	Ditto.
PUNJAB—		
Objects of Antiquarian interest in the Punjab and its dependencies compiled from statements furnished by the several Deputy Commissioners, His Highness the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the Superintendents Cis-Sutlej, Bahawalpur, and Chamba States.	......	Public Works Department Press, Lahore, 1875.
Descriptive List of the Principal Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Museum.	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey.	......
Descriptive List of Photographic Negatives of Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Central Museum.	J. L. Kipling, Curator	1889.
Report of the Punjab Circle of the Archæological Survey, 1888-89.	C. J. Rodgers, Archæological Surveyor.	W. Ball & Co., Lahore, 1891.
List of inscriptions in the Lahore Museum.	Dr. M. A. Stein	1899.
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A descriptive Guide to the Department of Archæology and Antiquities, Lahore Museum.	Percy Brown Curator, Lahore Museum.	Civil and Military Press, Lahore, 1908.
Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archæology.	J. Ph. Vogel, Ph.D., Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1908.
Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba, (Chamba State, Punjab).	Ditto	Ditto, 1909.
Report of the Archæological Survey, Punjab Circle, for the period from 1st January to 30th June 1901.	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Archæological Surveyor, Punjab.	Lahore Caxton Printing Works, 1901.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
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Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, Punjab Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1902.	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Archæological Surveyor, Punjab.	Lahore Caxton Printing Works, 1902.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1903.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1903.
Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Punjab and United Provinces Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1904.	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1904.
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Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1906.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1906.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1907.	Pt. Hirananda, for Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1908.	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1908.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1909.	A. H. Longhurst, Offg. Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1909.
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Report on the explorations of the Buddhist ruins near Kharkai during the months of March and April 1874. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 11th June 1874.)	Lieut. Skene Grant, R.E. .	1874.
Report on the exploration of the Buddhist ruins at Takht-i-Bai Yusafzai, during the months of January, February, March and April 1871. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 6th August 1874.)	Sergeant F. H. Wilcher, R.E.	1874.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
N.-W. F. PROVINCE—*concld.*		
Report on the explorations at mound Shahji-ka-dheri near Peshawar. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 18th November 1875.)	Lieut. C. A. Crompton, R.E.	1875.
Report on the explorations at Taikal near Peshawar. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 18th November 1875 and of 30th March 1876.)	Lieut. P. Haslett, R.E.	1876.
Reports of Buddhist explorations in the Peshawar District by the 10th Company of Sappers and Miners.	Lieut. C. Maxwell, R.E.	Public Works Department, Punjab, 1882.
Memorandum on excavations at Sikri, Yusafzai.	Capt. H. A. Deane, Assistant Commissioner.	Punjab Government Press, Lahore, 1889.
Detailed report of an Archæological tour with the Buner Field Force.	Dr. M. A. Stein, Ph.D., Principal, Oriental College, Lahore.	Ditto, 1898.
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Ditto for 1907-08 . .	Ditto . .	Commercial Press, Peshawar, 1908.
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BURMA—		
List of objects of antiquarian interest in British Burma.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1880.
Notes on the early History and Geography of British Burma—		
I. The Shwe Dagon Pagoda	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1883.
II. The first Buddhist Mission to Suvarnabhumi.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1884.
List of objects of Antiquarian and Archæological interest in British Burma.	Ditto . .	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
BURMA—*contd.*		
Reports on Archæological work done in Burma during the years 1879-89. (Being a Review, dated 18th June 1889.)	Dr. E. Forchhammer	1889.
The Po U Daung inscription, erected by King Sinbyuyin in 1774 A.D.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1881.
List of objects of antiquarian interest in Arakan.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Ditto.
List of objects of antiquarian interest in Burma.	Ditto	Ditto, 1892.
Inscription of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava (deciphered from the ink impressions found among the papers of the late Dr. Forchhammer).	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Ditto.
Report on the Antiquities of Arakan.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Ditto.
Report on the Kyaukku Temple at Pagan.	Ditto	Ditto.
The Kalyani Inscriptions	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Ditto.
Memorandum of a tour in parts of the Amherst, Shwegyin, and Pegu Districts.	Ditto	Ditto.
Note on a tour in Burma in March and April 1892.	F. O. Oertel, Assistant Engineer on special duty, Public Works Department, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Ditto, 1893.
Notes on an Archæological tour through Ramannadesa. (The Talaing country of Burma.)	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary* by the Educational Society's Steam Press, Bombay, 1893.
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A preliminary study of the Kalyani Inscriptions.	Ditto	Ditto.
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Some remarks on the Kalyani Inscriptions.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary* by the Educational Society's Steam Press, Bombay, 1894.
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Index, Inscriptionum B. Birmanicarum, Vol. I.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1900.
List of objects of antiquarian and archæological interest in Upper Burma.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1901.
List of Pagodas at Pagan under the custody of Government.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Report on archæological work in Burma for the year 1901-02.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto, for the year 1902-03 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1903.
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Ditto, for the year 1904-05 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1905.
Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1906.	Taw Sein Ko, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1906.
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Ditto, for the year ending 31st March 1908.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1908.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1909.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1909.
MYSORE AND COORG—		
Mysore Inscriptions . . .	L. Rice, Director of Public Instruction.	Mysore Government Press, 1879.
Coorg Inscriptions . .	L. Rice, Secretary to Government.	Ditto, 1886.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
MYSORE AND COORG—*concld.*		
Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola, a chief seat of the Jains (Mysore).	L. Rice, Director of Archæological Researches and Secretary to Government, Mysore.	Mysore Government Press, 1889.
Epigraphia Carnatica—Inscriptions in the Mysore District, Part I.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1894.
Ditto, Part II	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1898.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Kadur District.	L. Rice, Director of Archæological Researches.	Ditto, 1901.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Hassan District in 2 sections.	Ditto . .	Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, 1902.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Simoga District, Parts I and II.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Chitaldrug district.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1903.
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Inscriptions at Kolar . . .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1905.
ASSAM—		
Report on the progress of historical research in Assam.	E. A. Gait, I.C.S., Honorary Director of Ethnography in Assam.	Assam Secretariat Printing Office, Shillong, 1897.
List of archæological remains in the Province of Assam.	......	Ditto, 1902.

List of Public Libraries, etc., to which copies of the Director General's Annual Report, Part II, are regularly supplied.

1.—COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA.

UNITED KINGDOM.

British Museum Library, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, London.

Bodleian Library, Oxford.

London University Library, Imperial Institute, London, S.W.

Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.

Edinburgh „ „ Edinburgh.

Glasgow „ „ Glasgow.

Aberdeen „ „ Aberdeen.

Trinity College Library, Dublin.

Folklore Society, 11, Old Square Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.

National Art Library, South Kensington Museum, London.

Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, London, W.

Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

The Royal „ Windsor Castle, Berks.

Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London.

Royal Society, Edinburgh.

Royal Irish Academy, 19, Dawson Street, Dublin.

National Library of Ireland, Leinster House, Kildare Street, Dublin.

Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albermarle Street, London.

Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.

Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, National Museum of Antiquities, Queen Street, Edinburgh.

Imperial Institute, London.

Indian Institute, Oxford.

Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings, 10, Buckingham Street, Adelphi, W.C.

The Royal Academy of Arts, Burlington House, London.

Society for the Pomotion of Hellenic Studies, London.

Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 3, Hanover Street, W. London.

FRANCE.

Bibliothèque Nationale Paris.

Institute de France, Paris.

Musée Guimet, 7, Place d'Iena, Paris.

1.—COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA—*contd.*

GERMANY.

Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Halle (Saale), Germany.

Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Berlin.

Royal Museum for Ethnology, Berlin.

Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenchaftēn zu Göttingen, Göttingen.

AUSTRIA.

Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna.

Hungarian Academy, Buda-Pesth.

ITALY.

Biblioteca Nazionale, Vittorio Emanuele Rome.

R. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.

The Società Asiatica Italiana Firenze.

British School at Rome.

American School of Classical Studies at Rome.

OTHER COUNTRIES IN EUROPE.

Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Holland.

Royal Institute of Netherlands, India, The Hague, Holland.

Imperial Academy of Sciences (for the Asiatic Museum), St. Petersburg, Russia.

Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.

National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique, Anvers.

University Library, Upsala, Sweden.

" " Christiania, Norway.

British School at Athens, Greece.

La Société Archéologique d'Athènes, Athens, Greece.

AMERICA.

American Oriental Society, 235, Bishop Street, New Haven, Conn, U.S.A.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

Secretary, National Museum, Washington, U. S. A.

Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

BRITISH COLONIES.

The Museum, Canterbury, New Zealand.

Literary and Historical Society, Quebec, Canada.

Melbourne Library, Melbourne.

University Library, Sydney, New South Wales.

Victoria Public Library, Perth, Western Australia.

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo.

Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Singapore.

North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai.

Museum of Arabic Art, Cairo, Egypt.

I.—COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA—*concld.*

FOREIGN COLONIES.

Directeur del'Ecole française d'extrême Orient, Hanoi.

Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia.

Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Cairo, Egypt.

Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands, Department of Interior, Manila.

II.—INDIA.

(1) IMPERIAL.

Imperial Library, Calcutta.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

*Press Room, Calcutta and Simla.

(2) PROVINCIAL.

MADRAS.

Secretariat Library, Fort St. George.

University ,, Madras.

Public ,, ,,

Presidency College ,,

School of Art, ,,

Government Central Museum, Madras.

Christian College Library ,,

BOMBAY.

Secretariat Library, Bombay.

University ,, ,,

Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay.

School of Art, Bombay.

The College ot Science, Poona.

BENGAL.

Secretariat Library, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

University Library, the Senate House, Calcutta.

Presidency College Library, 1, College Square, Calcutta.

Sanskrit College Library, 1, College Square, Calcutta.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, 57, Park Street, Calcutta.

UNITED PROVINCES.

Secretariat Library, P. W. D., Allahabad.

University ,, Allahabad.

Public Library, Allahabad.

Provincial Museum Library, Lucknow.

Sanskrit College, Benares.

Thomason College, Roorkee.

II.—INDIA—*concld.*

PUNJAB.

Secretariat Library, Public Works Department, Lahore.
Punjab Public Library, Lahore.
Museum Library, Lahore.
University Library Lahore.
Government College Library, Lahore.
Delhi Museum and Institute, Delhi.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

Secretariat Library, Peshawar.
Museum Library, Peshawar.

BURMA.

Secretariat Library, Rangoon.
The Bernard Free Library, Rangoon.
The Phayre Museum, Rangoon.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Secretariat Library, Nagpur.
Museum Library, Nagpur.

ASSAM.

Secretariat Library, Shillong.

COORG.

The Chief Commissioner of Coorg's Library, Bangalore.

NATIVE STATES.

Hyderabad.

The Resident's Library, Hyderabad.

Central India.

Library of the Agent to the Governor-General, Indore.
The Librarian, Dhar Museum Library, Dhar.
Rajkumar College, Indore.

Rajputana.

Library of the Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General, Ajmer.
College Library, Ajmer.

Baroda.

Library of the Resident at Baroda.